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THE FAMILY OF

BROCAS OF BEAUREPAIRE

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THE FAMILY

OF

BROCAS OF BEAUREPAIRE

AND ROCHE COURT

HEREDITARY MASTERS OF THE ROYAL BUCKHOUNDS

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH RULE IN AQUITAINE

BY

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LONDON

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PREFACE.

This book might be styled 'The Contents of an Old Chest.' Lost for about a century, and its very existence not only forgotten, but unsuspected, it fell to my lot, a few years ago, to be the fortunate means of recovering it for the family into which I had married. After many a sidelong glance at its contents, and many a half-resolution not to venture upon so arduous an undertaking, I have at last grappled with the difficulties of deciphering the ancient deeds, searching the Record Office, and applying to every available source of information, in order that these papers might be utilised for the benefit of the public.

It would be too long a story to tell how many curious circumstances combined to place this treasure in my hands at Oxford; but the reader may like to know that the chest—more than four feet long—is of the fifteenth century, substantially constructed of good old English oak, and that it contains some six hundred deeds and papers, commencing with the De Roches property in 1271, taking up that of the De Brocas in 1320, proceeding continuously through the ages till the Gardiners succeed to the Brocas estates, and ending, abruptly enough, in 1782. There is every reason to think that its contents had never been disturbed since it was last used. When opened, the dry bones of some long-lost and long-forgotten Ginevra would not have been a more interesting discovery than the well-preserved parchments which presented themselves to the view in rich abundance, not to say bewildering confusion. The antiquaries whom I consulted demanded with one voice the publication of these papers. How was it

to be done? The usual channels for such archæological details not being available, I have ventured on a plan of my own. The documents and the notes are submitted for the edification of the curious in such matters; the book itself is an attempt to add something to our historical knowledge.

But the question will certainly be asked, Why listen to the antiquaries? Why drag before the public the dullest of all dull things—a family history? Still more, why run the risk of being blamed for attaching too much importance to a family in which you have a special interest?

The reader may be assured that these considerations had to be faced, and he must judge for himself if there has been a sufficient reason for publication. The Introduction will afford him an opportunity. He will perceive that this is a history of a quite unique kind, interwoven with many national events, and of special interest with reference to the English Rule in Aquitaine. On this point I have been tempted, in the absence of any existing account whatever of that Rule, to go a little—but only a little—beyond the immediate subject, under the hope that attention may be drawn by my sketch to what is imperatively required of English historians in the matter. Elsewhere I hope I have resisted the temptation to ramble off into a set of lectures. But, unless I have managed it very unskilfully, some insight into the past ought to be gathered from these materials out of which I have endeavoured to distil the spirit. Many ancient families, long ago extinct and forgotten, will once more walk the stage. If we fail to extract from their mute lips, as they come and go, all the answers we desire in our eager questionings, they may at least be said, almost too literally, to impersonate 'the abstract and brief chronicles of the time.'

The reader need not fear that his patience will be tried by the petty details of modern events, such as hundreds of family histories might disclose. The limits of the accompanying sketch—and it is only a sketch—are drawn back far behind the date even of the later papers contained in the Gardiner-

Brocas chest. It does indeed virtually stop at the Restoration of Charles II.; after which, however important to those immediately concerned, there is nothing of any public interest. Nor, in printing the deeds, has it been thought well to go down later, with an exception or two, than the fifteenth century. It is of old England and old France that these pages speak, and of them alone.

It will be seen in the notes that I have been indebted to many friends for assistance, and I here offer to them, as well as to others in public libraries and elsewhere who are not mentioned, my hearty thanks; but it would be unpardonable if I did not further particularise in two or three instances. I should have been in great difficulty with respect to the French portion of my work if I had not been generously aided by the veteran author, M. Francisque Michel, whose intimate knowledge of the mediæval history of his country, and especially of the Gascon Rolls, has been placed at my disposal; I should have shrunk from the audacity of handling with unpractised pen the mysteries of English antiquarianism if I had not been supported by the friendly counsel of Mr. Dudley Cary-Elwes, already favourably known in these matters; and I have been saved from numerous errors as to the mediæval history of Hampshire by the great knowledge of these particular subjects most liberally confided to me by Mr. F. J. Baigent, of Winchester. Amongst other things his residence in that city has enabled him to master the Episcopal Registers with a completeness to which I could make no pretensions. His special contributions are marked by the initials of his name. Mr. Salter, of Basingfield, has kindly helped me on certain heraldic questions; and I have been fortunate in securing the efficient services of Mr. R. E. G. Kirk for the greater part of my researches in the Record Office. Nor must I omit to mention the assistance I have received from Hampshire country gentlemen in dealing with the ancient families of their county, especially Sir William Cope, Bart., of Bramshill, and Sir Nelson Rycroft, Bart., of Kempshott Park. Mr. Chaloner W. Chute, of

the Vyne, has also most efficiently helped me in various ways. I have been equally fortunate in Northamptonshire, where, amongst several persons who have given aid, I must especially distinguish Mr. Matthew Bigge of Oundle, not only for his zealous investigations, but also for having procured access to the valuable papers in possession of Mr. Watson of Rockingham Castle.

Finally it is right to say that the descendants on both sides of the ancient House which forms the subject of this book have given me every facility for recovering the past, as also, in reference to the French branch, the Comte de Brocas who now represents it. If I require their forgiveness for sweeping away, as they may think, too ruthlessly, what I have ventured to call family legends, they will, I trust, find some compensation in being now enabled to lay a firmer hold on the real facts of the distinguished history of their clan.

MONTAGU BURROWS.

OXFORD: *June* 1886.

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NOTE.

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BOOK I.

RISE OF THE FAMILY OF DE BROCAS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

The writer of these pages is willing to confess that he relies upon the earlier portions of this history, rather than the later, as likely to prove attractive to the general reader. But when that reader has been introduced to the Gascon history of the De Brocas family and their clan, to their gradual preparation for the service of the English Crown, and to the English career of the Brocas knights, he may fairly demand to know something about their subsequent fate; and if he finds that part of the story less interesting he will, at any rate, not find it long. Moreover he is not bound to study the Notes, still less the Deeds, which are here presented to the little world of antiquaries with a sincere expression of regret that the task of editing them has not fallen into more experienced hands.

As to the earlier portion of the narrative, if it has ever struck the thoughtful reader of history that there must be something to be said about the English rule in Aquitaine, or Gascony, for the great period of three hundred years, that such an imperial position cannot but have been a constituent element of the national life of England, and that it surely ought not to remain for ever enshrouded in its present palpable darkness, he may be glad to see even a few rays of light reflected upon the subject by the story of these Gascons.

When we come to the early experiences of the family which settled in England, the very enumeration of the offices they held under the Crown will show that their career ought to make some contribution to our knowledge of a brilliant, but still very obscure, period of history. Under two kings, and those by no means the least interesting of the

great English series, Edward III. and Richard II.—to some extent also under Edward II.—some ten of these men, in three successive generations, were favoured courtiers and highly trusted servants. They were intimately associated with every transaction of that romantic time, and divided amongst them the offices of Master of the Horse, Chief Forester of Windsor, Warden of King's castles, gaols, and parks, Captain of Calais, Controller of Calais, Constable of Aquitaine, Controller of Bordeaux, Ambassador, Chamberlain to the Queen, Carver to the Queen, Chamberlain of the Exchequer, King's Clerk of the Works, Masters of the Royal Buckhounds, and more besides. At the period when English chivalry was at its proudest height, three at least of the family were knights at the same time, one of whom is said by a French chronicler, confirmed by other indications, to have been a chief comrade and favourite of the Black Prince. They are found at Crecy, at the Siege of Calais, at Poitiers, and at Najara. One, if not two of them, met death in defence of the English shores, dying for their English lords as their ancestor, Arnald de Brocas, fell, *in partibus Scotiæ*—probably Bannockburn.

But one of them alone has found a place in history. With the second Sir Bernard Brocas, the steadily rising tide of the family fortunes came to a sudden and untimely turn. He was the too-faithful servant of the hapless Richard, executed and attainted for his share in the miserable insurrection which doomed to destruction the erring monarch in whose favour it took place.

Till that moment few families ever seemed to be more prosperously advancing towards the grandeur which others have achieved with very much less claim upon their Sovereign and country. Territorial greatness followed in the wake of distinguished service and the spoils of war. Rich marriages, one after another, placed the family on an ever higher and higher level. The presence of able clerics of the brotherhood, clear-headed lawyers and administrators, side by side with the gallant knights, all giving mutual help to each other, and all specially useful in drawing close together the ties between their adopted country and her possessions on the Continent, pointed to a great position amongst the baronage of England. Not that the knights were so celebrated for their prowess as to be enshrined in the Rolls of the Garter, or to force their way, against the anti-Gascon prejudices of Froissart, into his enchanting pages. We shall see, as we proceed, that there may have been other reasons why they failed to attract the interest of the warlike chronicler. Nor were the Brocases who filled the office of King's Clerk of the Works such great men as William of Wykeham, who succeeded one and preceded another in that or a similar office. Nor was the first Sir Bernard, though the intimate friend of Wykeham, as he was of the Black Prince, and though he sat in ten Parliaments,

so exclusively allied to either of the two contending parties in the State as to achieve the repute of a statesman. But they were a brave and capable body of men, accomplished and prudent, dear to the Royal Family, and well aware of the advantages to be obtained from that connection. They never recovered the fall of Richard II. Our narrative will show that there is no ground whatever for mixing them up with his misdeeds. On the contrary, we may reasonably connect the first Sir Bernard Brocas with the better portion of his career. If the second Sir Bernard is liable to suspicion, there is at least no proof. If guilty, he paid the awful penalty.

The narrative now changes its character, but supplies many points of interest. Taught by adversity, the family evinced its prudence by resting satisfied with the humbler position into which it fell. It was, indeed, restored in blood and estate by the clemency of Henry IV., who had grown up in the midst of it when its fame was high; but forfeiture and attainder involved an owner of land in many difficulties, from which even the careful precautions taken by the members of this family could not wholly defend them. From resentment, or for merely prudential reasons, we find some branches of them closely allied, when the Wars of the Roses had broken out, with the Yorkist chiefs; but the heads of the family appear to have adhered—for some time at least—to the Lancastrians; and for once they emerge from a national struggle without loss. They were, indeed, at this time only esquires, and the esquires did not suffer like the barons, or even the knights.

They do not emerge so well out of the next civil war. They had swollen once more to knighthood and to wealth under the Tudor reigns, but the family has deteriorated, and is no longer well represented in its chiefs. The Great Rebellion finds it already impoverished by extravagance, but it is ruined—at least in part—by what was more honourable, its ancestral loyalty to the Crown. The legend that several members of the family were slain in that cause can indeed only possibly apply to one of its juvenile members; but it is certain that their old mansion was fortified and held for the king, and equally certain that their ancient position now irrevocably passed away, along with their plate their heirlooms, and most of their estates. They creep out from the struggle shorn of nearly all their numerous manors, but still clinging with indomitable pertinacity to the two ancient hereditary seats which, protected by settlements, had alone remained to them from beginning to end, Beaurepaire and Roche Court, both in Hampshire. In the latter have remained to the present hour the direct lineal representatives of the House.

Not so, however, with the ancient hereditary office, acquired by the first Sir Bernard Brocas in 1366, the Mastership of the Royal Buckhounds. This peculiar distinction, not indeed so prominently marked as the King's Championship, also, till of late years, hereditary

in a line of Commoners, but interesting in its own way, will require a special chapter, and may, perhaps, be held to constitute one more claim to public notice. Numerous documents attest the difficulties which the family experienced during the later Middle Ages, in retaining the salary and the honours which handed down from age to age their ancient fame; but in the general wreck, perhaps in connection with the necessities of Charles I., this claim to an ancient office also went down for ever. In a humbler sense than the Courtenays, they might have taken part in the plaintive wail—

Ubi lapsus? Quid feci?

It is not to be said of many families that they have been thrice ruined in the cause of their Sovereign, nor perhaps of any that such a remarkable fact has been hitherto unknown to the public. On this point the English Brocases have exhibited a marked contrast to the career of the existing French branch of the House. It will be seen that, though the descent of that branch cannot be traced authoritatively from the old Anglo-Gascon stock about to be described, still less from that of England, there is a moral certainty that they are descended from the former. At any rate they can trace an unbroken line of ancestors for something like four centuries without dispute, and can regard their history from a more agreeable point of view than their English kinsmen. In their branch came out also, soon after the French sovereignty had superseded the English, and in a not dissimilar manner, the vigorous characteristics which had led to the success of those kinsmen. Gathering round their ancient, immediate lords, the powerful Sieurs D'Albret, and serving also in the regular army which Charles VIII. and his successors first introduced under the guise of Royal Guardsmen into the European system, their interests became identified both with these lords and with the Court. When the great representative of the House D'Albret, Henri Quatre, became king, they shared the rise of one for whose cause members of their family had fought and died. Prosperous marriages and Court favour, evinced by frequent visits of grateful Sovereigns to their Gascon mansions at Figues and at Casteljaloux, have distinguished their honourable line of ancestry; and though, as in all ancient descents, branch after branch has become extinct, yet the direct male line has been preserved, and still flourishes in the neighbourhood of the very same localities in which their Anglo-Gascon ancestors manfully contended for the cause of the Plantagenets more than six centuries ago. Nor has the family any reason to be ashamed of the gallant Huguenots who broke away from the parent stem, and one of whom founded an Irish family whose representatives in the female line still cherish the old Gascon patronymic.

Such is the general outline of the history we are about to trace. There will not be found in these pages any record of great deeds such

as have distinguished certain noble families whose history is that of England itself; nor, on the other hand, can these records pretend to illustrate the social life of the people by the same domestic touches as are supplied by the Paston Letters; yet how isolated do those chance-recovered letters stand! The Brocas history has distinct claims of its own. It possesses a truly English interest, extending back some centuries before the time of which the Paston Letters treat; and if the vivid pictures which those letters present are not forthcoming, we can at least link together from authentic documents a tolerably substantial chain of continuous family life for many ages. It is this continuous life of particular families which makes a nation.

It is unnecessary to say more as to the need of some authentic history of the House than to point to the absolute impossibility of gathering it from any existing source. So old and intimate a connection, by ties of blood and property, with Hampshire and other counties, brings their name to the front as a matter of course in many a county history and genealogical paper; but the errors and inventions, even in the best of these, are simply innumerable. It is thus that a character of myth and legend attaches to the name which does no credit to an age of research, and which nothing short of a detailed narrative can dispel. There is more than one intelligent but impatient inquirer who has, in consequence of discovering so many unfounded 'Brocas legends,' receded to the point of utter scepticism as to the family having ever held any place of importance at all. So far is that from being the case that these pages will make it clear enough that the mediæval history of Hampshire is quite incomplete without some knowledge of a family which not only held for centuries numerous estates within its limits, but oftener, with very few exceptions, than any other, served their county as Sheriffs and Knights of the Shire. The ancient county families which still hold their old lands in Hampshire are far from numerous. It is said that they may be counted on the fingers of one hand.[1] Nor, as we shall see, is Hampshire the only county on the history of which these papers will throw light.

It may not be out of place to add one very trifling consideration to the foregoing. Eton men and Windsor residents will at last learn from this account of the estates held by the family at Windsor and Eton, what is the meaning of the familiar term, 'The Brocas.' Curiosity must sometimes arise as to the origin of so peculiar a name, and some very strange answers have been given in 'Notes and Queries,' as well as elsewhere, to persons who have inquired why men so designate that fine clump of trees which form a conspicuous object in the beautiful view, that familiar meadow, with its little boating world, and the street by which access is gained to it from the town.

[1] See book vi., chap. ii., part i.

Even writers like Tighe and Davis, who were aware of the origin of the name, have been little more fortunate than the inventors of quaint derivations in carrying conviction; for their chronology of the family has been hopelessly confused. They did not understand that Sir John de Brocas acquired these lands and other neighbouring estates before Edward III. made Windsor Castle what it is. His descendants had ceased to reside in those parts long before Eton College was built, and left them altogether not long after that event. Traditions of a private family are soon lost amidst the building of royal palaces and the foundation of royal colleges. *Stat nominis umbra.*

CHAPTER II.

THE BROCASES OF LEGEND.

So much of what has hitherto been popularly known about this family being legendary, a very few words on the legends must precede the facts.

The Brocas family is by no means the only one in England which has for ages vainly cherished the belief that its ancestors 'came over with the Conqueror.' But few are able to offer a better excuse. Is it not to be found so stated more than two hundred years ago, in the records of the College of Arms? Has not more than one magnificently blazoned pedigree come forth from those mystic recesses bearing incontrovertible evidence of the fact in black and gold? Was there not a peculiarly imposing Roll of this sort burnt in the great Fire of London? Have not scores of county histories, books of reference like Burke's 'Commoners,' heraldic books and topographical magazines, endorsed the story? Is it not to be found in so many words on the very monument of Sir Bernard Brocas, in Westminster Abbey, the 'lord,' as the verger told Sir Roger de Coverley in the 'Spectator,' 'who had cut off the King of Morocco's head'?[1] And was it likely that so great a man, buried so long ago as 1395, in a favoured place close to his master, King Richard, then at the height of power, should have been a man of yesterday? Who would dare assign him any less ancient pedigree than one which dated from the Conquest?

And was not the very sum, down to a shilling, granted to this companion of the Conqueror, mentioned in a hundred places, the 400 marks with which his wide lands had been secured, and the very castle round which he and his victorious soldiers dug a great moat, still visible in its entirety at Beaurepaire? Did not this great man even live long enough to join the First Crusade? And did not the same authorities declare that after such an eventful career he had after all reached home to die a peaceful death, or at least to be peaceably buried at Guildford?

And yet this romantic story, so authoritatively vouched, so circumstantial, so imposing, is perhaps a little commonplace, a little too much like many other such legends. The real history of the family is

[1] No. 329: Sir Roger 'was very attentive to everything he said, particularly to the account he gave us of the lord,' &c.

infinitely more interesting and original. A very slight breath of critical inquiry is enough to blow down the fragile fabric like a house of cards; and only a little research has been needed in order to reconstruct the true outline so long hidden from sight.

The grounds for such a sweeping criticism may be briefly stated. A most suspicious, if not fatal, circumstance meets us on the threshold. The established and 'authenticated' pedigree gives us four persons named 'Bernard Brocas' in succession, all of whom are knights, and only four, to cover a period of more than 230 years after the Conquest. This is incredible. It is a mere repetition of one known name, dated back by some 300 years, and repeated by way of emphasis. It would have been more prudent to have varied the names, and given a few more of them. But how could the College of Arms pass such a pedigree? The officers of that institution will not hesitate to tell us that this is only one out of hundreds of cases in which the 'Visitations' of the seventeenth century, the earliest authority in this case producible, betray their source. The earlier officers of the College have received, and so modern ones re-issue, these legends, and—shrug their shoulders. The fact is that the heralds who made such returns were already separated from the Middle Ages by an immense space of time, and had to accept what families offered them as to the origin of their race. They might test, and were fairly accurate as to, the immediately preceding generations; but unless their statements of early descent can be substantiated by some evidence which modern research can apply, they must only be taken for what they are worth. That value may in the present case be represented by a cypher.

It was an easy matter to search the well-known printed authorities, the Roll of Battle Abbey, Domesday Book, the Roll of Caerlaverock, and the list of great families extant in the reign of Henry III. No Brocas met the eye. The same result followed the consultation of the *Inquisitiones post mortem*, or Escheats, and the other similar volumes which came out at the public expense, so usefully for the world, some fifty years ago. Finally, the Record Office has been subjected to a diligent search. No ancient series of documents in that wonderful repository has been neglected, but the result has been the same. These records deal in different ways with every description of landed property, and every name of the slightest importance turns up in such a search. The absence of the name amongst landed proprietors for 250 years after the Conquest may, it is believed, be of itself accepted as conclusive.

When, then, did the family of De Brocas appear in England, with their half-French, half-Spanish patronymic? The names of the heterogeneous mass of foreigners planted by the Conqueror on every part of English soil, from knights and esquires down to cooks and barbers; the importations of Flemings, Poitevins, and Provençals,

due to his successors, were pretty well known, and many had already passed away as they had come. There remained one, at first unsuspected, line of inquiry ; but as soon as the right track was discovered, it was found that every by-path led into it. The reigns of Henry III. and the Edwards had brought the provinces of south-west France, the great inheritance which Eleanor of Guienne brought to Henry II., into a close relation with England. The names of 'Aquitaine' (to be officially revived by Edward III.) and of 'Guienne' were already giving place to the generic term 'Gascony;' and in the records of the English government of these provinces made during the frequent visits of the kings, called the 'Gascon Rolls,' was found at last the object of the search. The name did not, indeed, occur in Carte's 'Catalogue' till the reign of Edward II., soon after which the notices are frequent enough, and were already well known, though supposed to belong to a family with a Conquest pedigree. But the Rolls themselves, as distinct from the 'Catalogue,' disclosed it as early as 1242, and in the next few chapters it will be seen how plainly the hint was capable of being followed up. Subsequently the name was discovered in a list of Gascon officers serving Edward I. in his conquest of Scotland, and this is the earliest reign in which it is found in any purely English document. The family was soon perceived to be nothing more nor less than a clan of Gascon gentlemen, constantly employed by the English kings both in Gascony and England, till a series of interesting circumstances led to the transportation, through the agency of the Court, into England, of a little group of youths belonging to their leading branch. There, from 1314 onwards, they took root and flourished.

The family papers, now for the first time accessible to criticism, tell precisely the same tale. They have evidently been preserved, wherever they could be of the least use as title-deeds, with religious care. What do we find? There are, indeed, early documents belonging to families with which the Brocases intermarried; but the first which belongs to themselves is dated 14 Edward II. (1321). It is the conveyance of a small property at Windsor to John de Brocas and his wife. He was then a young officer of the Royal Household, and had been so for at least seven years. From that date the deeds are continuous and abundant.

One more fact may be here stated. The ancient legend received a severe shock when it was discovered from the deeds—and this has been known in Hampshire, it seems, for some years—that the very estate of Beaurepaire, where the valiant 'Norman' knight was supposed to have built his castle and fenced it with the mighty moat, only came into possession of the family during the reign of Edward III. It had previously been the property of the Peeches [Peaches], and was part of the wide lands granted to a real Norman companion of the Conqueror—Hugh de Port. As to the strange assertion that Guild-

ford was the burial-place of the supposed crusader, it required no great acumen to perceive that the intimate relations with that place of the earliest real Brocases who settled in England had suggested the idea, and that the antedating of those relations by about 220 years had presented no further difficulty than the rest of the legend. The connection with the princely House of Foix, claimed for the companion of the Conqueror, has not revealed itself to any research, and was no doubt only a loose way of hinting that there had been some notion of the family descent from a Gascon stock.

In short, what has here been styled the legendary period is a mere 'wind-bag' of the imagination. We shall explore the position of the De Brocas clan in Gascony before it commences its English career; we shall then observe the fortunes of its pioneer members in England, and trace the progress of the succeeding generations. The growth of the legend, pieced together by some fertile brain, will then appear more intelligible; and at the same time we shall perhaps be disposed to think that the position of the founders of the family in England was quite remarkable enough to make it natural that their admiring descendants, long fallen from their high estate, should form the idea of pushing them backwards to the twilight times of demigods, the companions of the terrible Conqueror, the quasi-Homeric heroes of the great Anglo-Norman epic. Their career was, however, too fine to need any aid but that of truth.

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLY-ENGLISH GOVERNMENT OF GASCONY.

Few fields of research would repay the labour of an Englishman better than the history of Aquitaine, Guienne, or Gascony, by whichever of these general names we choose to call it, during the three centuries of its government by kings of England, who, besides their own islands, governed, or claimed to govern, rather more than half France. There is indeed a 'History of Gascony,' published in 1847 by the Abbé Monlezun, himself a Gascon; but the reader will scarcely find anything there concerning the English rule, the methods of government, the revenues, the details of administration, the names, character, or family of the officers employed, the alliances of the English princes, or even as to the localities themselves of that most interesting country. It is a lengthy and laborious account of a French province, the English connection with which was a mere passing incident of no particular importance to anyone. Some light has indeed been thrown of late years, by writers of a superior sort, upon the ancient institutions of these provinces; but neither do M. Rabanis[1] or M. Brissaud[2] pretend to give a history of the English government of Aquitaine; still less does M. Bémont,[3] who supplies a valuable monograph on the short period of Simon de Montfort's lieutenancy, or M. Francisque-Michel, who has written an exhaustive work on the commerce of Bordeaux,[4] and is now bringing out the 'Gascon Rolls.' None of these can be neglected by the future historian; but the history is yet to come. Not till then, we may add, shall we understand the Plantagenet period of the history of England.

The above may sound too sweeping an assertion; but the reader is begged to bestow upon it a fair consideration, and at least to reflect how many problems connected with this period are still awaiting solution. It is not too much to say that we know more about the

[1] *Administration Municipale &c. de Bordeaux; Revue Historique de droit Français, &c.* 1861.

[2] *Les Anglais en Guyenne.* Paris: 1875.

[3] *Simon de Montfort.* Par M. Charles Bémont. 1884.

[4] *Hist. du Commerce &c. à Bordeaux, principalement sous l'Administration Anglaise.* 1867.

Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods of our history than we do about the era of the Plantagenets. To the student of English history the key to a large part of it will be found in the study of this English government of its Gascon provinces. Thus alone can he expect to understand the secret of the Hundred Years' War and all that grew out of it, the reflex action of Gascony upon England and especially on the growth of its constitution, the commerce of England, the personal history of its kings and leading families. Nor is it a mere vacuum that we have to fill up. Rather, in consequence of that vacuum, the whole character of the relations between England and her Gascon provinces has been misrepresented by our leading historians, annalists, and biographers. Perhaps the wisest of them have been those who have altogether dropped the subject, as most of them have, in the most naive manner, and thus left the reader to imagine what he pleases. Some of the French writers above mentioned show a far keener appreciation of its importance.[1]

And yet the materials for a history have been lying for centuries close within our reach. The Gascon Rolls, containing many thousands of official documents, extending over two centuries out of the three during which our island was connected with its dependency, were brought off from Bordeaux when the English were expelled in 1453. Ever since that date they had been deposited in the Tower of London, till of late years, when they were transferred to the Record Office. The magnitude and expense of the task has hitherto, we must suppose, deterred those from whom the publication of this priceless series of papers might have been expected. All the more honour to the veteran author, M. Francisque-Michel, who has just published a first volume of the Rolls, dealing with a small portion of the period. This is quite as much an English as a French matter. The French Government, however, has been enlightened enough to undertake the expense of the work. Is not the call upon England to take measures for producing the required history all the more deserving of attention, now that so much is being done by those who are certainly not more concerned?

Until this year (1885) these Rolls have only been known by certain extracts from them in Rymer's 'Fœdera,' and by Thomas Carte's 'Catalogue,' a useful publication of the early part of last century, presented by that ardent Jacobite to the French nation in gratitude for the shelter afforded him in exile. It was at a time when the liberties of the old Gascon provinces being threatened, a wide-spread desire was expressed by their inhabitants to know what those liberties had originally been under the English. But a mere catalogue, valuable as it has proved, does not go far; and, most unfortunately, the

[1] Mr. Longman, in his *History of the Reign of Edward III.*, has recently set a good example in bringing the affairs of Aquitaine, during the wars of that prince and his son, more prominently to the front.

errors and wholesale omissions are not only numerous, but deplorable. Thanks to M. Francisque-Michel's private notes of reference, made during his study of the Rolls, and kindly passed on to the present writer, it has been found possible to repair these omissions as far as the De Brocas history is concerned.

In the absence, therefore, of any account of Anglo-Gascon affairs which might save us trouble, we must grope about in the best way we can for the position held by the clan in Gascony before they made their English adventure. The process necessitates a momentary glance at the few simple facts which are available.

There are no records for the century which elapsed after Eleanor of Guienne, or Aquitaine (for the words are really the same, and in her case had the same meaning), brought (in 1151) a duchy and a county, which were very like a kingdom, to Henry Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, who was to add, immediately afterwards, the realm of England to his great possessions. The Gascon Rolls do not commence till 1242. We hear of little else in this century besides the great feudal baronage of the provinces. All the notices which reach us in the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I. bear conspicuous marks of a powerful and semi-independent body of lords, who played an important part in the struggles between the harassed father and his rebellious sons. Forced to yield to the hand of a master in Cœur de Lion, the special head of his mother's inheritance, and to do so even when he was a mere boy, they did pretty much as they liked when the strong hand was withdrawn. Indeed, by his junction with the French king against his own father Richard taught them a lesson which they were not slow to learn.

The English Sovereignty had placed these barons in a position more convenient and agreeable to a feudal society than any other in Europe. While the 'Roy Outremer' was their liege lord, he himself, as Count of Anjou and Poitou, and Duke of Guienne, owed fealty for these provinces to the Kings of France; and as the latter, by absorbing the possessions of the Peers of France, gradually emerged out of the rank of petty sovereigns, they, very naturally, the more insisted on a definite recognition of their suzerainty over the English lordships in the south. Thus the nobles served two masters, which, with the best intentions, is not easy. But these were not two masters in the ordinary sense: they were two kings. Such a position often involved disagreeable consequences; but they were more than balanced in the eye of these lords by the exquisite satisfaction of being thus enabled to play off, on every possible occasion, one against the other. This they were accustomed to do so effectually that the process almost advanced to the rank of a science; and it was by this process that they, as well as the people generally, acquired the English sanction of their valuable and peculiar privileges. It was thus that they learnt to

appreciate, and a large proportion of them to cling with affection to, a dynastic arrangement which first gave or recognised their rights, and then, from the action of natural causes, tended to conserve them.

And here it may be remarked that the anomalous relations of England to her provinces beyond sea, formed as they had been at first by the personal ties of inheritance, and not by conquest, could never have lasted for three centuries unless it had been for the interest of both parties that they should continue. It is remarkable that even so observant a writer as Hallam should have failed to notice this great historical fact. Sustained upon the principle of mutual advantage, far more than on ancient feudal and family relations, the substantial affection of the inhabitants for the English rule, especially in the maritime and commercial centres, is the leading feature in the complicated series of circumstances which the historian will have to trace. It will be evident enough when the subject is once presented in full.

The confusion of feudal obligations here mentioned, common in a sense elsewhere, but never so accentuated as in Aquitaine, coincided with the differences of race and history which distinguished the people from their neighbours. It was in these provinces that the old Gallo-Roman population had successfully resisted absorption by the Teutonic conquerors of the rest of Gaul. Even as late as the early part of the twelfth century they were hardly at all connected with the Crown of France. They had long previously bought a practical independence by the highest of all claims—self-sacrifice for Christendom. It was under a Count of Aquitaine, a virtual king, that the first fierce onset of the invading Moors and Arabs, before their final overthrow at the hand of Charles Martel, was splendidly met and shattered by the Christian heroes of the province. The independent spirit of their neighbours, the Basques, who gave their name to Gascony, was not without its influence on the character of the people; and the jealous chivalry of Gothic Spain, with constitutional rights ever asserted against its kings, could not but affect a country with which it was in close relation. Thus was maintained and strengthened from generation to generation an active, sturdy, vigorous nature, not unlike that of the English themselves, but more lively, more impregnated with the brightness of southern suns.

The variety of the climate and territory—mountain and plain, barren waste and fertile valley, the unique river-system, fed from the Pyrenean snows,[1] and spread like a network over the whole country,

[1] There are few more happy and spirited descriptions of the varied associations called up by the sight of the Pyrenees than are contained in the prize-poem ("Montes Pyrenæi") composed in 1826 by the late Dr. F. K. Leighton, Warden of All Souls College, Oxford. Though it has long sunk under the usual fate of these ephemeral productions, it held its place at the head of them all for many successive academical generations. The writer of these pages has recently met two distinguished scholars of that date who knew the poem

gathering up into the stately Garonne, and centreing in Bordeaux, the queen of French maritime cities, the long seaboard and navigable estuaries which bred a race of hardy seamen, the aptitude of the soil for the growth of the vine—all this had also its peculiar effect; but far above all this, above the Basque and Spanish influences, above even the effects of gallant resistance to external foes, we must place the underlying traditions of individual liberty derived from the old institutions of the Roman province. The traces of these institutions, especially in the allodial landed system of Aquitaine, are to be found everywhere contending with the feudal system introduced by the Teutonic settlers, and so tending to nationalise and localise the whole province. Not knowing how their rights and privileges had been acquired and preserved through the earlier 'Dark Ages,' the simple people of Aquitaine were accustomed to account for them as follows:—'When the great King Charles went to reconquer the country from the Saracens, he took into his pay the nobles and knights who would not otherwise serve him, but the common people served without pay, and asked for nothing. That is why, when he bestowed lands on the nobles, he bound them to military service and other duties; but to the lower class, out of gratitude, and in order to encourage population, he granted their properties free from all obligation of service, declared them entirely free, and required nothing from them beyond their assemblage for the purpose of promoting public order.'[1]

Thus in the country districts, all alike—nobles, small landholders, and peasants—were born and bred to an inheritance of freedom, differing in many respects from the condition of any other people.

The effect of all these peculiarities in isolating Aquitaine even from its neighbouring province of Languedoc, with which it had much in common, was very distinctly marked at the period of the Albigensian Crusade. The ambition of Philippe Auguste, the prowess of Louis VIII., the fury of the Popes and their diabolical agents, the ferocity of the first Simon de Montfort, were sufficient to break up for ever the independence of the powerful Counts of Toulouse—the greatest event perhaps, and the most far-reaching, of the century. The condition of Aquitaine was left practically untouched by the movement.

by heart, thus realising Longfellow's pretty conceit—'I shot an arrow into the air.' The following lines are redolent of the healthy fragrance of those picturesque slopes, so well known to modern Englishmen, which formed the southern fringe of Gascony:

—'subit aura recessus
Mollior, et scatebris mulcet levis unda calorem.
Mille ibi desiliunt muscosis fontibus amnes,
Vallesque arrident, sparsisque intersita dumis
Pascua, velleribus niveum victura Galesum.'

[1] M. Rabanis, *ut supra*.

And yet it had not been without its share in the various influences which had made their way to Languedoc through Italy and Aragon.

The age succeeding that of the early Plantagenet rulers of Aquitaine was marked by essential differences in the relations of England to the province, but the characteristics of the baronage and the mixed influences above described are more and more conspicuous. In the lifetime of Eleanor of Guienne, of her husband and her sons, the well-accustomed tie of feudal lordship presents itself as a living thing. The English kings appear before their southern subjects as Dukes of Guienne. Their continuous dominions in France afford a ready means of communication with all their provinces alike, independent of maritime intercourse. But the loss of Normandy and its dependencies made a vast change. The 'Roy Outremer' could no longer reach his subjects by land, and Bordeaux became the great central meeting-point of the two races. The anarchy of the reigns of John and Henry III. produces its natural effect. We find ourselves present at a continuous struggle to prevent the absorption of the Plantagenet dominions by the rapidly-growing power of the Kings of France. Following this, the reigns of the three Edwards form a distinct period of their own. The decadence of the Plantagenets under Richard II., the brief resumption of continental power under Henry V., and the final decay which issues in the expulsion of 1453, make up a fourth division of the subject.

In all these periods alike, the earliest as well as the latest, we have, in dealing with the history of these provinces, to lay our account not only with the peculiarities of race, situation, inherited personal rights and feudal obligations which the English found when they came, but with a developed communal system in all the large towns, rapidly completing itself under the English domination, confirmed again and again by Eleanor and both her sons, and enfranchised more extensively than in any other part of France in the matter of wills, wardship, marriage, succession, and the right of accused persons to bail; in short, in the liberties which make a man free. Thus we find ourselves in the midst of a society in which there is an unusually marked variety of conflicting elements, which nevertheless have to mingle with one another as best they may, under the hand of a King of England who is, for these provinces, a vassal of the King of France.

Bearing in mind these peculiarities of country, people, and institutions, we shall better understand the progressive steps by which the English government of Aquitaine was brought to the condition in which we find it during the Hundred Years' War. It is then that the subjects of our narrative present themselves prominently on the stage. But the preceding age of Henry III. will also receive some illustration from the notices of their clan which are at our disposal, and we must now look at it somewhat more in detail.

The reign of Henry III. might not unfairly be described as a long, persistent, and, on the whole, successful effort to establish an efficient government of Aquitaine from Bordeaux, and thus to bring the naval strength and commercial resources of England to bear in the best possible manner against the growing power of the French Crown. After the shock which the English position had sustained under John, and during the minority of Henry, such a task, in the hands of so feeble a prince, might well appear impossible. That it succeeded, so far at least as to form an effective basis for the work of Edward I., was due to the action of feudal forces on a larger area than that of the English provinces, taken by themselves. For a time those greater forces absorbed and neutralised the smaller.

The minority of Louis IX. offered exactly the same opportunity for English interference in France which the earlier minority of Henry had offered for the French interference in England. It was a case of simple retaliation. Just as Louis VIII. had been called in by John's discontented subjects, so Henry was summoned to head the resistance of the great feudatories who fiercely writhed under the vigorous regency of Blanche, the French Queen-mother. Henry towered far above the heads of these men. Though actually he only held Aquitaine, he still received homage from Brittany and La Marche; he still regarded Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou as his own, torn shamefully by the French kings in its hour of weakness from the English Crown. It was a fine opportunity for a prince of a different sort from Henry. But though he exposed his deficiency in nearly all the qualities by which Blanche and the youthful Louis succeeded in saving their country, his wars and alliances, his very failures, were not without their effect in binding the people of Aquitaine to the English allegiance. He was obliged to be often present amongst them; and, when once there, the *oceanus dissociabilis* was not so easily dealt with as it is now-a-days, in a steam yacht supplied with every luxury. It was a serious sea voyage through the Bay of Biscay. Vast sums of money were spent in the province, by which Bordeaux especially benefited. English knights and archers, fighting under the same banner with their fellow-subjects, mingled freely with them, and learnt to distinguish friend from foe. Trade and commerce took a high development, and, indeed, became practically free. The system of administration became solidified. The result of the war was to simplify the task of government, for there was but one group of provinces left to deal with—those of Aquitaine in its more restricted sense.

It was well both for France and England that Henry failed, and that Louis, now of age, safe at last from the renewal of the English claims upon North France, had the far-sighted wisdom to leave to his discomfited opponents a task in Aquitaine which would assuredly have been beyond his own powers. France had already, and somewhat rapidly,

taken into her system as much as she could digest and assimilate. Both countries were thus left free to march forward in the paths of constitutional progress. For Aquitaine it was a clear gain that her nobles should for a time feel even the violent hand of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, contrast it with the gentle but feeble rule of Henry, and learn to value the firm and politic government of Prince Edward. In short, under Henry III.'s long reign we may compare the Gascons to some high-mettled, half-broken steed, struggling to throw the unskilful rider, but not quite succeeding, nor quite running away with him.

Let us now descend from the height of these necessary generalisations, and, by way of obtaining a more particular view of the work that was going on in the reigns of Henry III. and the Edwards, suppose the reader to glance his eye over the middle portion of Carte's 'Catalogue of the Gascon Rolls.' The provincial organisation being now nearly complete, it would be strange if the reflection did not occur to an Englishman that he is witnessing something with which he is more familiar than he expected to be. Is it mediæval Aquitaine, or is it modern India, whose government he is studying?—not, of course, in any sense whatever as to the people governed, but as to the multifarious nature of the administration, the multitude of English families engaged in the process, the interchange of products, the action and reaction of the two countries upon one another in peace and war, and the extremely delicate nature of their mutual relations. No colonial dependency of England has ever offered a similar parallel, nor, it may be safely said, ever will. In Aquitaine and in India alike the Englishman was, and is, a foreigner, with a home elsewhere: in our colonies men, with their families, settle, and only now and then return. Perhaps even, after an interval of five centuries and in spite of glaring differences, something may yet be learnt from the parallelism. Not that ours is the only country which has had similar experiences; but when we have wearied ourselves with exploring the meagre colonial records of ancient and modern times, it is possible that we might find more satisfaction in studying what lies so near at hand.

We have summed up Henry III.'s work, roughly enough no doubt, under the word 'Bordeaux.' This is the first idea which strikes the student of the Gascon Rolls. In the organisation of Aquitaine it holds the central and all-important place. It will be admitted by the French themselves that they owe the development of this noble city to the English. Under their rule it became what it is now—the metropolis of South-western France. Here dwelt the Seneschal of Aquitaine, a veritable viceroy; here, in time of war, the king's lieutenant; here was the King of England's palace. Here dwelt the Constable and Controller of Bordeaux; hence the Archbishop, a mighty Metropolitan, governed the Church of the Province. Here

was that famous Municipality whose roots struck down into the early ages of Christendom.

Many were the great buildings left behind them by the English at this place. It was a capital worthy of its political and commercial importance, and singularly adapted to be the point of union between a maritime people and a dependency which could only be reached by sea. Situated far up the estuary of the spacious Gironde, and yet not so far but that the largest fleets could ride safely on its 'noble tide,' while it was capable of the strong fortification which the English took care to provide, this place was pointed out by nature as the great emporium and citadel of that part of Europe, the radiating centre of a great civil and military administration.[1]

No commercial city in France or England could compare with Bordeaux. London was wealthy and squalid: Bordeaux was wealthy and beautiful. On its ample quays were landed the corn, cheese, butter, skins, fish, leather, rope, and, above all, the tin, the wool, and the cloth of England. From thence issued forth to the British and Flemish ports great fleets of wine-ships, generally sailing together for mutual protection, and governed, like men-of-war, by codes of laws. Free trade between the English and Gascons anticipated by centuries the modern lessons of political economy, and gave unfettered vigour to the commerce of both countries. Not only did all the roads of the province converge to Bordeaux, but it was the centre of that remarkable river-system already mentioned. The Garonne, the Dordogne, and the Adour, with their numerous affluents, circled throughout the whole extent of the land, and afforded admirable means of communi-

[1] Though of course many things have changed, the traveller finds it easier to conjure up the past at Bordeaux than at most places, for the river is the one great feature, and that does not change. The Garonne at Bordeaux is a far finer stream than the Thames at London, but it is more like it than any river in Europe on the point of its usefulness as a means of communication. Every species of merchandise finds its way, in spite of railways, from the sea-coast or the up-country in the great barges which line the whole length of the quays; but, unlike the Thames, these quays retain their ancient shelving construction, so that ships are still loaded and unloaded in the stream just as they were in the time of the English. Few views are finer than that from the end of the great bridge, from whence a forest of masts and a continuous crescent of handsome buildings meet the eye for more than three miles. It is still more striking at night. The citizens can hardly be blamed for anti-English feeling in having got rid of the civil buildings erected by the English, for they have actually carted away the beautiful and unique Roman monument called 'Piliers de Tutelle,' which, even in the last century, occupied the site of the present fine Opera-house; but it is nevertheless true that the only buildings, with one slight exception, which imagination can people with the ancient rulers of Aquitaine, are the churches. Of these the Cathedral is the one most identified with the English, but it is not of a style which does much credit to their architects, and loudly calls for judicious restoration. The beautiful Romanesque façade of La Sainte Croix, and the interesting interior of St. Seurin, were built before their time, but within those walls they worshipped. The chief remaining glory of the English period lies not in Bordeaux, but in the handsome country churches which sprang up under English influences, calling out, as their system of government did, local energy and individual taste.

cation with the neighbouring provinces. Hence the extraordinary magnitude of the Gascon wine trade. This formed the staple commodity of the whole province, and bestowed life and wealth on the whole population. The merchants sailed with their own wines in their own ships. Of such value were these wines to England that the nobles, bishops, clergy, the king himself, and the queen, all traded on their own account.[1] Sure of a hospitable welcome in the English ports, this fine Gascon commerce, not unnaturally, attracted the jealousy of the French, and numerous were the conflicts in which the Gascon and English traders fought on the same side against their rivals of the northern and north-western coasts of France. These contests never attained the dimensions of the great and furious battle between the Anglo-Gascon and Franco-Norman fishing fleets, which was the prelude of the Hundred Years' War; but they were the same in kind.

In short, each country was useful to the other in a degree which it requires in these days a stretch of imagination to conceive. No wonder, then, that the policy of the English Government was uniformly and consistently favourable towards its Gascon subjects, and so formed a powerful counterpoise to the inducements which were always presenting themselves in favour of the growing French sovereignty. As the northern and south-eastern, and then the eastern and the north-eastern, provinces of France came, one after another, under the direct dominion of the French Crown, it was impossible but that the fashion of the times, the pressure of the ever-tightening circle drawn round this isolated province, and the ties of blood, should operate in many directions towards incorporation with France. Even the language of the hereditary English princes and governing class was beginning to change under English influences; and the Gascons, however patriotically they might adhere to their own provincial dialect in preference to French, could not but feel English to be a foreign tongue. Each generation brought out the foreign element more and more. On the other hand, generation after generation had grown up under most advantageous relations with their hereditary princes, princes who had poured the resources of England into their lap; and they felt that they were holding a higher position as England's favoured dependency than they could expect to hold as an incorporated portion of overgrown France. If Aquitaine had been bounded by any natural frontier, its independence, it is easy to see, would have had a much longer duration. As it was, Bordeaux, the heart to and from which the arteries and veins of social and political life set forth and returned, retained its English vitality so much longer than all the rest of Gascony, because it had a frontier of its own in the broad river which washed its quays. Only after a prolonged struggle,

[1] *Hist. du Commerce &c. à Bordeaux.* Par M. Francisque-Michel.

maintained by the loyal city to desperation, was its final transference to France accomplished. Only by the light of these events can the subsequent history of the Bordelais be understood. It is a very interesting history, and not a little suggestive.

These observations apply in a minor degree to the whole of Aquitaine, though of course the interests of the cities were not only far from identical with those of the proprietors of land, but often opposed. The social and commercial quarrels common to the Middle Ages were to be found in full vigour, yet perhaps not more developed than elsewhere. But it may be safely said that nowhere was a politic rule more necessary in order to keep the two countries working together in tolerable harmony, and this policy was more easily understood, formulated, and maintained in reference to the commercial cities and classes than to the rest. Indeed, it came to very little more in the end than letting them do what they pleased. The popular Assembly gradually became the actual Government, though under the gentle control of English, or Anglo-Gascon, officials. But it was a much more difficult matter to deal with the great nobles and inland proprietors. It is of them chiefly, no doubt, that Froissart speaks when he says: 'Never were the Gascons firmly attached to one lord for thirty years together. Such is their unstable nature.'[1] The very necessity under which the English lay to grant concessions, pardons, and privileges formed an incessant inducement to turbulence.

Nor was it to be expected that, however plainly the governing race might, as a whole, perceive the necessity of a mild and beneficent rule, its particular members, placed in situations of command, should always make themselves agreeable. The English have not always been celebrated for conciliatory conduct, and that those in command must be English was in times of trouble—and these were the rule—a necessity. The chief military and civil posts were thus held by noblemen, knights, esquires, and ecclesiastical lawyers, who were too often regarded with jealousy and dislike. Perhaps, as in the case of Simon de Montfort, they were not so much disliked by the smaller landholders as by the larger; but no doubt M. Monlezun is right when he says: 'We Gascons, a gay and lively race, were never able to adapt ourselves to the grave and solemn manners of the English. To this antipathy was soon added the pain of seeing all the seneschalties and captaincies given to the men "d'outremer."'[2] But he is contradicted by a multitude of facts when he makes the sweeping statement that 'the English Government had never been favourably received by the Gascons, notwithstanding the material advantages they had received from it.' Much more truly does the learned historian of the Monastery of St. Sever remark: 'The citizens and monks of St. Sever were always faithful to the English, not only because they

[1] Book iii. c. 21. [2] Vol. iii. p. 396. Here the writer has the authority of Froissart.

recognised them as the legitimate lords of the province, but because of the numerous benefits they received from them. For this reason many a time have they suffered from the hostility of the French; but they bore themselves like brave men, accustomed to arms, and over and over again drove back the enemy.'[1] Nor may we refuse to believe that most accurate geographer, Adolphe Joanne, when he tells us that 'Les Landes, like a large part of Aquitaine, exhibited the warmest sympathy for the English, who, in a certain measure, represented liberty, municipal privileges, and decentralisation.'[2] References of the same sort might be multiplied to any extent.

Under these general circumstances a very large portion of the Gascon Rolls is, as we might expect, occupied with embassies and alliances, grants and forfeitures, appointments of officers, commissions of inquiry, musters of troops, and commercial privileges. Nor is it impossible, when once set upon the track, to perceive, as time goes on, amidst the coming and going of officials and the multitude of official details, a certain undercurrent of policy, sparingly indeed, but persistently pursued. This is the policy of gradually entrusting the Gascons themselves with their own government, educating with this view promising young men at the English Court—even settling them in England, and using the services of the more capable amongst them for civil and military purposes in England itself. Thus the two parts of the little Empire were to be knit together, and the reciprocal advantages in trade and commerce, which formed the basis of the connection, to be extended to the social life and territorial inheritances of both peoples. It is needless to say that it is under the reign of the great statesman-monarch, Edward I., that we begin to trace the progress of these ideas, but the way had been prepared by himself during the reign of his father.

[1] P. D. de Buisson, O.S.B., vol. i. p. 272. [2] *Géog. du Dép. des Landes*, 12th edition.

CHAPTER IV.

GASCONY UNDER THE EDWARDS.

We shall not understand the government of Gascony by the three Edwards unless we muster around them the Sovereign Powers with which they were in contact, and the great lords, or rather princes, of Aquitaine.

The wise and saintly Louis had, it is now admitted, done more to elevate and consolidate France than any of his predecessors; nor had the lessons he taught in France been thrown away either on Henry III. or Edward I. in Gascony. But his successors soon forgot an example such as only comes before the world now and then in the course of ages; and in Philip the Fair we cannot choose but identify the real author of the miseries which deluged both France and England during the Hundred Years' War. His perfectly unjustifiable conduct in stealing away the Gascon provinces of Edward I., at a moment when the power of that king was so severely taxed by the struggle in Scotland, was not much worse than many other so-called dexterous strokes of policy which the world has witnessed; but every succeeding act in the sanguinary drama may be traced to this source. Aquitaine was from that moment the bone of contention between the two Powers. Edward II. and Edward III. received the heritage of woe. The claim on the French Crown made by the latter monarch was nothing more nor less than the reply to a challenge long previously delivered, and repeated whenever a favourable opportunity occurred.

On the other side of the Pyrenees the Kings of Aragon and Castile were exercising a growing power over the Spanish peninsula in proportion as that of the Moors, already driven down into Grenada, declined; but though their attention was chiefly fixed on the south, they had by no means yet relinquished the grasp which they once held on the territories north of the Pyrenees. On the eastern half of those mountains the French, on the western the English, were only gradually unlocking the Spanish fingers one by one, till at last nothing remained but Navarre, part French, part Spanish, more Basque or Gascon than either—destined to be the mountain nurse of the heroic founder of the House of Bourbon. In studying the Gascon Rolls, few

things suggest the importance of Aquitaine to the development of English history more than the constant notices of the relations between England and these southern Powers. In many instances the position of Bayonne was the immediate occasion of the notice. It was a city only second to Bordeaux, and its trade depended largely on the friendship of Castile, for it was concerned with the whole north coast of Spain. Its fleets often acted an independent part. At this point the two countries were conterminous, and nature had left but little room for the passage between them.

It was one of the few clever things done by Henry III. that he put an end to the Castilian claims on Gascony, derived from the alleged gift of the province by Henry II., with his daughter Eleanor, to Alfonso III. This he did by marrying Prince Edward to the famous Eleanor of Castile. Not only may she share with St. Louis in the credit of making the son of the feeble Henry the first prince in Europe, but the union provided a surer frontier between the two States than troops or treaties could ever give. Secure upon his western borders, Edward made it his business to fortify himself on the side of Aragon. It was to protect his Gascon provinces that he accepted the arduous task of arbitration between the king of that country and the French princes. In the pause between the conquests of Wales and Scotland it was all-important to him, unable then to foresee the action of Philip the Fair, to leave no enemy in his rear. Again, the efforts of Edward III. to follow up the policy of his House, and obtain the hand of a Castilian king for his daughter, fill various pages in the Gascon Rolls. He passed on the same policy of alliance to his son. The unhappy alliance between the Black Prince and Peter the Cruel was a much more natural proceeding and less the impulse of mere chivalry than is usually represented. The mutual support of the two families was one of their firmest traditions.

We turn next to the great lords of Aquitaine and its neighbourhood, the quasi-kings who were by their situation subject to the currents and counter-currents of policy resulting, on the one hand, from the reciprocal action upon one another of the French, English, and Spanish forces, and upon the other, from their relation to the cities amongst which they dwelt, and the commercial population generally.

We may neglect the Counts of Toulouse, for their once great position had passed away. Not so that of the Comtes de Foix. These two princes held indeed directly of the Crown of France, but they were connected with Aquitaine by many ties besides those of proximity; and in the case of Foix, that House not only retained a large share of independence, but was generally represented by men of talent, courage, and turbulent, often unscrupulous, ambition. It exercised a power far beyond the proportion of its size and population, and was thus a

dangerous neighbour to the English kings, with whom, however, the Counts were sometimes allied, and after whose expulsion they became more and more powerful by means of great marriages. On the other hand, the Comtes d'Armagnac, the Sieurs D'Albret, and the Vicomtes de Bearn held of the kings of England as dukes of Guienne, though the last sometimes pretended that he held of no one. When the youthful Edward III. made his homage for Guienne to Philip VI. at Paris, the first two of these potentates stood, as they were feudally bound to do, one on either side of him. But it was not so easy to keep them steadily by his side in Aquitaine. Armagnac was generally more French than English. The troublesome condition of Bearn may be best illustrated in another chapter by the career of the last male chief of its ancient House, but the Sieurs D'Albret must have a separate notice in this place. Concerning both their territory and that of the lords of Bearn, the Gascon Rolls are full of suggestive hints. The two lines of princes had at least one thing in common. The Royal House of England found its best policy in attempting to bind them to itself by matrimonial alliances.

The difficulty in dealing with Bearn arose chiefly out of its strong position amongst the spurs of the Pyrenees. The Sieurs D'Albret were not so well situated for defence, but they had the advantage of Bearn on other points. Their territory blocked the way between Bordeaux and a great part of Aquitaine, and thus for England there was no choice in the matter; their alliance and goodwill were a necessity. Resident kings might no doubt have effectually tamed these chieftains, but they were too strong for seneschals of Gascony, and had to be governed by every species of politic method. So they prospered: so they learnt by degrees that it was best for them to support their English lord, making use of their excellent position to obtain their own terms. They made an equally dexterous use of their opportunities for taxing the trade of Bordeaux and Bayonne as it passed through their lands, and were not above helping themselves occasionally, after the fashion of the chiefs of the old Scottish Highlands. Thus they gradually enriched their barren inheritance, and laid the foundation of the fortunes which placed their descendants on the throne of France. Their most characteristic lords ruled in the days of Edward III. By the time of that king—if we may forestall our narrative by a century—they were already prosperous princes, proudly retaining a humble title. The father and son of the House, types of their predecessors, played a very important part in the war which Edward waged for the French Crown, for he determined to make Aquitaine the centre of the struggle, and he could not do without them. By his gift their possessions were greatly increased: large sums of money were granted or lent them. The father represented Edward in important embassies, and marriages were arranged, but never took place,

between the son, Bernard Ezio, and the king's cousin, sister of the Fair Maid of Kent, and again with his daughter, Isabella. That son received the appointment of 'King's Captain' in Aquitaine; and, along with the Seneschal of Gascony and another, was commissioned 'to compose dissensions amongst the nobles of Aquitaine.'[1] Edward's policy was rewarded by an unusually long period of loyalty on the part of these princes, both to him and his son; but at last, under the pressure of the Black Prince's somewhat arbitrary government in his later days, and the seductions of the French, it melted away. The marriage of Arnald Amanieu to a French princess instead of an English one was naturally most distasteful to the Prince of Wales. It was the marriage of a vassal into a hostile family, waiting its opportunity to spring upon the vassal's lord. High words passed, distrust ensued. It was with some difficulty that the chiefs of the House, already in a false position, followed the Prince to the Castilian war. It was not surprising that at the head of those who resisted the *fouage*, or hearth-tax, consequent upon that war, and made their appeal to the French king, appeared the Sieur D'Albret. In fact, no one joined more heartily in turning his lord out of his dominions than this Gascon chief. In vain his lands were declared to be forfeited and handed over to others.[2] That was easier said than done. But it is no less illustrative of the state of these provinces that we read in Froissart, a few years later, how bitterly this very man repented of his folly; nor was he the only person in Aquitaine who did not know, as the saying goes, when he was well off.

The difficulties presented by turbulent neighbours and subjects gradually convinced Henry III. that the personal influence of the sovereign, or his son, exerted on the spot, was the only effectual means of coping with them. Richard Cœur de Lion had been entrusted, as a mere youth, with the government. Why should not the well-beloved Prince Edward—the light of his father's eyes—though scarcely yet emerging from boyhood, be equally successful? No policy could have been more wise. The early initiation of such a capable nature in the responsibility of working this complicated machine proved to be the exact training which the youth required. Never did he follow Richard's example in turning his Gascon subjects against his father. Familiar from his childhood with the problem of government, under the rapidly changing conditions of society, his mind was always at work on its solution; and during the process his kindly interest in the people was gradually drawn out, his warm sympathies enlisted in their favour. His early marriage with one who brought from the borderland of Castile a gracious temperament, all akin by nature and education to that of her new subjects, strengthened the bonds between Edward and the land of his adoption. No doubt both

[1] Gascon Rolls, *passim*. [2] *Ibid.*

he and she easily framed their lips to pronounce the language, which, in its degree, might be styled a 'soft bastard Latin,' whose 'syllables did breathe of the sweet South.' If such a policy had been adopted and followed up in warm-hearted Ireland, at any time within the last century, would it be found in the state in which we find it now?

Further, his periods of residence were included within that wonderful sixteen years during which St. Louis, after his return from the Holy Land, weighed down in health and spirits under the memory of the dreadful scenes he had passed through, never again seen to smile, yet never wearied, spent day and night in laying the foundation of all that has been good for France ever since. On that model—somewhat perhaps too austere, but where can we find perfection?—Edward formed his own Court, so superior to his father's. Here he became familiar with that happy union which Louis exemplified of the idea of duty with the idea of beneficent progress; with the practice of severity till faction was laid low, then clemency; with the spectacle of personal self-sacrificing labour combined with the policy of enlisting new classes of the people in the task of government, and the systematic adjustment of a feudal system, already becoming antiquated, to the needs of a society demanding change. In contemplating the extraordinary 'freak of nature,' as men say, that such an eagle as Edward should have sprung from such an inferior brood, people have not sufficiently reflected on the circumstances of his early training—his uncle on the French throne, his Spanish wife, his Gascon experience. That early command was the seed-plot of his great after-life. It is not altogether out of place to compare it with the employment of the Duke of Wellington in Ireland and India, as the prelude of that successful career which left him the first man of his age.

Here, of course, we can only afford a glance at the results of Edward's Gascon government; and, for our present purpose, take his work as prince and king in one view. Besides his earlier periods of residence as King's Lieutenant, he was on two occasions during his mature manhood holding his Court in different parts of Gascony for several years; first, at the time of the lull which succeeded the Barons' War, and next, in the interval between his conquests of Wales and Scotland. To the ordinary reader of English history it seems strange and almost unaccountable that he whose presence was, at both periods, so urgently required in England, should be passing his time on the Continent. When the history of Aquitaine comes to be written, it will be seen that it was one of the wisest of his many wise schemes. Over his policy in Wales and Scotland writers have fought, and will for ever fight, with pens as keen as the swords of the combatants; but there can be no doubt as to his work in Gascony. Every moment of his sojourn in these parts, which could be spared from

international labours, would seem to have been employed in looking into the details of Gascon administration, repairing fortifications, building and chartering new towns, accustoming the nobles to assemble at his Court, composing their differences, and promoting good relations between the commercial classes of the two separated countries. Well did he understand the vital importance of a firmly cemented basis for the free development of the Empire which he sought to consolidate. It was a work worthy of 'the English Justinian.'

That such work was not unrewarded by the respect and affection of those concerned was visible when the Gascon and English fishing-fleets, a great host of hardy seamen, contended as one people against those of the Normans and French; still more when Philip the Fair stole away the Gascon castles by as distinct an act of fraud as was ever practised by a low sharper at a gaming-table. Then was shown what the Gascons felt, when, in spite of all that France could do, with its immense advantage thus dishonourably gained, the people evinced a steady inclination towards the English side. Edward's work remained after he had gone, and it spoke with mute eloquence in his favour. How dear it was to his heart was proved by the fact that, amidst all the later troubles of his reign, he never lost sight of it. Not long before he died he was permitted to put the finishing stroke to the efforts of his whole life, by the treaty which handed over his hereditary provinces once more to himself, and the daughter of the French king to his son.

But it is our present business to point out, since it has a direct bearing on our subject, the still more characteristic, though less obvious, marks of Edward's hand—marks which are either unknown or forgotten in the present day. These are traceable in the new towns built by him on a new model, and in the employment of Gascons under the Crown, on a larger scale and more settled principle than heretofore. The 'villes-Anglaises' and 'bastides' of Aquitaine ought to be better known than they are, for many of them still exist, and challenge attention by their peculiar construction. Libourne (on the railway between Paris and Bordeaux) is the chief, and one of the earliest, of these places. It still contains 15,000 people. Selecting a splendid situation at the confluence of the Dordogne and the Isle, and attracting inhabitants by a liberal charter of privileges, Edward, in 1270, built the town in a regular form, with a view to defence, consisting of a central square and eight streets radiating from it, with more regularity than picturesqueness, the public buildings in the centre being the rallying point. The name of 'bastide' has clung to some of these towns more than others, but the general plan is the same in all. The work was thus distributed. The people constructed the enceinte, fortified by a simple palisade, with an

outer ditch; the king built the gates. M. Brissand [1] gives as the names of these towns Sauveterre, Monségur, Belin, Castelnau d'Auros, Créon, Sainte-Foi, Valence d'Agenais, Villefranche, Puy-Guilhem; but more may be found in the Gascon Rolls, such as La Crabe, St. Osbert, and Toulousette. They formed cities of refuge in time of war for the people of the country, and in this respect may well be compared to the Villesneuves of Capetian France, and the Pfahlburger of the Rhine. The policy of the design was well tested in Libourne, the leader of the group, which, like Bordeaux, offered, both in 1370 and 1451, the most strenuous resistance to the French.

But the charters granted to these and to other towns which were not of this special class had a far larger and more permanent effect. In the first place, they held directly of the English Crown, which gave them rank and position; in the second, their inhabitants were dowered with freedom of person; in the third, they enjoyed freedom of trade. In a word, they were bodies of protected freemen, projected into the very midst of the feudal system. Thus, like their kin in other parts of Southern Europe, they played a very important part in the civilisation of the world. For example, few town-systems in history have been more advanced than that which in the Bordelais went by the name of the 'Filleules de Bordeaux.' Blaye, Bourg, Libourne, St. Emilion, Castillon, St. Macaire, Cadillac, and Ryons were the chief of these, bound together by institutions which tied them to Bordeaux like a bundle of sticks in a faggot. Nor was their influence confined to the Bordelais. Any towns in the whole Duchy which deserted the English interest during the wars of Edward III. and Richard II. were punished by an arbitrary taxation of their goods at the hands of the commercial queen seated on the Gironde, and supported by her faithful filleules.[2] We are not to put down the whole of this work and its results to Edward I. St. Louis had been before him in France, and other English kings claim a share in his credit as to Gascony; but he towers above his countrymen by the head and shoulders.

On the point of this great man's employment of Gascon gentlemen in the English service, we shall know more when the coming portions of the Gascon Rolls make their appearance; but we know enough already to lead us to expect much more. As to the knowledge at present possessed by even the well-informed, we might fairly describe it as confined to a fact which tells more against Edward than in his favour, viz. the error he committed in selecting Piers Gaveston as the companion of his son. But it is now clear that this Piers, of whom more presently, was only one of a number of his countrymen who were similarly taken up by Edward, not as his father had foolishly taken up Poitevins, Provençals, and Savoyards, to please his

[1] *Les Anglais en Guyenne.* [2] *Ibid.*

favourites or humour his wife, or to support un-English methods of government, but for the reasons of a statesman. A long list of Gascon officers employed in his Scottish wars is still to be found in the Record Office,[1] and others must have once existed. These men had been proved under his own eye; and in thus using them in his island wars he was teaching the Gascons that they and the English were one people. This policy might be compared with the employment of Indian and colonial troops in the late Egyptian wars. But what is still more interesting is to trace occasionally in the Rolls the civil and military services of particular Gascon families, repeated from year to year in different forms, and showing the germs of a political principle which commends itself to our common sense, but which was probably not pursued without sufficient remonstrance from Englishmen, who would naturally complain that the bread was being taken out of their mouths by foreigners.

The name of Gaveston recalls the memory of his miserable master. Indeed we are accustomed to connect that memory with little else besides the infatuated folly of his attachment to the offensive favourite. We may, with the help of the next chapter, learn to balance our condemnation in some degree by observing that, with all his faults, this king had sense enough to acknowledge and recompense the legitimate services of those faithful Gascon gentlemen who had fought and suffered for his father and for himself. Nor was this all. We find Edward II. taking the part of Gascon commerce, unjustly attacked by the greed of London merchants. The presence of Gascons of a higher and wholly different stamp from Gaveston became familiar at his English Court, and amongst them were brought up his own chivalrous son and grandson. If any admiration for those high types of chivalry still lingers amongst us, it is but fair to remember that some portion, at least, of their renown may be justly claimed for the influences which proceeded from Aquitaine.

The instruments prepared by the policy of the first two Edwards were fashioned just in time for the use of the third. No sooner does the youthful hero find himself firmly seated on the throne from which his father had been hurled, than he begins to apply all his energies to the resettlement of his Gascon provinces, disordered under the previous revolution in England. He had scarcely succeeded in his efforts when he discovered that in the tremendous duel which the policy of the French king had forced upon him, it was absolutely necessary to use the advantage he had thus obtained for the overthrow of 'our enemy of France.' The commencement made by Philip the Fourth in the struggle for Aquitaine had been only too well followed up by Philip the Sixth, both in relation to Scottish and Gascon affairs. Mr. Longman has rightly pointed out that 'the resolve of Philip to wrest

[1] Exchcq. Q. R. Miscellanea; Army $\frac{17}{6}$ (temp. Ed. I., but date lost).

Aquitaine from the rule of the King of England, and Edward's determination to keep it, were, seemingly, the main and true cause of the war.' 'The claim to the throne of France would otherwise have remained a mere *brutum fulmen*; it was now necessary to take the title of "King of France."'[1]

Amongst the numerous agents required for so great a conflict are to be found not a few of those who had been connected with the previous struggles of Edward's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather in Gascony. The family of De Brocas, with whom we are immediately concerned, is conspicuous in this list. Those of them who had been brought up in the English Court were now grown to a ripe manhood; they were trained and cultivated to as high a degree as any men of their day; they had long been accustomed to English manners and habits; they were attached to the Crown not merely by Court favour, but by tried official service, and by their fortunes having been embarked in English land and English social life. With them we may associate the families of De Bordeaux and De Campaine, of whom we only know a few facts, but they are of the same kind. These will serve as aids in the recognition of others, when our general knowledge of the subject shall receive the expected addition from the Gascon Rolls.

The attempt to make use of loyal Gascons, trained at the English Court to administer the government of their native province, resulting as it did in their becoming Englishmen, must not of course be confused either with the policy of the Conqueror in settling his compatriots on English soil, or with the much more sparing introduction of Frenchmen by Henry III. from various parts of France. Whatever good may have resulted in the end by the intermixture of foreign blood, the earlier settlements could only be justified by the tyrant's plea—necessity. The only fault that can be found with the Gascon policy of the Edwards is that it was not tried on a larger scale.

[1] *Life and Times of Edward III.* vol. i. p. 94.

CHAPTER V.

THE DE BROCAS CLAN IN GASCONY.

Within the bounds of Guienne and Gascony, spreading from their original seat in the close neighbourhood of the Sieurs D'Albret, various families of the name of De Brocas, all presumably of the same clan, are found in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, holding various possessions—a castle, landed estates, offices and residences in towns. The extent of country over which their name is spread when we first hear of them, and the position they occupy, argue a previous history of which we may yet learn more. Two places in the Department of Les Landes bearing their name have existed from an early period, and still exist, though both, from different reasons, in a state of decay; one, and probably the oldest, in the arrondissement of Mont de Marsan and canton de Labrit (D'Albret), the other in the arrondissement of St. Sever. The last-mentioned 'Brocas' is no longer a commune, as it was deserted during the Wars of Religion for Montaut, which was more defensible; but the church and a few houses still remain. The name, as well as the places where it is found, are thoroughly Gascon. It is quite possible that the family was one which performed its part in the transition of Gascony from a Roman province to a mediæval State. It certainly exhibited a typical instance of that mixture of the civil and commercial with the military character, which is so marked a feature of the history of the Gascon people.

The notices of the family found as yet in records do not, however, occur in connection with the obscure village near Labrit which is supposed to be the cradle of the clan. It was not thence that they emerged into publicity; but in no less than four neighbouring localities—La Réole and Ryons in Guienne, Sault and St. Sever in Gascony proper—they were important enough to find a place which can be traced in contemporary records, and they may have been settled at the second Brocas, near St. Sever, from a very early date. To these happier seats members of the clan seem to have migrated in ancient times, leaving behind them the sterile soil and uninviting aspect of the Petites Landes, which even the progress of modern cultivation has never been able to improve in any high degree. We

first catch sight of the emigrants at La Réole, a strong place on the Garonne, famous in the Hundred Years' War, where, from 1163 to 1562, the name of Broqua or Broca is found[1] at intervals amongst the 'jurats' (or magistrates), and as householders, but never in the form of Brocas, or Brocaz. At Ryons, between La Réole and Bordeaux, there is a cartulary (or notary) of the name in 1311,[2] as well as another of the family in the latter part of the century. Also, in 1461 a certain Guillaume de Brocas founds a chapelry at the church of St. Seurin de Ryons, which at least proves that he had become a person of some position.[3] The next, and far the most prolific group of notices, circle round Saut, or Sault, since called Sault de Navailles, and the famous city of St. Sever. This is the same branch of the clan, part of which is found at different periods in one place, and part at the other. Whether the residence of this branch at the second Brocas above mentioned commenced before the time when our narrative commences, or only grew out of the course of events, cannot as yet be stated positively; but the family were of sufficient position in 1268 to be considerable benefactors of the Monastery of St. Sever, which marks their connection with that city very soon after we first hear of them at Saut, and before they are expelled from the latter place by the lord of Navailles. At the above date we have the following names: Arnald William de Brocas, and his mother, Guiraut de Brocas; they are of gentle birth, and their gift is publicly recognised by the sons and heirs—William Arnald and Arnald William.[4] On the whole, we may fairly pronounce that we are in presence, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, of a large branch of the clan settled at three neighbouring places—St. Sever, Brocas, and Saut; and they are people of importance. One of them, Peter Arnald, was a knight.

Such isolated notices as these would not, however, have been of much use in our research if the volume of the Gascon Rolls, just edited (May 1885) by M. Francisque-Michel, had not come to our rescue. By its help, and that of M. Delpit's works, along with M. Bémont's 'Life of Simon de Montfort,' containing copies of documents in the British Museum, we are able to trace the misfortunes of this family in considerable detail, and to understand very nearly the whole course of events which led to the settlement in England of a portion of their branch of the clan.

In August 1242, the very first year recorded in the Gascon Rolls, we find the following amongst the acts of Henry III., who had just

[1] *Archives Historiques du Dép. de la Gironde.* Vols. i. ii. iii.
[2] *Arch. Hist. du Dép. de la Gironde.* Vol. vi.
[3] *Hist. de la Grande Sauve.* Par M. Cirot. Vol. ii. p. 278.
[4] *Hist. Mon. S. Severi.* Vol. ii. p. 207. The names of the De Brocas are given in these documents with the prefix 'Na,' which is explained thus: *terme d'honneur, sorte de particule nobiliaire* (Glossary of Gascon words, *Archives du Dép. de la Gironde*, vol. xi.)

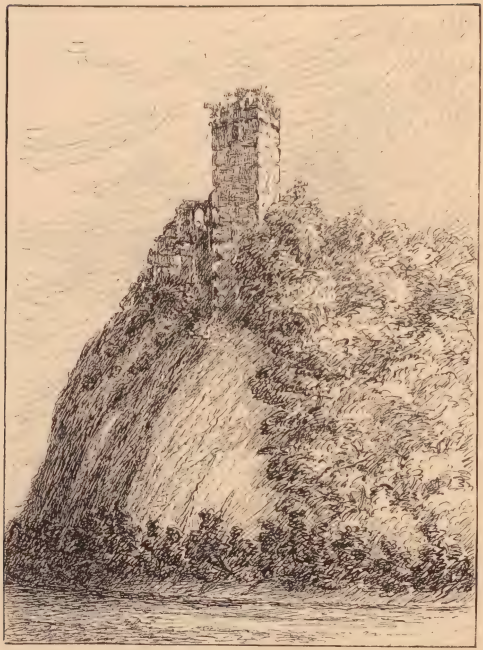
been defeated by Louis IX., and had fled to Bordeaux in precipitate haste. The king makes an order by which he holds himself bound to pay 'William Arnald de Brocarz and Arnaldino de Brocarz' 439 marks, 6*s.* 3*d.*, for 'the redemption of the lands of Saut which had been invaded' (p. 145). The order is docketed, 'Pro ii burgensibus de Saut.' A year later the treasurer is ordered to pay this sum (p. 244). In 1253, when the king is once again in Gascony, he orders his bailiff to attend to the complaint of William Arnald de Saut, that while he was employed in the king's service at Bordeaux, *tempore hostilitatis nobis necessario*, 'his younger brother, Peter Arnald, had seized, and still holds, his [William Arnald's] castle of Saut' (p. 359). The bailiff is now ordered, 'since it is unjust that this officer should lose his rights because he was employed in our service,' to take the castle into the king's hands, if he can do so without disturbance of the land, and to see justice done to William Arnald 'in our Court.' Next day the king orders that the 'knights and sergeants' in the garrison at Saut should receive their pay, which had been withheld. This Peter Arnald comes before us once more at Bayonne, during Simon de Montfort's Lieutenancy. One of the complaints of the Bayonne 'Communitas' against Simon is that he had slain Peter Arnald de Saut, knight, during the truce made between the kings of England and Navarre.[1]

The domestic quarrel to which we are here introduced, and on which we have no further light, is part of a larger one which mixes itself up with the whole history of Gascony and Bearn, with Henry III., Simon de Montfort, Edward I., the Sieurs D'Albret and the Vicomtes de Bearn. The petition of this same William Arnald against Simon de Montfort, highly characteristic of all the parties concerned, has been recently printed by M. C. Bémont.[2] The actors on the local stage are these. Gaston VII., Vicomte de Bearn, is one of the typical lords, or princes, of Aquitaine, the most famous and the last of his House. From 1229, when he entered on his picturesque inheritance, till 1290, when he died, he was engaged in one long series of struggles, now revolting from his English lords, now fighting the French under the English banners.[3] He began on the side of the French, when they seemed to have the upper hand; but the spectacle of a general revolt against Blanche and Louis was too much for his virtue, and we find him, in 1242, receiving pay from Henry III. It may be taken as certain that it was he who had previously 'invaded' the De Brocas lands, and that the money paid by the king for their 'redemption' was part of the price given by Henry for the return of his unruly vassal to his allegiance. In 1247 he revolts again, and heads the Gascon rising which Simon de Montfort, the famous Earl of Leicester, is sent to quell. This insurrection ends,

[1] See Bémont's *Simon de Montfort*, App. xxi., from 'Add[l] Charters,' No. 11,238, Brit. Mus.

[2] From 'Add[l] Charters,' No. 3,299, Brit. Mus. App. xv.

[3] See *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*.



RUINS OF THE CASTLE OF SAUT, OR SAUT DE NAVAILLES

From a sketch taken by the writer in 1885

with the successful result that usually attended Simon's military operations, in Gaston's discomfiture and transportation to England. Soon afterwards, according to Henry's usual fashion, the culprit was pardoned. Gaston was, by marriage, uncle to the Queen of England. There, no doubt, was the secret influence.

The second Act opens with the fresh revolt of the incorrigible Gaston. When the curtain lifts in 1252, Simon de Montfort stands before us in dire disgrace. He had executed his instructions only too well. By crushing the rebellion with unscrupulous severity he had achieved a triumph which was only temporary. He had given only too just occasion for the complaints which poured in from all sides, and, as we should expect to find, Gaston de Béarn once more heads the rebels. This time they looked about for a crowned ally, and Alfonso X. of Castile accepts the opportunity of pushing the claims to Gascony, derived, as already said, from the remote date of Henry II., who first obtained Aquitaine. Henry III. himself now appears on the scene once more, and finds himself reduced to the humiliation of employing the disgraced Simon, who alone can deal with the malcontents; but he takes a surer method for the future. Pacifying Castile by marrying his son to Alfonso's sister, he procures peace with Castile, and an uneasy settlement of affairs amongst his own subjects, which Gaston, according to his wont, continues to disturb. Rightly or wrongly, the one idea of this prince was to establish Béarn as an independent State. Gaston de Foix, his successor, took care to assert the same claim.

The third Act introduces us to the final subjection of the 'patriot,' as we nowadays often see him called. He at last finds a master in Prince Edward, who, in 1264, obliges him to surrender the castle of Saut, and in 1273, after another revolt, the strong castle of Orthez, his capital, built by himself. The appeal which he makes to the King of France is given against him, and he has to make an ignominious submission to Edward, now king, with a rope round his neck. After spending some years imprisoned in Winchester Castle he is set free once more, and dies, more quietly than might have been expected, in his own castle of Orthez. Leaving no son, his three daughters were married to the neighbouring kings and princes. It was with Constance de Béarn, the eldest—of whom we hear much in the Gascon Rolls—that Henry III. made the English alliance; but it was Margaret, the second, who, when Constance was dead, eventually carried the county of Béarn to the House of Foix, where it remained during the period now under review.

We see plainly from this sketch of a turbulent career the importance attached to the possession of Saut, and are so far able to measure the incidental importance of the clan of De Brocas, arising out of their connection with that place. The castle was the key of the

Viscounty of Bearn. Even at this distance of time, when the aspect of the country has been so entirely changed by the disappearance of the forests which once covered the whole district, it is easy to understand how this forest-fortress on the Luy de Bearn dominated the frontier, and thus could hardly but be a constant bone of contention between the Sieurs D'Albret, who were certainly at one time its over-lords, and the Vicomtes de Bearn.[1] In other words, it was a frontier meeting-point for the contending forces of the nations which those Houses, in periods of rebellion, often represented—England and France.

Though actually on the lowland side of the river, this 'strong and good castle,' as Froissart twice calls it, was for Béarn the natural bulwark of the second line of defence, as the castle of Orthez was of the first line, formed by the Gave de Pau. As such Gaston VII. determined to treat it, and such, after a century's struggle, it became, in the hands of the lords of Navailles, who were steadily pushed forward by Gaston's successors into the castle which the English, fitfully supporting the House of De Brocas, eventually failed to keep.

Gaston VII. evinced a genius for military affairs, not only in his appreciation of the value of Saut, but in his erection of the strong palace-castle of Orthez and choice of that place for his capital. The date of its erection, in 1240, is sufficiently suggestive as to the troubles of Saut in 1242. The traveller who desires to visit Sault will probably choose to do so from Orthez (which is on the line of railway between Dax and Pau) at a distance of five miles by a good road. He will thus combine several things in one. The visit to the ruins of Gaston's castle will well repay him, not only on account of its intrinsic interest, but as the scene of one of Froissart's liveliest narratives. Leaping an interval of many centuries, he will find no difficulty in tracing the main outlines of the famous Battle of Orthez in 1814; and he will travel on the road where the Duke of Wellington, in pursuit of Soult's army, was, for the first and only time of his life, wounded. One grand, half-ruined pentagonal tower, still proudly erect, some portions of walls immensely thick, and a moat still full of stagnant water, surviving the politic destruction of the fortress at the hands of Cardinal Richelieu, witness to the skill with which the site was selected, and attest the beauty of the building which the last prince of the House of Moncada adopted as his model from the cradle of his race in Spain. With his 'Froissart' in his hand the traveller may listen in imagination to the dying groans of the son, here murdered—let us hope unintentionally—by Gaston Phebus de Foix—not the only murder of relatives committed by him under his

[1] The castle was in possession of the Sieur D'Albret (Amanieu) before June 23, 1242, on which day King Henry III. acknowledges that he had received it from him, and that Amanieu had restored it *tanquam jus nostrum in curia nostra nobis adjudicatum*. It is one of Gaston de Béarn's complaints, in 1252, against Simon, that he had treated him unjustly as regarded his claims upon the castle of Saut. (*Gascon Rolls*, 27 Hen. III. m. 8; Bémont's *Simon de Montfort*, App. xxv.)

RUINS OF THE CASTLE OF ORTHEZ

From a sketch taken by the writer in 1885

own roof—murders which were but types, in a higher social scale, of the villanies perpetrated in too many a feudal castle. Or he may visit in the decayed town the very hotel which, under another name, was patronised by the jovial chronicler himself, and search for the *locale* of the celebrated university which the patriotic Jeanne d'Albret, the heroine of these parts, founded for the Protestants of her dominions in 1566.

On the road from Orthez to Sault de Navailles, long before the traveller arrives, he will descry at a good height above him, between the stems of the interminable rows of trees which line the roads of France, the one remaining tower left, as at Orthez, to mark the site of the humbler castle which shared the fate of its neighbour, apparently by the same hands and at the same time. United by violence in life, they were not divided in a violent death. On a closer inspection one might be inclined to suppose the grassy hill on which the castle of Saut was built to have been artificially created, so steep and so uniform is the slope on every side, so narrow the surface which had been inclosed by the walls; but it would appear to have been a natural elevation, well adapted for the purpose of a stronghold. If possible, its aspect is more desolate than that of Orthez—the style certainly speaks of an earlier date: if properly provisioned, it must have been a stronger place. The tower roots itself deep down into the mound; no doors or windows facilitate attack; no fosse was required at its feet. On the ascent one passes the ruined church of St. Nicholas, built before the events here mentioned, but only fallen into absolute decay within the memory of living men. This also could tell some tales of these campaigns if it could speak; but no monument of the times except the frescoed walls exists, and the visitor must conjure up as best he may the mediæval chivalry which once gathered round the castle under the standards of Henry, Edward, Montfort, Amanieu d'Albret, Gaston de Béarn, and the lowlier lion-banner of De Brocas.

The petition of 1252 against Simon de Montfort, and the subsequent history, show that the castle or town of Saut (or both) was, at the date of the petition, held by the heads of the De Brocas family, who had lands there, and whose clan (*genus eorum*) was settled in the town and neighbourhood.[1] There they had been at least as early as Richard Earl of Cornwall's seneschalty in 1225; how much earlier we know not. William Garcias de Naude joins in their petition. But the castle did not carry the lordship of the place in 1242, for Arnald and Arnaldino are called 'burgenses de Saut,' and though that term is soon afterwards exchanged for the simple description 'De Brocas de Saut,' the lordship did certainly belong to the family of Bertram, or Bertrand, represented in 1242 by Marie Bertram, a minor (*domicella*). She was, however, a De Brocas in some unexplained way, if we accept the statement of the MS. de Gagnères, where she is called

[1] See also *Gascon Rolls*, 37 Hen. III. m. 19.

the 'sister and heiress of William Arnald de Saut.'[1] The wardship of this young lady belonged, not to the Vicomte de Béarn, but to the Sieur D'Albret, who had made it over to the King of England. The De Brocas chiefs, summoned to take the oath of fealty to Henry, at first declined, on the plea that they ought not to be called upon to take any further oath than they had already taken to their little lady, but they afterwards under pressure consented.

In a contest with the authorities of Béarn, consequent, perhaps, on this proceeding, these chiefs say in their petition that they lost a thousand marks. 'Then,' they continue, 'comes Simon de Montfort,' &c.; and their account of the ill-treatment they received at his hands, too long for insertion here,[2] is so circumstantial and coherent that, making every allowance for the fact that we hear only one side, it is impossible to resist M. Bémont's conclusion,[3] which is as follows: 'It is true that Simon de Montfort had been sent rather to reduce than to govern the province; but it is clear that he acquitted himself of his mission with extreme rigour, and that he respected very little either the rights of the people or the rules of justice. For my part, I should incline to range myself on the side of the Gascon. This is what made Henry III. take many steps in the direction of justice and clemency, and why he placed the young Prince Edward in authority; but the great majority of the chief English barons went along with Simon against the Gascons.' We cannot blame these barons. Gascony cost a great deal of money, of which they saw more than enough wasted. Many of them wished it, no doubt, at the bottom of the sea; but the short and simple process by which they supposed it could be kept permanently quiet existed only in the limited imagination of islanders. Montfort was exactly their man; but it was well for England that there was a Henry with all his faults, and an Edward with all his virtues.[4]

This is not the place to enter further into a question with which the historian of English Aquitaine will have to deal. There is something to be said for the policy of 'Thorough,' pursued in the suppression of revolts; but rights once trampled on have an awkward way of revenging themselves, and Simon learnt that to his cost. In these transactions Henry's passionate inconsistency comes out in pitiful contrast to Montfort's impersonation of skill and vigour; but the Gascon Rolls have now for the first time placed before us the numerous instances in

[1] See MS. Wolfenbüttel, by M. Delpit, in *Notice des MSS. Bibl. du Roi*, vol. xiv.

[2] See Bémont. App. xv. and xvi. [3] *Ibid.* p. 44.

[4] So curiously excited have English writers exhibited themselves over the memory of 'Simon the Righteous,' that the slightest depreciation of him is generally held to be an historical heresy. However, in spite of all that has been written, the writer sees no reason to qualify the summary view of this most interesting career which he expressed twenty-three years ago. (Lecture on 'The Chief Architect of the English Constitution,' in *Constitutional Progress*, 1863. Murray: 1869.)

which the king's 'justice and clemency' were called forth, 'comparable,' says M. Francisque-Michel, 'with the display of those qualities in St. Louis himself, and this in a time of barbarism when it is difficult to say which is most prominent, the odious or the grotesque.'[1] More to our present purpose is the illustration afforded by the clan of De Brocas at Saut, of the old fable concerning the man, the horse, and the stag. To get rid of Montfort's tyranny they called in the husband of their 'Lady,' Garcias Arnauld de Navailles, one of the chief lords of the province, who derived his title from a neighbouring town, and who had received the hand of Marie Bertram from the audacious Gaston de Béarn, in defiance of the English right of wardship procured from the Sieur D'Albret. At the date of the petition this assistance is a matter of great satisfaction to the petitioners; but when we next come across the De Brocas of Saut it is this very family of Navailles which has turned them out of house and home. Montfort had long previously fallen on the bloody field of Evesham, but the descendants of the De Brocas who, by the aid of Navailles, had got the better of him, were exiles from the spot where the English had supported them, clamouring for redress of their grievances; and Saut is 'Saut de Navailles.'

The process by which this result was elicited is not very easy to trace, for the connection which existed between the De Brocas on the one hand, and the town and castle of Saut on the other, during the interval between this petition and the reign of Edward II., is only as yet partially known. According to the MS. de Gaguères, quoted by M. Delpit,[2] Marie and her husband, Navailles, sold the castle of Saut, where they were firmly established in 1257, to Henry III. in 1261, for 30,000 marks. They acknowledge the king as their lord, not only for Saut, but for Sarrazin, Monségur, and Châteauneuf, &c., 'saving the rights of Gaston de Béarn;' they agree to destroy the keep or donjon of Saut, to restore the place to the king when required, to preserve the rights and liberties of the inhabitants, and to repay the king the 300 *sous morlans* which he had paid for the castle of Saut to the Sieur D'Albret. In 1263 Marie herself confirms this agreement by a deed of her own. Yet in the very next year we find the castle of Saut in the hands of Gaston de Béarn, and Prince Edward forcing him to surrender it. The English bargains with the inferior lord had evidently been as useless as they had been expensive. Gaston finding the matter become serious, and acting after his usual manner, had taken the matter into his own hands.

Edward now (1264), having turned Gaston out of the castle, keeps it in his own hands, having probably placed the De Brocas chiefs once more in charge;[3] but in 1279[4] he restores it to Navailles, along with

[1] Preface to *Gascon Rolls*.

[2] MS. Wolfenbüttel, *ut supra*.

[3] In 1267 William Arnald and Peter Arnald de Saut (probably the son of the knight) bind themselves to deliver up to the English, whenever demanded, their 'maisons' of Saut and St. Aguerre. (MS. Wolfenbüttel, *ut supra*.)

[4] *Gascon Rolls*, 7 Ed. I. April 28.

the other towns he had seized, and pardons him for 'having adhered to Gaston de Byern.' The proceedings of the French king in 1294, followed by the resistance of the English barons to Edward's policy, once more turn the House of Navailles into rebels; but this time success sanctifies rebellion, while the loyal De Brocas are ruined. When we hear of them again, many years later, they are acknowledged adherents of the English, expelled from Saut for their loyalty by this very family of Navailles. Perhaps we shall some day understand more of the details of this affair; but even with our present knowledge we can see plainly that just as Saut was a sort of shuttlecock tossed backwards and forwards between French and English, so were the De Brocas themselves, who represented the English on the spot.

The William Arnald de Brocas whom we find ejected with his clan towards the close of Edward I.'s reign was probably the grandson of the one concerned in the earlier stages of this business. The war of 1294 had also brought to the front a new Garcias Arnald de Navailles,[1] who, in the general confusion, was strong enough to reassert and retain what he no doubt claimed as the right of his ancestors. The English party did not, however, succumb without a very severe struggle. The letters patent of Edward I. acknowledged that those whom William Arnald represented had done him 'laudable service during his war in Gascony,' and that he owed them £1,348, for the recovery of a portion of which he had assigned them lands at Sord and Poillon till it was paid;[2] but these lands never came to them, for Edward II., immediately on his accession, granted them to others. Again, an official document of 1315 admits that these people had been 'disinherited and ruined;' and another that they were 'lately despoiled of their lands, possessions, and goods by the lord of Navailles, and exiled from the said place for their adherence to King Edward I. in the Gascon war.'[3] The Gascon Rolls are now so full of the complaints of this new William Arnald de Brocas, and the replies of the Crown, that no apology is necessary for following the matter a little further. Nothing can be more suggestive of the state of Gascony and of England, as well as of the causes which led to the subsequent rise of the De Brocas family.

It seems to have been taken as a matter of course that the lord of Navailles would have restored, at the peace of 1303, as he was bound to do, the lands of these ejected loyalists. Nothing was further from his purpose. Edward I. was in the last agony of his Scottish troubles; and when his son succeeded him, he showed his impotence from the very first. William Arnald was obliged to content himself with petitions. The Seneschal of Gascony had failed to carry out his

[1] The names were hereditary in the Navailles family; and 'Arnald' seems to have been so in that of De Brocas.

[2] *Tower Miscell. Portfolios*, No. 7 (c. 1312).

[3] *Gascon Rolls*, 9 Ed. II. m. 17, m. 18, m. 20.

orders to restore the De Brocas by force; the affairs of the country were too much disordered. The only compensation actually obtained was a grant of the bailiwick of Agen to Arnald de Brocas, another of the clan, which he was to keep till he could refund to his disinherited friends and himself the sum of £144 5*s*. 9*d*. due from the Crown.[1] But here, again, the anarchy of the times pursued these loyal gentlemen, and deprived them, in the following manner, of even this poor compensation.

Bernard de Goth, an unscrupulous Gascon of gigantic stature but infinitesimal merit, had, under the name of Clement V., been made Pope by Philip the Fair, and established at Avignon—the first of the 'French Popes.' As Archbishop of Bordeaux, he had known Gascony only too well, and now coveted the ewe-lamb of the De Brocas for some one of the troop of greedy guests whom Popes had to feast. Under fear of Philip and the Pope, Edward II. handed over to Clement the provision he had himself made for his father's creditors. But in the year 1314 both Philip and Clement died; and next year William Arnald de Brocas, speaking as the representative of more than eighty of his expelled friends, at last obtains a hearing. By this time death and privation must have also been at work on the ruined House, and considerably thinned the ranks of the supplicants. Rendered well nigh desperate, the outraged Gascon shows that he has carefully studied the parable of the importunate widow. In this one year no less than six royal mandates are issued in answer to as many petitions, and all are in favour of himself and his clan. Arnald de Brocas, who had by this time become the king's 'valettus,' or officer of the Household, is to be restored to the bailiwick of Agen, but, even now, for a 'reasonable price;' William Arnald is to be placed in the office of 'Scribanius,' or Registrar of Port St. Mary at Bordeaux, a situation which the Earl of Richmond and Guy de Ferrars; commissioned for the purpose, had reported that he ought to have by way of compensation; and the bailiwick of Talamont is granted by way of special compensation for the rents of the Forestry of Baconeys, assigned by Edward I.'s letters patent, but granted away by Edward II. The full sum due to the claimants is ordered to be paid, and the seneschal is once more ordered to reinstate the petitioners in their lands at Saut. This last order had now become a mere matter of form; but, perhaps, some sort of arrangement was eventually made, for in 1330 both William Arnald de Brocas and Garcias Arnald de Navailles are advertised that a royal commission is appointed to settle the affairs of Gascony.[2]

Navailles, in fact, a potent baron, had the advantage of possession,

[1] *Gascon Rolls*, 9 Ed. II. m. 20.

[2] *Ibid.* 9 Ed. II. m. 17, m. 18, m. 19, m. 20. Some of these are extracted in Rymer's *Fœdera*.

and time had co-operated with the weakness of the English. He keeps his gains. His ruined opponents were thrown upon the resources of the English Crown; but time had at last begun to work in their favour also. If we ask why, after so scandalous a delay, justice was done so suddenly at last, we may connect the fact not only with the deaths of Philip and Clement, but the recent murder of Piers Gaveston and the sentiment which, in the heart of his royal friend, associated with his beloved memory the claims of his countrymen. Oppressed by his miserable failures, Edward breathed more freely when his imperious father-in-law and the Gascon Pope at Avignon were out of the way. Disgusted with the English, beaten by the Scotch, his mind reverted to the land of his early youth and his father's affectionate interest. His impulses were often right, and no obstacle now stood in the way of his feeble will. It was in this same year that he bestirred himself to see that his father's commercial treaty between London and Bordeaux was not infringed by the overbearing conduct of the London merchants. Further, since Gaveston's murder, another claim of the De Brocas family had touched him more nearly than the rest. There was another Arnald de Brocas, and he had recently fallen in his service 'in the parts of Scotland,' doubtless Bannockburn. This came home to him. We identify the slain gentleman as the father of the three young men who founded the English branch; but before examining the provision Edward made for his children, the chief subjects of our narrative, we must complete our notices of the head of the family, William Arnald, who remained to represent it in Gascony.

The first position in which we find him, probably after his misfortunes had commenced, is as one of the Gascon gentlemen serving Edward I. in England. Amongst the 'Accounts' of that king's army, unfortunately undated, are the names of fifty Gascons who were returning to their own country. William Arnald de Brocas's name occurs among twelve of these who were stopping in England to receive their pay. His name is not in another list of twelve who are reported as willing to serve in the 'Army of Scotland.' This was natural on the part of the head of the clan, bound to see himself and his friends righted in Gascony. He now took up his residence amongst his kin at St. Sever, where we soon find him a person of importance, as we shall proceed to show.

Amongst the numerous petitions which are to be found from this active and persevering officer in the 'Gascon Petitions,' as well as the Gascon Rolls, is one of 1312, in which he begs that in compensation for the lands assigned him and his friends by Edward I. in Sord and Pollion, but not actually conveyed, they may have lands granted them in St. Sever or Dax.[1] We discover, indeed, no notice of any

[1] *Tower Miscell. Portfolios*, No. 7.

grant; but as a matter of fact he is afterwards found at St. Sever; and, though some members of the clan had been so long settled at that place as to account for his presence there, we may well suppose that the prayer had been granted. In 1330 he is addressed by Edward III. as 'William Arnald de Saut,' but in 1337 as 'William Arnald de Brocas,' and classed with the five other magnates of St. Sever, from whom the king claims assistance.[1] As this William Arnald's son was some years previously a Household officer at Edward's Court, the age of the father would correspond with that of the representative of the House in Edward II.'s reign; and doubtless it is the same person. These indications of the now settled position of the clan are found at the opening of the Hundred Years' War. Edward III., well acquainted with all that had passed, and setting Gascony in order preparatory to using it as his main line of attack upon France, finds the veteran, who was bound by so many personal and ancestral ties to England, exactly suited for his purpose. We do not observe that he is placed in any high command, for which he was probably no longer, perhaps was never, fit; but he is one of those to whom the king entrusts the guardianship of his rights against the King of France, and is at once employed in the fortification and defence of St. Sever, a place of great importance in the future campaigns. It was excellently situated for defence, upon a promontory commanding on one side the plain of the Adour, and on the other that of Gabas, a position acknowledged in its proud title 'Cap de Gascogne.' Occupying the last portion of the high ground extending from the Pyrenees, it looks over the vast expanse of the level Landes, stretched like an ocean at its feet. It still contains 5,000 inhabitants, and still boasts its splendid church, dating back to the ninth century, 'the most curious in the department of the Landes,' still cherishes the memory of the Emperor Julian's palace, still shows some old towers and a fragment of the English seneschal's palace, still hopes for a railway long promised, long deferred.

During the anarchy of the last part of Edward II.'s reign, St. Sever alone shared with Bordeaux and Bayonne, always loyal, the honour of standing faithful to the English Crown. We cannot be wrong if we attribute some share in this result to William Arnald de Brocas, who had been already settled on the spot for some years, but though now honoured and recognised by Edward III., with a company of men-at-arms and foot soldiers under his command, his usual fortune attends him. He has the honour not only of serving without pay, but also of paying the wages of his company out of his own pocket. After his death, however, his son Menaud, or Menaldus, one of the king's 'valetti,' being in 1341 his heir, has sufficient interest at the English Court to obtain an order for the arrears due for his father's pay and that of his com-

[1] *Gascon Rolls*, 11 Ed. III.

pany.[1] So passes off a troubled stage the chief of the clan of De Brocas. If it did not seem probable that the village of Brocas, situated seven miles from St. Sever, was one of the early seats of the clan, we might make a guess that it was the place of settlement of these exiled people after their expulsion from Saut. They must at least have strengthened the colony. At any rate, till we know more, we must regard it as the chief centre of the De Brocas till they established themselves at Castel-jaloux, and turned over a fresh and more prosperous page of their history.

The career of this William Arnald affords one more illustration of the times. Long after he had lost his patrimony at Saut, and had become at last, with the two offices he had wrung from Edward II., a prosperous man at St. Sever, he has to endure the indignity at the hands of his enemies of a disputed title to nobility. In 1331 the king commands the Seneschals of Gascony and of the Landes to inquire into the truth of a charge that 'William Arnald de Brokars de St. Sever,' '*qui de genere ignobili existit, ut dicitur*,' had, contrary to the custom of the duchy, which in such cases required a special licence, acquired a '*feodum nobile*,' viz. '*totam terram*' of St. Serrian (St. Adrien), Guanzon, St. Barbe, and Sanboet. The seneschals are to act accordingly.[2] We do not hear the result in direct terms, but it must have been favourable to his claim, or he would not have been officially addressed by the style mentioned above. A family which had held the castle of Saut and landed estates at various places for several generations, borne coat armour (as we gather from the seals of the next generation), and held important commands under the Crown, could hardly but belong to at least the lower ranks of the nobility. Ten years later than this they are reckoned among the '*donzets*' of the province,[3] a term which at least means 'Esquire,' and is technically interpreted, '*noble sans titre*.'

But we have a still more conclusive testimony to the success of the chief in rebutting this attack. In 1366 William Arnald de Brocas, one of his successors, is found engaging himself, along with other people, in the defence of certain claims of the Monastery of St. Sever. His qualification for appearing on the list is stated in this Gascon document to be '*per la terre, caverie, et gentillesse de St. Sarrian et de la Barthe*.' *Caverie*, or *caveria*, is the equivalent word for *terra nobilis*.[4]

The De Brocas clan was not the only one taken under the special protection of Edward II. in 1315. On May 24 of that year we find a long list of such names in the Gascon Rolls,[5] including four of the Campaine family. In this list two more of the family of De Brocas are mentioned, 'Arnald Raymond de Brocas' and 'Frater Dominicus

[1] *Gascon Rolls*, 15 Ed. III. m. 16.
[2] *Ibid.* 5 Ed. III. m. 20.
[3] *Archives Historiques du Dép. de la Gironde.* Vol. iii. p. 170.
[4] *Hist. Mon. S. Severi.* Vol. i. p. 328.
[5] 8 Ed. II. m 2.

de Brocas.' On the same day another king's mandate, here translated, runs as follows:

'Whereas Arnald de Brokays was lately slain in our service in the parts of Scotland, leaving several children for whom the necessaries of life have not yet been provided, We, piously compassionating their estate, and willing to do them special favour in this matter, have granted them the office of the Registrarship of our Court of the Judge Ordinary of Agen, on both sides of the Garonne, to hold at our pleasure in aid of their sustenance, so that their relatives and friends may appoint a fit and sufficient person to execute the said office.'[1]

The Seneschal of Gascony is ordered to deliver the office to the relatives. A few months earlier[2] the king had appointed John de Brocas—already his 'valettus'—to the Registry of the Bailiff's Court at Agen; and he also is to be allowed to exercise the office by a substitute. We have already seen an Arnald de Brocas appointed Bailiff of Agen, but he is not the father of John and the children for whom the king now interests himself. John, as we afterwards find, is the eldest of these children, taken into the Royal Household as quite a youth—for he is performing his duties nearly fifty years later, and they, we cannot doubt, are the children of the Arnald de Brocas slain at Bannockburn. But the new Bailiff of Agen was probably their near relative: and there is another special reason why these children should have been quartered on the different Courts of Agen. Their mother was a lady of the House of Campaine, and Agen was the head-quarters of that House.

The history of the De Campaines runs in exactly the same groove with that of the De Brocas; but as it has been necessary to compress even the account of the latter to the smallest limits, we must only give a few lines to the former.

The family derived its name from a village or commune (Campaine or Campagne) so close to the northern Brocas that there may well have been some earlier connection between them than we can now discover. The first important member of it of whom we hear is Raymond de Campaine, the King of England's Seneschal, or governor, of the province of Agenois in 1286; and he is still there in 1289.[3] He was in this high office when Edward I. was living for some years in Gascony, most of the time at Condom, close to Agen, and must have been one of the chief officers at his Court. Here also Edward may have gathered round him the chiefs of the De Brocas clan, whom he had replaced in command at Saut, after the conquest of Gaston de Béarn. Soon afterwards, when the French overran the English provinces, the brunt of the storm which ruined the family at Saut fell upon the head of the loyal Seneschal of Agen. In 1297 the

[1] *Gascon Rolls, ut supra.*

[2] *Ibid.* 7 Ed. II. m. 4.

[3] *Archives Hist. du Dép. de la Gironde.* Vols. i. and viii.

king's mandate to the Seneschal of Aquitaine bids him 'provide for the subsistence of Raymond de Campaine and his wife and children, whose ruin had been caused by his fidelity to England.' In 1311 we find Arnald de Campaine—perhaps a younger brother of Raymond—holding the same high office. In 1317 William Arnald de Campaine receives compensation for his losses in the English cause against the king of Castile—a loss, like that of the De Brocas at Saut, apparently of old standing—and obtains the office of Registrar to the Seneschal of Xaintogne. Between 1329 and 1335 William de Campaine is Bailiff of La Bourd and Constable of Blaye, is mentioned as the king's 'valettus' in 1356, and continues to receive, down to the day of his death, substantial rewards for good service. Peter, another of the family, commands a company which receives pay from Edward III.[1] These gentlemen received at least some compensation; but their descendant, Arnald de Campaine, pleading the services of his family, was scarcely so fortunate. In 1383 he is an Esquire of 'our beloved and faithful Bertucatus de Lebret, and for the good service which he has rendered to our grandfather, father, and ourselves, and since he and his ancestors have lost, as he asserts, the greater part of their inheritance and goods by reason of the same wars, and sustained many damages and perils of their bodies through imprisonment by the king's enemies, so that Arnald has nothing wherewith to continue his service with us as he would wish, We, with the assent of our Council, in recompense thereof, have granted him the Provostship of La Réole, now under the power and obedience of our adversaries of France, as it is said, for term of his life, with the profits and emoluments,' &c. The Bill is signed by the Council, as also another ordering the king's officers to deliver corporal possession of the Provostship to the petitioner. This was probably a compensation of exactly the same value as the restoration of their estates at Saut to the De Brocas, granted by Edward II.—mere words which cost nothing.

The William above mentioned was the uncle, by the mother's side, of the De Brocas youths taken up by the English Court;[2] Peter was probably another. He, along with Garcias Arnald, John, and Arnald de Campaine, clerk, had been taken under the protection of Edward II. in 1315. Both families of the Brocas-Campaine connection are now grouped round Agen, as the elder members of the De Brocas clan were gathered round St. Sever. The children of the soldier slain in Scotland would be thus brought up by both paternal and maternal relatives till they were old enough to be educated in England, and the profits assigned at Agen for their sustenance would be secured for them by the 'relatives and friends' mentioned in the mandate. The

[1] *Gascon Rolls, passim.*

[2] *Patent Rolls*, 15 Ed. III. This document is quoted in Rymer's *Fœdera*.

name of John, the eldest of the orphaned youths, never previously found in such notices of the clan as have reached us, may have come from the John de Campaine above mentioned. Of the Arnald de Brocas who is made Bailiff of Agen we never hear again. The name is so frequent in the family that it is almost a patronymic. But we shall find it more than once in the Compton (Surrey) branch of the English Brocases, and it is just possible, though not probable, that the founder of that branch, King Richard's Clerk of the Works and Chamberlain of the Exchequer, may have been the son of the Bailiff of Agen. The descendants of Sir John de Brocas never once adopt the name. It was Gascon, and they aimed at being English.

In the manner thus slightly sketched the blood of two families of Gascon gentlemen, who had for generations proved their loyalty to the Plantagenet House of England to the point of death, ruin, and beggary, mingled in the veins of the English offshoot from the clan with which we are to deal. It was impossible for the kings of England to have better subjects for their experiment, and it was charitable to remove them from Agen, where the English tenure was always most precarious, and, by the terms of the Treaty of 1259, could hardly be otherwise. Here were just the youths who might be trained under their own eye, and then used in the administration of their native province. We require no further explanation of the place they held at Court, of the rise to territorial importance which we are about to trace, or of the steadfast loyalty to their patrons which they exhibited, ending as it did on the scaffold. With the fortunes of five kings of England those of the House were inextricably intertwined: and during that period of nearly two centuries we trace the same characteristics from first to last. Suffering not a little for their English lords under Henry III., Edward I., and Edward II., sharing to the full in the national triumph under Edward III., they sink, overwhelmed, in the failing fortunes of Richard II. The family were far from standing alone in their gallant devotion to the 'roy outremer;' but it is their after-history in England, growing out of their early career in Gascony, which makes them specially interesting, for it would seem to be quite unique. How they were employed by Edward III. and the Black Prince will appear in the next three chapters.

We may compare and contrast the career of these men with that of two other Gascons brought forward very shortly before them, Piers Gaveston and Oliver de Bordeaux. The favour shown to the former in his early youth by Edward I. was the natural reward for the father's political service. When the great king, arbitrating between France and Aragon, obtained the release of the Prince of Salerno, he found himself obliged to pledge to the king of Aragon the credit of the principal cities and nobles of his Gascon provinces. Amongst these latter was Arnald de Gaveston, the father of the handsome Piers. To

bring up his own son in the company of this brilliant youth would seem no doubt to Edward a true stroke of policy; and if Piers and the young prince had been of a different character from that which each gradually developed, nothing could have been more useful for the future relations of the two countries.[1] It was an error of judgment rare in Edward's fine career. The deceptive promise of a remarkable boyhood coloured the whole history of England. Fortunately the De Brocas were never raised so high and never fell so low. They were of a very different breed, and they inherited the stern lessons of adversity. It says something for them that the unpopularity of Gaveston never seems to have attached to those his compatriots. It may indeed have imposed a wholesome check on their advancement, and it is very likely to have influenced the narrative of Froissart in two or three directions, to be presently noticed.

The career of Oliver de Bordeaux offers a greater similarity to that of the De Brocas than any other; but he left no representatives to carry on permanently his name and family. This was unfortunate, for he was a wise and able man, and he belonged to the great family which, having once governed the capital of Aquitaine, retained its name as that of the House. Peter, or Pey, de Bordeaux, Seneschal of Gascony in the reign of Henry III., was one of his ancestors and head of the House, the same christian and surname remaining hereditary down to modern times. Oliver preceded John de Brocas as 'valettus' in the Royal Household by only a very few years, and in many of his subsequent appointments was so closely associated with, or followed by, the same John, that he has been traditionally considered a member of the family. If not a relative, he was certainly very like one, and at least an intimate friend. One of his deeds is found in the family collection. We shall not be far wrong if we identify him as the godfather of Sir John de Brocas' second son; for in the case of that second son, born when his father was much associated with Oliver, the name, not uncommon afterwards, first appears in the family. Like the De Brocas, he was constantly employed in Gascony as well as in England; like them, constantly about the Court, he became a wealthy proprietor of land at Windsor and the neighbourhood; like Sir John, he was one of the builders of Windsor Castle. His wife was English, as it seems almost certain was also Sir John's. Having no children, his wealth went to Sir William Trussel, his stepson, a leading politician of the day, who was employed both as admiral and ambassador, and whose family served with distinction for more than one generation. Oliver's

[1] The few months during which Gaveston exercised a sort of irregular power in Gascony during his banishment from England have been thought to speak favourably for him, but the point is scarcely worth notice in this place.

property has a special interest of its own, for a large part of the lands which Edward III. consolidated and formed into the royal demesne at Windsor, for the purposes of his new palace and park, had been held, under the Crown, by Oliver de Bordeaux.[1]

As we shall not return to the history of the De Brocas in mediæval France for some time, the last notices we have of it in the reign of Edward III. should find a place here. One is of no importance; the other, though not important, is curious. Both occur in the year 1376. In that year we find, amongst the military levies of Gaston Phebus de Foix, the names of Raymond Arnald de Brocas and 'Brocas de St. Sever.'[2] They are evidently members of the clan whose fortunes we have followed. It is the last year of Edward III.'s reign. The English had now been expelled from all their Gascon dominions except the neighbourhood of Bordeaux and Bayonne; the native princes were raising armies of their own, and the descendants of the loyal House had to serve new masters. How well they served them will appear in another chapter.

In this same year we have the latest authentic notice of any connection between the De Brocas who migrated from Gascony to England and those who remained. A Process is given in the Bordeaux Records by which it appears that 'Bernard de Brocas, chevalier,' who can hardly be any but the English son of the English courtier, Sir John de Brocas, had bought from the Chevalier, Pons de Castillon, for 200 nobles de Guienne à la rose d'or, four serfs (*quatre hommes questaux*). These 'adscriptitii' of the Theodosian Code, or 'coloni,' were subsequently sold to the 'donzet,' Raymond Arnald de Brocars, mentioned above, who in his turn sold them to Pierre Fort, clerk, notary, and confessor to the Prince of Wales.

[1] See book ii. chap. i. 'In each of the three cities—Bordeaux, Perigueux, and Angoulême—we meet with a family which has no other patronymic than that of the city. . . . They were the junior branch of the Houses to which the viguerie or begeyrie (vicarii or vice-provosts) had belonged. These branches, in fact, when proper names or hereditary surnames became indispensable, naturally adopted as a distinctive qualification the name of the city of which the government had belonged to the elder branch. The elder branch retained the name of their office, and called itself Prevôt, Vigier, or Béguey. At Bordeaux, the junior branch adopted "Bordeaux" as the name of the House. . . . Thus the family of "Vigiers," or "Bégueys," and that of "Bordeaux," are identical. . . . Almost the whole of the immense properties of the House of Bordeaux, and a portion of that of Béguey or Vigier, having passed to the House of Foix, were carried into the House D'Albret, and thence to the House of Bourbon. This family, claiming to descend from a patrician family of old Rome, held in fee the celebrated Roman temple at Bordeaux, dedicated to the tutelary god of the city, and known by the name of "*Piliers de Tutelle.*" ' (M. Rabanis, in *La Revue Hist. de Droit*, &c., art. 'Admin. Municip. de Bordeaux'; see also M. Delpit, *ut supra.*) The branch of this House to which Oliver belonged had apparently been settled at Morlas in the time of Henry III. (See *Gascon Rolls*, 27 Hen. III. m. 11.)

[2] *Les Rôles de Gaston Phébus.* Quoted by the Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove (*Œuvres de Froissart*). See also Monlezun's *Gascony.*

[3] *Arch. Hist. du Dép. de la Gironde.* Vol. iii. p. 170.

Though these men are transmitted from one owner to another exactly like so many head of cattle, they are to be held in 'franc alleu,' that free allodial tenure already noticed, which came down from Roman times. The sale may have been in connection with the property of the Gascon rebels which had been granted to Sir Bernard's father, and which he now, like a prudent man, got rid of on the best terms he could obtain. How long the representatives of the clan continued to hold property in their old neighbourhood has not yet been ascertained. Their immediately subsequent history is so obscure that we can hardly avoid the suspicion that their position was seriously shaken by the ancestral loyalty of the House to the English; and that when the expulsion was irrevocably effected they were glad enough to subside into a condition which did not attract much notice. In a subsequent chapter we shall discuss the question whether the family of Casteljaloux may not be identical with that of the commune of Brocas and of St. Sever.

To conclude our sketch of the early history of the clan. There are two or three additional notices, which evidently refer to some of its members whom we cannot place in any special connection with the above. In 1243 we have a Simon Brocay, or Brocax, paid for carrying the king's wines in his ship to England,[1] perhaps the person of whom we find a casual notice in the Hundred Rolls;[2] and, as a Simon Brocas turns up again amongst the proteges of Edward III., we may guess that he is a descendant of the shipmaster. Though he was much associated with the English Brocases, the name 'Simon' never occurs in their pedigree. In 1253 we have a William Raymond de Saut, who gets into trouble for carrying off some of the enemy's property, as if it were his own instead of the king's,[3] and later than this time we hear of a Canon of the name at Bayonne Cathedral. Finally, two esquires—Guillaume and Guerric de Broca—are found in 1272 enrolled in the French royal army at Evreux.[4] These may have been emigrants from Gascony during the troubled period described above. From this casual and isolated notice no argument whatever can be drawn in favour of the old family legend of a Norman descent. Indeed, there are some indications of a divergence at a very early date between those who retained the final 's' or 'z' and those who dropped it.

It remains to remark, in reference to the orthography of the name, that the mediæval forms varied quite as much as is usual in such cases. In France we have Brocas, Brocaz, Brocarz, Brocars, Brocaas, Broqua, and Broca; in England, Brocas, Brocatz, Brokas, Brokays, Brokeis, and Brokeys: but in both countries the landed proprietors at

[1] *Gascon Rolls*, 27 Hen. III. m. 11.
[2] Vol. i. p. 146.
[3] *Gascon Rolls*, 37 Hen. III. m. 15.
[4] *Rôle Normand de la Baillie d'Evreux*, 608 h. Brit. Museum.

St. Sever, Beaurepaire, and Casteljaloux settled down into the form 'Brocas,' which would appear to have been from the first the proper spelling; and in all cases the family may be distinguished by the dissyllabic form of their name from the ancient families of Broc and Broke, whose name was probably brought from Norway to Normandy in the form of 'Brock,' and thence to England. The English Brocases of course brought the name to their adopted home as 'De Brocas,' the prefix being sometimes disused in the first, and often in the second, generation. It was entirely lost in the third. It is only in England that the 'c' was ever changed to 'k.' It is, and seems always to have been, pronounced 'Broc-as' in England, but in France the first syllable is long—'Brō-cas.'

BOOK II.

THE BROCAS KNIGHTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE THREE BROTHERS AT THE COURT OF EDWARD III.

Even if we had failed to discover any clue to the parentage and connections of the three brothers of the name of De Brocas whom we find at the English Court in the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III., we should gather from the position in which they appear that they must have been taken up for some special reason, that Court favour had been extended to them at a very early period of their lives, and that they must have been trained for official service from the first. We have seen that John de Brocas was the king's 'valettus' as early as 1314, when he could hardly have been of age. Bernard, his brother —a *magister*, or Master of Arts of some University and Rector of Guildford in 1324—receives, seven years later, after a prolonged University training, an appointment in Gascony, followed speedily by others of a responsible kind. Arnald, another brother, is Master of the Horse to Prince John, the younger brother of Edward III. in 1330—how much earlier we do not know. Young Simon de Brocas is, in the latter year, sent by the young king to Cambridge for education. We do not discover from the family deeds and public documents any special relationship between him and the three brothers, but they are all of the same kin.

Here we find the exact provision we should expect for the children of the gallant gentleman slain 'in the parts of Scotland,' the youths who, as we have seen, were at this very date 'left destitute,' and generously provided for in their childhood at Agen by Edward II. The father had been one of the 'disinherited and ruined' clan who had found employment in England, made himself acceptable to the

king, who knew his language and loved his race, and accompanied his master to the fatal field where England was taught the salutary lesson that, though an Edward I. might conquer Scotland, not even he could hold it down, still less his degenerate son. Trampled under foot by the stern warriors of the Bruce and the Douglas, he could at least in some degree atone for the frightful errors of one Gascon by the sacrifice of another. If he had survived the massacre, he could hardly have provided for his children better than by the last service he performed for his grateful master.

John and Bernard de Brocas were true brothers. They were intimately connected with one another throughout their lives, were about the same age, and died nearly together. United as they were, they were exactly the men to found a family: the knight and the clerk supplying each what the other wanted. The rise of the former can be traced step by step in the service of the Crown, and it may have been the same, more or less, with the latter, but it is not so apparent. We first hear of Bernard as Rector of St. Nicholas, Guildford, and it seems that he owed this rich preferment to a brother Gascon, John de Pinibus, archdeacon of Gascony, who happened in 1324 to be procurator and vicar to Cardinal Raymond de Goth, dean of Sarum,[1] one of the numerous relatives whom Pope Clement V. had planted in different countries. If so, it was a tardy reparation for the wrongs suffered by the clan, at the hands of that pope and the weak English king, in Gascony. But there was perhaps another agent in the transaction. Oliver de Bordeaux, the king's trusted servant, had been Constable of Guildford Castle; he may well have been in a position to assist his countryman, and the Crown may, or may not, have intervened. At any rate, Master Bernard, preferred to this living as a young man, held it till his death in 1368, a

[1] We learn from Bishop Stratford's Register (folios 90, 98) that considerable difficulties had to be surmounted by the patron of the living. When instituted to the rectory of St. Nicholas, Bernard was on the very lowest step of the hierarchical ladder. On May 4, 1324, the institution took place. On May 13 the rector, being only an 'acolite,' has licence to study for two years 'ubicunque studium viget generale,' with the obligation of receiving the subdiaconate within a year from the time of his institution. On March 6, 1325, he is ordained subdeacon. In 1326 he receives a dispensation for another course of study for two years; and this is repeated in 1328, the form of licence quoting the Constitutions of Boniface, and making residence at the expiration of the term compulsory. England is now specified as the place of study. Thus the young rector was six years non-resident while pursuing his studies, and soon afterwards receives an appointment in Gascony. It would be interesting to know which University he resorted to. In all the documents he figures as 'Magister,' or as 'Rector of St. Nicholas', Guildford;' but he was also Official of the Archdeaconry of Surrey, and in 1345 was presented by the king to a prebend in Chichester Cathedral. Besides this he received a prebend in Wells Cathedral. In 1348–9 a Frater Bartholomew Brokas, of the Order of Preachers, of the Convent of Guildford, was ordained an acolite. Was he another of the brothers? He could hardly have been the 'Frater Dominicus de Brocas' taken under the protection of Edward II. in 1315.—F. J. B.

period of forty-four years. Often absent in the service of Edward III., this was his home.

Here also his brother found himself in the course of time installed in Oliver de Bordeaux's old offices of Constable of the castle, keeper of the royal park, and 'farmer' of the town of Guildford, though Windsor was the centre of his domestic and official life. Thus they formed the two pillars of the house which was to be built upon the old Gascon substructure. The Rector was the lawyer of the family, the capable administrator of towns and provinces, the clear-headed man of business, working through a long life for the advancement of his family, as well as for the good of the State. We are wholly without the means of judging as to his qualifications for the life of a parish priest, and can only regard him in his two former capacities. But this was the rule rather than the exception with the leading clergy, at a time when almost all the higher departments of official life were confided to their hands. It would be absurd to look for a George Herbert in every country parson of those, or indeed any other days; but, as a matter of fact, the secularity of the superior clergy was already an anachronism, and it was against a system loudly calling for reform that John Wiclif was at this very moment born to declaim. 'Magister Bernard de Brocas, clericus,' represents one of the best of his class. It requires no great stretch of imagination to picture the venerable ecclesiastic in his later years, wise with a long experience of affairs, as the unvarying friend and referee to whom the band of warriors and courtiers now to pass in review before us resorted for aid and counsel. But his brother John is the head and progenitor of the English branch, and the rest must group themselves round him.

Of the third brother, Arnald, we only know that he was 'serviens,' or serjeant to the king, in 1330,[1] at which time he was Master of the Horse to Prince John of Eltham. In 1334 he is, if it is the same Arnald, like his brother, 'valettus' to the king, and receives payment from the Crown for a debt of 38*l.* due to him.[2] It is likely that he died early, as we hear no more of him. We may with tolerable certainty assert that the second Arnald de Brocas, of Richard II.'s time, was either the son of this Arnald, or of the Bailiff of Agen, whom we have seen, as a king's 'valettus,' compensated for his losses in 1315. Neither the coats-of-arms upon his monument nor his seal tell us his relationship with absolute precision, but the dates of his career rather affiliate him to the Prince's Master of the Horse than to the Bailiff of Agen. The part he plays in the family history is so important, and the position he takes up towards Sir John and Bernard de Brocas is so exactly that of a nephew, and to Sir Bernard that of a cousin, that the question, which is not very important, seems to settle itself. When

[1] Exch. Q.R. Wardrobe and Household Accts. $\frac{3}{4}$, 4–5 Ed. III.

[2] *Gascon Rolls*, 8 Ed. III. m. 2.

his father died he was no doubt trained by Bernard at the rectory of Guildford, to which, in the course of time, he succeeded.

Another De Brocas, who is also of the family, though we cannot state his exact relationship, takes a prominent part, along with his kinsmen, in the Household of Edward III. This is Menauld, already mentioned as son and heir of the active William Arnald of St. Sever. He, like John and Arnald, is in charge of the king's horses. In 1335 he is *custos quorundam equorum* ' &c. north of the river Trent,[1] and in 1338 he holds his office as lieutenant to John de Brocas,[2] who superintended the whole of Edward's vast equestrian establishments. He resigned his English offices in 1344,[3] and would seem to have settled upon the Gascon estate of his father, who had recently died. In 1351 he receives a small pension for 'good service' from the English Crown, along with the office of deputy 'executor of the king's seal and counter-seal used in Bordeaux for contracts,' under Thomas de Colle.[4]

Unlike the three brothers, and Menauld, their cousin, who were all of an age which enabled them to hold office at the outset of Edward III.'s reign, Simon de Brocas had to be trained by Edward from boyhood; and the process of his education throws some light upon a very important foundation at Cambridge, the King's Scholars' Hall, 'Aula Scholarium Regis.' This was the principal of the three early institutions incorporated by Henry VIII. into his splendid foundation, Trinity College. Simon, one of forty-three 'King's Scholars' supported by the royal alms, and found enrolled in 1330,[5] is entitled an '*escoler legistre*,' one of those over whom presides 'Master Simon de Bury,' the first master after the settlement of the foundation by Edward II. in 1326. By 1332 young Simon had ceased to be a scholar,[6] so that he had probably been at college some years before we hear of him, and thus amongst the first set placed in the new Hall. In that year occurs the name of a master who seems to have hitherto escaped the notice of authors, John de Langetoft.[7] In 1337 Edward bestowed a charter on his favourite Hall for a master and thirty-two scholars;[8] the master being Thomas Powys, the same who seven years previously figures in the Exchequer and Wardrobe Accounts as the scholar who '*est à lire institutz en le prochein terme*,'[9] i.e. to lecture to the rest on Civil Law. In 1344 Edward reports to the Pope, with some complacency, the good progress he has made in the establishment of his Hall.[10] Have our writers on University history sufficiently consulted these Record Office papers? They are, however, outside the scope of the present narrative. Again, has

[1] Exch. Q.R. Miscellanea, $\frac{257}{23}$, 9 Ed. III.
[2] *Ibid.* $\frac{258}{5}$, 12 Ed. III.
[3] *Ibid.* $\frac{253}{5}$, 18 Ed. III.
[4] *Gascon Rolls*, 25 Ed. III. m. 5, m. 8.
[5] Exch. Q.R. Wardrobe &c. Accts. $\frac{341}{19}$, 4–5 Ed. III.
[6] *Roll of Liveries*, 6 Ed. III.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Fœdera.*
[9] Exch. Q.R. Wardrobe &c. $\frac{345}{19}$, 4–5 Ed. III.
[10] Parker's *View of Cambridge*, 1622.

sufficient credit been generally given to the ill-fated Edward II. for commencing the royal patronage and utilisation of the Universities? It is neither the wise Edward I. nor the brilliant Edward III. who first strikes out the idea of supporting at the expense of the Crown 'King's Scholars' in royal institutions at the Universities. Further, the Oxford foundation of Edward II., known afterwards as 'Oriel College,' was the 'King's College or Hall.' Edward III. only completed at Cambridge what his unhappy father had begun, and Queen Philippa only imitated at Queen's College, Oxford, concurrently with her chaplain, the example which Edward II. had already set. It may be worth notice that Simon de Bury, master of the king's scholars, is provided out of the 'Great Wardrobe' with cloth '*pur cote et long tabard*' of Thomas Powys, the lecturer, and with '*furures de boge*' (lambskin with the wool dressed outwards, Anglice 'budge') for his coat and hood. He is also supplied with '*furures de boge*' for the hoods of the law-scholars; while the whole of the forty-three scholars are to have cloth for their robes and tabards, with the 'proper lamb's fur.'[1]

Simon is discovered again, after a long interval, in 1363,[2] amongst the 'valetti' of the king's chamber, an office he had probably held long before, as he certainly held it long after; for he received salary as such in 1376; and in his later years, by the appointment of Sir John de Brocas, he is keeper of the king's park at Guildford. Thus, along with the two Rectors of Guildford in succession, he finds his place in the family deeds; but he is not a clerk. He represents the University-bred scholar and officer of the Household, provided for by the Court, and a useful friend we may be sure to his kinsmen.

These were the outworks and buttresses of the English house of De Brocas.

The term 'valettus,' which has been so often used above, requires a word of explanation, for it is difficult to find an exactly adequate synonym. Six of the clan, including Sir John's eldest son, were enjoying this office, or that of 'esquire' or of 'serviens,' nearly at the same time. It is enough to say that they were all alike in much the same position as the king's 'esquires,' receiving salaries for their service. Whether the 'valettus' or the 'serviens' (serjeant) was the next rank under an 'esquire' is by no means clear; but the two offices are sometimes used interchangeably of the same person. At a later date 'valettus' is often translated 'groom,' or 'yeoman,' but scarcely perhaps so early as the date before us. Sir Harris Nicolas, in reference to the poet Chaucer, who also was 'valettus' to Edward III. before he became an esquire, tells us that it was a 'situation filled by gentlemen, the duties of which consisted in attendance on the royal person;'[3] a definition which is more correct than lucid.[4]

[1] Exch. Q.R. *ut supra*. [2] *Ibid.* $\frac{37}{39}$, 37–39 Ed. III. [3] *Scrope and Grosvenor Roll.*
[4] A careful examination and analysis of the Wardrobe Accounts of the Plantagenet

That no less than three of the De Brocas family should hold offices of high charge in relation to the king's horses suggests some peculiar fitness for the duty in this Gascon brotherhood. Was Gascony, with its plentiful supply of rivers and meadows, a horse-breeding country? We know that many of its knights were in high repute for knightly accomplishments, and their turbulent life provided plenty of practice. Be this as it may, there are sufficient entries under the De Brocas name in the Record Office to supply almost a history of Edward III.'s abundant equestrian establishments. At this we can only glance, observing that the length of time for which these men held their posts, and especially Sir John, in whom the whole charge came to be centred, proves their aptness for the employment. We may be sure that the king and his brave sons knew well enough when the work was properly done. What was chivalry without the '*chevalx*'?

Edward is sometimes blamed by those who should know better for his large expenditure upon horses. People forget that such a contest as his with the hosts of a great country like France, such organised competition for military renown as could alone insure victory, such 'hastiludes' and military Orders as he founded and encouraged with this object, could not be pursued without large and special provision for breeding-studs, large sums given for the finest horses, and an army of persons employed in the business. With the very beginning of this work the De Brocas were concerned. Sir John superintended it through a great part of his life, and was, if ever a man was, a veritable 'Master of the Horse,' in name and office. When the war was over, to him and William of Wykeham were entrusted the sale and breaking up of the mighty war establishment.

In the long lists which occur in the Exchequer Accounts of the Wardrobe of numerous classes of animals belonging to the king—coursers, palfreys, trotters, hobbies, genets, hengests, and somers—the '*dextrarii*,' or '*great horses*,' lead the way.[1] The housings of 102 of these animals are provided out of 441 ells of canvas and 360 ells of woollen cloth. The cloth must come from Candlewyk Street, in London.

kings would be a laborious but useful service. In a document of the early part of Edward III.'s reign, in which 'John Brocaz' ranks in the third class of 'esquires,' the various grades of the Royal Household stand in the following order: bannerets, knights, clerks, esquires, serjeants-at-arms, serjeants of office, falconers, armourers, minstrels, valets de chambre, valets d'office, huntsmen, coachmen, &c. But the terms are used so loosely in other documents of the same kind as to suggest that in practice the only real distinctions (in the upper ranks) were those of knight, esquire, and the lower kinds of valet. In 3 Ed. III. 'John Brocaz' appears in the sixth class of esquires. In 4–5 Ed. III. he and his brother Arnald are '*servientes officiorum*.' From 6 to 11 Ed. III. John is '*serviens Regis*,' '*cher vallet*,' and '*vallettus*.' Even when Master of the Horse, Chief Forester of Windsor, and Constable of Guildford Castle, he is, until he becomes a knight, more often 'valettus' than anything else. There are some remarks on these ranks in Tyrwhitt's *Chaucer*, but the contemporary Public Records are not quoted, and later ones are not of much use.

[1] See, *inter alia*, Exch. Q.R. Miscel. $\frac{36}{4}$, 8–9 Ed. III.

The boundary between the main divisions of the two great establishments is, as we find in other matters, the river Trent, the northern division having its separate '*custos*' under the chief. The studs are scattered about among the king's manors—Windsor, Guildford, Odiham, Woodstock, Waltham, Cornbury, Risborough, Swallowfield, Fasterne, Yardell, Ashehurst, &c. Sheriffs of counties, as Wilts, have to supply the proper proportion of oats, bread, shoeing, litter, medicines, headstalls, bridles, &c., or else money in lieu of them, for which they are to have due allowance. Thirty horses cost the said sheriff for 60 days in 1338, 40*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* or 3½*d.* a day. The keep of a dog cost ¾*d.* a day. The saddles bore, of course, the king's arms. The dress of 'John Brocaz,' who is sometimes called '*Custos equorum regis*,' sometimes '*Gardein de nos grands chevaux*,' was a tunic of blue, and cape of white, Brussels cloth.

The large prices which Edward had to give for the best horses is illustrated by the following sums which passed through the hands of John de Brocas in 1330. 'To Master Thomas de Garton, keeper of the king's wardrobe, in money paid to him by the hands of John Brokaz for the purchase of the three undermentioned chargers, to wit, one called Pomers, of a grey colour, with a black head, price 120*l.*; another called Lebryt, dappled, with grey spots, price 70*l.*; and the third, called Bayard, of a bright brown-bay, with the two hind feet white, price 50*l.*'[1]

The cavalry department seems to have been kept at its full war complement for about twenty years. The battle of Poitiers gave the first hint of a peace establishment. In 1357 the power of France appeared to be broken, and the king commissions Sir John de Brocas, Edmund Rose, and 'William de Wikeham,' who was now rapidly mounting to a high position, to sell off the portion of the stud which was kept in Windsor Park.[2] Next year Sir John is to sell those beyond the Trent, which were of no further use, and to report upon the cause of the murrain which had attacked a certain portion.[3] The Peace of Bretigni in 1360 gave the signal for a general break-up, and the year afterwards Sir John is at the head of a fresh Commission, in which Wykeham again appears, appointed to sell off all the king's studs on this side Trent, and to hand the proceeds over to Wykeham, 'surveyor of the king's works in Windsor Castle.'[4] The war was over; the Castle could not be built for nothing; money was scarce; the king fondly hoped that he should never be called upon again to sweep over France with his magnificent cavalry. But we know how soon he found out his mistake, and what a different tale was told at

[1] Devon's *Issues of the Exchequer*. The multiple should be about 20 for present value.

[2] Exch. Q.R. Miscel. $\frac{34}{1}^{5}$, 31 Ed. III.

[3] *Ibid.* $\frac{26}{6}^{3}$, $\frac{33}{6}^{3}$, 32 Ed. III.

[4] *Ibid.* $\frac{36}{21}^{4}$, 34-5 Ed. III.

the end of his reign. No doubt it added ruinously to the expense of the many bootless expeditions which wasted the resources of the country, and have even been thought to have laid the foundation of the Wars of the Roses, that there was now no organised supply of cavalry horses on which the king could fall back. Sir John de Brocas did not long survive the collapse of this branch of administration, which had been in his hands from beginning to end.

But the services of our knight were of a far more varied description than those of a mere Master of the Horse, the notices of which office have been here, for the sake of convenience, placed together, since they run the longest thread through an interesting career. Let us now follow him in the occasional services which he was incessantly performing for the king all his life, and which we may trace to some extent by the grants from the Crown, payments of salary, and chance notices in public documents. Like the livings, canonries, archdeaconries, and bishoprics by which a mediæval king requites the administrative services of a Wykeham, or the legal labours of a Chichele, the wardenship of castles, towns, parks, and prisons, the gift of manors and grants of free warren, mark the obligations incurred to the trusted lay agents who performed the numerous special services which lay outside the functions of the regular officers. Something, of course, in so obscure a research must be left to inference, and all of it must be interpreted by the light of such scanty history as we possess of the times.

The early notices of John de Brocas after his first appointment to a place in the Household in 1314 are, as we might expect, too obscure to give us many hints. One naturally desires to know how Gascons like him and his senior officer, Oliver de Bordeaux, steered through the revolutions of the reign of Edward II., and found themselves safe in the haven of Edward III.'s settled government, trusted and prosperous men. Oliver's success is the more remarkable, as he held important offices, and might have been expected to share the fate of Gaveston. He had, however, profited by the lessons of his first master, Edward I.—for by him he must have been brought forward, seeing that we hear of his advancement as early as 1310. Perhaps he owed something to Trussel, his stepson, a leading member of the Lancastrian faction, and proctor for Parliament in the actual deposition of the king. We may suspect that the same hand was held out to support Oliver's humbler friend; but he was too young and too obscure as yet to need much protection. Yet the absence of marks of favour at a critical time certainly suggests that he was no minion of Edward's, no puppet of the Despenser favourites. From 1317, when he receives the grant of Bresonoria, to 1327, when the manor of Yeshampstede, in Berks, is given him for a term of seven years, the records are silent as to his name; and the silence is eloquent

when taken in connection with the steady favour with which he was immediately received on Edward III.'s accession, and which continued without abatement for a single moment to the close of his life. He had evidently acted the part of a true friend to his perverse master, as his son, Sir Bernard, after an interval of some sixty years, did to Richard II. From the exceptionally high place he took with the youthful king, immediately after Mortimer's overthrow, one might even suppose that he was one of the humbler agents in that most dangerous service. Nothing is more likely, especially as we may add to the weight of this presumption the equally prompt preferment of his brother Bernard to an office in Gascony. All this time John had been following close upon the track of Oliver de Bordeaux, and doubtless owed much to his sagacious advice. He was happy also in being early married, and thus, though in constant attendance on the Court, having a home of his own at Windsor to fall back upon. As early as 1320 he and his wife are busy in making small investments in land at that place, which by 1330 were rapidly extending over the neighbouring parishes. His children were already growing up. He had given too many pledges to fortune to act imprudently. Perhaps no part of his life was more useful to him than the sixteen years during which he was learning the elementary lessons of political life in the service of a king who refused, or was unable, to take them to heart.

We can now trace De Brocas' career by a series of services and grants. We have seen that in 1330 he is in the full swing of employment as Master of the Horse, and thus in constant association with the young King Edward III. in all his schemes and movements in relation both to Scotland and France. His possessions at Windsor, Old and New, at Bray, Didworth, and Clewer, were a suitable appendage to the office of Chief Forester of Windsor Forest—our modern 'Ranger'—which he received in 1334.[1] Here was the chief of the royal studs, and thus both private and public duties coincided in one locality.

In 1336 he obtains an office of very doubtful advantage, the Wardenship of Nottingham gaol,[2] and this was confirmed to him for life in 1342.[3] He did not, however, hold the office after 1344, for the 'Commonalty of Nottingham county' petition the king and council to annul this grant, and restore the custody of the gaol to the sheriff of the county, in whose hands it had previously been. This petition was enrolled in Parliament, and granted.[4] Edward was not in a condition to quarrel with 'Commonalties.' It is strange that the grant should have been made. A notice of property accruing in some way under this grant will be found in Book VI.[5]

[1] *Patent Rolls*, 8 Ed. III. pt. ii. m. 10.
[2] *Abb. Rot. Orig. Ro.* 30, 10 Ed. III.
[3] *Ibid. Ro.* 29, 16 Ed. III.
[4] *Rolls of Parlt.* 18 Ed. III.
[5] Chap. i.

We arrive in 1337 at traces of more interesting employments, since they bear on the historical events of the reign, and alternating, as they do, with marks of royal favour, produce the impression that we are in contact with distinct cause and effect. This is the year when Edward, provoked beyond bearing at the assistance given to the Scots, in his late war, by the king of France, as well as by his encroachments in Aquitaine, resolved to put an end to the troubles which had been going on ever since the time of Philip the Fair. Open war he considered to be less dangerous than bleeding to death in a hollow peace. The French should feel that they no longer had to deal with a feeble prince and a factious people. Thus he at once assumed the title of 'King of France,' formed his continental alliances, and to provide himself with funds for the war, organised the English wool-trade for the profit of the Crown. Contrary as it was to every rule of political economy, his advisers could suggest nothing better. All exportation of wool, except by himself, was accordingly forbidden. One of the persons entrusted with the 'conduct of the king's wools to parts beyond the sea' was 'John Brocaz;' and at Easter, 1338, he receives 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for money due to him on this service, as well as for 'the safe custody of the Marches of Scotland.'[1] No explanation offers itself of a service like this last, which would seem to have been rather that which a person of high rank would have been called on to perform. De Brocas was not yet even a knight; but it is evident that he was already a thoroughly confidential servant of his English master.

For these, and perhaps other services—for the whole chivalry of England was gathering round the royal hero, and on De Brocas must have fallen no small share of the burden of equipping the king's cavalry—we find him receiving no less than three grants in this same year. The first of these consisted of a grant of lands at Basingstoke, forfeited by one Hode, felon and outlaw.[2] This seems to have been the first step in the settlement of the family in Hampshire. He next receives permission to hold in fee, without rent, some lands (*purpresturas*) formed out of encroachments upon the Crown property in the village of Bray.[3] But the public office now bestowed on him is a much more interesting fact in the family history, for this is the year when he is made *Custos* (constable or warden) of the castle, town, and park of Guildford,[4] the post so long held by Oliver de Bordeaux, both in the civil war of Edward II. and under Edward III. When that officer was reappointed in 1331 it was by exactly the same instrument as De Brocas in 1337, but on easier terms. He was only to pay the king a rent of thirty marks,[5] while his successor was to pay 20*l.*,

[1] Exch. Wardrobe and Household Accts. $\frac{29}{11}$, Easter, 12 Ed. III.
[2] See book vi. chap. ii.
[3] *Patent Rolls*, 11 Ed. III. pt. ii. m. 10.
[4] *Pipe Roll's*, 11 Ed. III.
[5] *Rot. Orig.* 4 Ed. III.

out of which he was to pay the 'parker' 2*d*. a day. Both were made *firmarii ville de Guildford*, but John de Brocas enjoys the distinction of bringing the series to a close. Soon after his death, Edward granted to the 'approved men' (*probi homines*) of the town, 'for the further advancement of the borough and the ease of the approved men thereof, the town and appurtenances, together with all the rents, issues, profits, and emoluments which John Brocas received, paying the king and his heirs 10*l*. yearly, saving the castle, gaol, and king's park.'[1] In 1377 the burgesses of the town requested an 'exemplification of the profits John Brocas had received.' They are as follows: 'Two-thirds of the Custom of Brou-gavel, Tan-gavel, and Flesh-gavel within the said town, and no more, the remaining one-third being received by the Earl of Surrey; all the issues and profits of the Court held from three weeks to three weeks; and of the Court of Pie-powder, and of the fees there; together with the profit of one day of the Leet holden on the Monday after St. Hilary; also of the issues and profits of a certain messuage that escheated to the king for want of heirs on the death of Andrew Calcy; and of all goods and chattels of fugitives called Wayfs; with the chattels of persons taken for felonies, and dying before conviction.'[2] It may be noticed that before Sir John's death these revenues had already become less productive than formerly, which accounts for the reduced rent demanded of 'the approved men of Guildford;' and the park had become less valuable on account of the king's keeping his stud there, for Sir John Brocas petitions that his rent may be reduced, as he is no longer able to pay 20*l*.[3] It was natural that, under the great rise of towns which was taking place, the old arrangement should come to an end. The 'approved men,' not yet styled a 'Corporation,' now began their independent career.

We may be as sure as if we saw it on record that the man who superintended the collection of these various sources of revenue, though he must often have been non-resident, was the Constable's brother, the Rector of St. Nicholas. He had received his first foreign appointment as 'Registrar of the Court of Gascony' in 1331[4]—immediately after Edward III. had got rid of Mortimer—without power of appointing a deputy; but as, in 1336, we find him made 'Controller of the Castle of Bordeaux' for life,[5] and observe by his deeds that he is much at Guildford after that date, he must have relinquished the first and probably more lucrative of the two offices, perhaps on the understanding that he might perform the second by deputy. Thus Guildford would become his headquarters once more, just at the time when his brother obtained an office which he could hardly have filled properly in person while resident at Windsor, and

[1] *Rot. Orig.* 31 L.T.R.; 41 Ed. III.
[2] *Patent Rolls*, 51 Ed. III.
[3] County Placita, Surrey, No. 37; 37 Ed. III.
[4] *Gascon Rolls*, 5 Ed. III. m. 8 (Nov. 15).
[5] *Ibid.* 10 Ed. III. m. 6 (March 3).

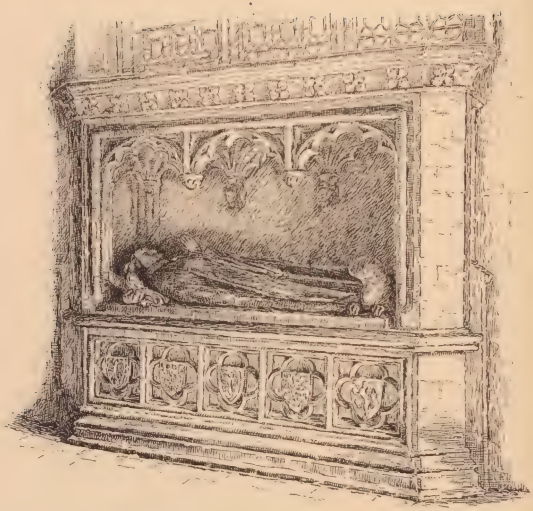
occupied in so many great affairs about the king. A characteristic note of the difficulties which the Rector had surmounted soon after he obtained his preferment, is to be found in the Rolls of Parliament. It is as follows:

Under the heading, '*Annis incertis* Edward III.,' evidently 1 Edward III., there is a petition to the king from Thomas le Constable, king's chaplain and parson of the church of Our Lady at Guildford (the fine old church still existing), to the effect that though the king had granted him 'de son don,' a chapel near Guildford, founded in honour of St. Katherine, upon Drakehulle, Bernard de Brocas, parson of the church of St. Nicholas, Guildford, in whose parish the said chapel is, 'gave rich gifts to Sir Robert Baldock, Chancellor, and Sir Walter de Stapelton, Treasurer, to change entirely that gift of the King;' and he now begs the king to confirm his first gift. The reply is: 'Let the Judges of the King's Bench view the charter, call before them the parson who now holds the chapel, and hear his reasons. Let justice be done.' Next year the cause is decided in favour of the Rector of St. Nicholas, and the chapel was thenceforth attached to that parish for ever.[1]

Whatever truth there may have been in the rival parson's story about Bernard's 'rich gifts,' it is perfectly clear that he was in the right, and that the Crown only did him justice. The original gift to his predecessor, Wauncey, who had rebuilt the chapel at his own expense, had only lapsed by the failure to pay the fine due: and as soon as Bernard paid it, which he did, the right most surely returned to the rectory of St. Nicholas. The transaction suggests that during the troubles of the revolution, Thomas le Constable—perhaps invited by the youth and non-residence of the new Rector, who was only a sub-deacon, and still at the University—had taken an unfair advantage of his neighbour. Wauncey had done much for his parish. Besides rebuilding the ruined chapel he had procured a royal charter for an annual fair to be held on St. Katherine's Hill (Drakehulle), the proceeds of which were to go to the Rector of St. Nicholas, and which no doubt were an important element in the value of the prize which the parson of St. Mary's coveted. The fair has continued to be held on this hill, on the 2nd and 3rd of October of each year, down to the present day.

From the year 1336 onwards, we find the successful Rector acquiring property in Guildford and the neighbouring manors, 'for himself and his heirs,' and thus laying the foundation of the fortunes of his relatives in Surrey, as he afterwards did in Hampshire. His Gascon offices, and his prebends at Chichester and Wells, would help to supply such funds as were beyond the profits of his extensive parish and his annual fair. Not long before his death he places Arnald and

[1] *Patent Rolls*, 2 Ed. III.



TOMB OF ARNALD BROCAS IN THE LOSELEY CHAPEL, ST. NICHOLAS' CHURCH, GUILDFORD

From a recent photograph

Simon Brocas in trust of his lands in Surrey and Sussex. Simon, the 'Keeper of the King's Park' at Guildford, is found soon afterwards receiving 6*d*. a day for life as a reward for good service done to the king[1]—a retreat for his old age. He does not seem to have married. Thus the family gather round picturesque Guildford, even more thickly than at Windsor; but at neither place was it to be permanently planted.

One naturally wishes to place oneself in the midst of a busy and prosperous family like this, and for that purpose to invoke the aid of the locality in which they moved. To recover, piece by piece, the various circumstances which went to make up that life at such a wide distance of time, is like nothing so much as the puzzle of a child who has to piece together the disjointed and scattered parts of the map of some country. In each case alike, one is encouraged in the task by the feeling of certainty that the pieces, however obstinately they seem to refuse to sort themselves, must necessarily be capable of finding their proper places, if we only knew how to do it. The local difficulty is, after all, only a type of the more general one. Who can expect to present a really faithful picture of a long-buried life?

If then we proceed to the Guildford which everybody knows, and endeavour to extract the local secrets of a period so long passed away, our first discovery is that we have set ourselves an almost impossible task. We explore and inspect it from various points of view. There indeed are its undying hills and valleys, and its winding Wey; these cannot have changed: but what of the rest? We study the excellent county history and the modern guide-books. How little of the past remains. How different do even the features of nature appear under modern aspects, from what must have met the eyes of the Constable of the castle and king's farmer of the town, or the wise Rector of St. Nicholas, in the early years of the reign of the conqueror of France. Of the buildings of that day, St. Mary's church and the ruined Keep of the castle alone remain. Very little of the present handsome little town was then existing; for the strong, and even then ancient castle, with its spacious precincts, occupied a large part of the eminence now covered with shops and houses. The present St. Nicholas' Church is the second which has been erected on the site of that which owned in succession both Bernard and Arnald Brocas for its Rector. The monumental brass of the former has gone; the fine tomb of the latter, transferred from the old church to the Loseley chapel of a comparatively recent date, alone attests the importance of the family. The busy screaming railway fills the gateway through which those only could enter who had business at the royal palace, situated not far off, but no one knows exactly where. The Royal Park, extending for several

[1] *Issue Rolls of the Exchequer*, 40 & 50 Ed. III.

miles to the west and north-west of the town, was then the great feature of the scene which presented itself from the 'Hog's Back.' From the railway station we see 'Guildford Park farm,' which some think to have been the site of the palace. Three other farms, at least, draw their produce from the pleasant hunting-grounds, to swell the size of which a portion of the Brocas estates contributed, though apparently never paid for. If the Brocas Masters of the Royal Buckhounds attended the Sovereign in the chase anywhere but in Rockingham Forest, those hill-sides must have echoed with the sound of their hounds and horn, and it is perhaps an instance of the tenacity of country habits that the local pack, and not unfrequently the Royal Buckhounds, still meet within the precincts of the old Royal Park which has been for centuries the property of private persons.

Perhaps the best course is to climb as high as the ruins permit up the old Keep of the castle, with its Roman herring-bone tiles, and its Norman, or possibly Saxon, superstructure, and gaze over the tops of the houses which have so long usurped its ancient precincts upon the noble view, rejoicing in the good news that this national monument has at last been purchased from private owners by the Corporation of Guildford, as a place of public recreation. Truly they deserve their ancient title of 'approved men.' What is perhaps still more helpful towards repeopling the Brocas past is to mount St. Katherine's Hill, and stand within the ruined chapel, for the possession of which Master Bernard de Brocas successfully contended; and here we shall enjoy a still more lovely view than before, not the less suggestive that, through a vista of near woods, we catch sight of a fine ancient house, still retaining the name of 'Brabeuf,' the old lords of the manor, one of whom signs a Brocas deed in 1338. Close under our feet is Picard's farm, which, as 'Picard's manor,' formed a central portion of Master Bernard's property. The little village of Artington, with its claim to be the site of the ancient British Ardaeneon, where the Rector made his first investments, lies a little further along the road, and looks as if the centuries had rolled by without effecting much change in its appearance. If we pursue our path to Compton, we may not refuse to visit the curious Norman church, round which the descendants of Arnald Brocas clustered, even though we miss the tomb of Benedict Brocas, which successive incumbents have not thought it worth while to preserve. If again, hard by at Elizabethan Loseley, we miss the older residence known to the Sidneys and the Arnald Brocasses, we find some compensation in the study of one of the most beautiful houses in England, and may at least connect the ancestors of the present owner with a chapter of Brocas history, to be noticed further on. Perhaps it adds a slight zest to the appetite for such a pilgrimage as the above, that we search the local guide-books in vain for any mention of the family beyond the casual notice of Arnald Brocas's

tomb. Why should we expect it? The older world of Guildford has long passed away with the castle and the park. These books do indeed most laudably endeavour to claim attention for the antiquities of the place; but perhaps the dates, later by three or four centuries, of Abbot's Almshouse, and the still later picturesque town clock, visible to the bodily eye of the modern visitor, sufficiently represent ancient history.

John de Brocas may well have been glad to accept aid in his affairs from brothers, sons, or any one else; for he must have been one of the busiest men in a stirring age. He now comes before us as a knight, having received that honourable rank from the king at a time, and with a special provision, which almost proves that he not only attended his Sovereign at the great battle of Sluys (1340), but had done some distinguished service in the fleet. Soon after the victory the king orders that he shall receive a salary of fifty marks a year for himself and his heirs, 'for the better maintenance of the estate of knighthood until he shall be granted lands and tenements of the same value in fee.'[1] This is, however, all he receives for five years. In 1345 the lands at Dunmow, in Essex (famous in later years for the hard-earned flitch of bacon), belonging to certain 'aliens' named Robert and Jacomina le Merk, whose 'son and heir remains in the parts beyond sea, adhering to Philip de Valeys,' are granted to our knight;[2] but they are only valued at 10*l.* 5*s.* rent. Perhaps the difference was partly made up by the grant of Free Warren in the same year on an estate he had recently acquired, the manor of Polyngfold, in Surrey.[3] As he held it *in capite*, the manor may itself have been at this time granted; but, as a matter of fact, Dunmow was not relinquished by Sir John till 1358, and then only on delivery of a bond for 160*l.* given by Sir William Ferrars.[4]

Another characteristic notice of 'John Brocatz' belongs to the year of his knighthood. The 'king's wool' falls far short of what is required for war purposes, and he is obliged to raise a loan. The Treasurer and Robert de Sadyngton, afterwards Chancellor, are appointed on a commission to procure the money, and the names of ten persons, of whom Brocas is one, are subscribed to the order. Among them are Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, and Thoresby, afterwards Chancellor and Archbishop of York.[5] This shows the position now attained by the head of the English branch of the clan.

But in 1341 we come across one of those notices which imply so much without satisfying our curiosity. The war had been raging for three years, and Sir John had been in the thick of it. He had taken a distinguished prisoner, of whom we have the following brief

[1] *Patent Rolls*, 14 Ed. III. part ii. m. 27 (cf. Inq. p. m. 14 Ed. III. 2[d] Nos. 14.
[2] *Ibid.* 19 Ed. III. part i. m. 6.
[3] *Charter Rolls*, 19 Ed. III. part i. No. 20.
[4] *Close Rolls*, 32 Ed. III. m. 26.
[5] *Fœdera*, 14 Ed. III. March 1.

account. This prisoner, Peter Arnald de Fytor, lord of Unissa, had been taken *per nostrum dilectum et fidelem Johannem de Brocas* at St. Arnaud, near Tournay, and had been released by him on condition of delivering himself up to captivity if he did not, by a certain day named, pay a ransom of 400 florins. He paid this sum into the hands of 'Bernard de Brocas, brother, Oliver de Brocas, son and heir, and William de Campaine, uncle [*avunculus*] of the said John;' and the notification that these three persons had acknowledged the payment before Robert de Burgcher, Chancellor, is publicly made for all whom it might concern.[1] This is the sole notice we have of Sir John's attendance on the king during his Flemish campaign.

The hint here given by the mention of William de Campaine has been expanded in a previous chapter, but the word 'heir' attached to Oliver's name would seem to have slipped into the document by mistake; for Oliver has always been believed to be the second son of the family. And here, since his career was short, we may make room for a few words on John, the eldest son, who was already following his father's footsteps, and no doubt assisting him at Court. Some years after this, '*Johannes, filius Johannis Brocas*,' is recorded as a 'valettus' to the king, who, for his 'good service,' had been made Bailiff of the Hundred of Pyrhull, in Staffordshire, for life, at a rent of six marks.[2] On his death in 1352, this office was granted to another 'valettus,' Thomas Cheyney.[3] Just before John died, the king (on May 27, 1352) granted him, for thirty years, 'the lands and rents of our rebels in the duchy of Aquitaine, which Roger Gavaret, now deceased, held for the term of his life in Bordeaux and the Burdeleys,'[4] a grant soon afterwards made to Sir John, the father.[5] Both grants are specially made 'for good service.' We have no authentic record of the cause of this latter grant to the young John, and in the absence of such, need not refuse to give credit to the unvarying legend of the family, that he was 'slain by the French at sea off Southampton.' Now, though we know of no such sea-fight in 1352, nor of any since the famous battle off Winchilsea with the Spanish ships in 1350, there may well have been some skirmish in which the heir of a family, already earning laurels in Flanders, at Crecy, and at Calais, may have aspired to fame, performed some chivalrous exploit, obtained the above grant by way of reward, and died, perhaps of some wound received in the fight. The traditions also assign him the rank of knight. This also is possible. Edward knighted eighty esquires after the Spanish sea-fight; but of this case again we have no record. In the spring of 1351 he was certainly not a knight, for on March 20 of that year he signs himself 'John Brocas

[1] *Patent Rolls*, 15 Ed. III., quoted in *Fœdera*.
[2] *Rot. Orig.* 26 Ed. III. Ro. 5.
[3] *Ibid.* 27 Ed. III. m. 5.
[4] *Rot. Orig.* 23 Ed. III. Ro. 8.
[5] *Gascon Rolls*, 26 Ed. III. m. 3.

de Estroper,' erasing the other 'de' which had been placed before his surname.[1] On him had been settled the estates in Hampshire, of which Estroper was one, and which Sir John at first designed as the centre of the family property. It is of course possible that Oliver may, after all, have been the eldest son, and that as he had recently married a lady of great fortune, the settlement in Hampshire might have been designed for the second son; but on the whole, considering John's early establishment at Court, the tradition ought to be accepted rather than the *obiter dictum* of the above document. It is not of much consequence, for this son John, carried off just when he was in the full tide of success in life, died unmarried.

To return from this digression: three years after the above suggestive notice of Sir John de Brocas in Flanders, we find him receiving letters of protection when about to leave England, '*ad partes transmarinas*,' under Richard, Earl of Arundel. In other words, he was to have formed part of the army in Brittany, which was destined to reopen the war in that province, but was countermanded. Instead of a year of war, he was, however, to pass a year of peaceful and honourable embassy, concerning which there are extant no less than four interesting letters.[2]

The first letter shows us that he was sent, in 1344, to congratulate Alfonso XI., king of Castile, on the capture of Algesiraz from the Moors. Edward says in this letter, in no unmeaning spirit of chivalrous commonplace, that he had himself intended to make a pilgrimage to St. James' [of Compostella], and to have aided in the king's campaign [as many English knights did], but there is no longer any need for his services. In a second letter he thanks the king for a present of two Spanish jennets, and for his friendly sentiments as reported by John Brocas and William de Pomeriis. In a third letter, to the Spanish Minister, he says he has heard from John de Brocas of his good disposition towards him, and begs him to expedite the proposed marriage between his eldest daughter and the king of Castile's son. The fourth letter, introducing Trussel and Sturey, the new ambassadors, recites the successful character of 'Monsieur John de Brocas'' preliminary embassy. Perhaps because this negotiation bore no fruit for some years, being only one amongst others of the same sort designed to strengthen the English cause against France, it is left unnoticed by historians, thus sharing the fate of other important matters touching the possession of Aquitaine. Like Edward I., who, when gathering himself up for his great enterprise in the British Isles, laboured to anticipate the hostility of the French by securing Aquitaine on all sides, Edward III., finding that the great French duel had now to be fought *à outrance*, resolved to leave no enemy on his flank if negotiation could prevent it. The Gascon knight, with his half-

[1] See book vi. chap. ii. part ii. sect. 5. [2] *Fœdera, sub anno.*

Spanish name, was a very natural person to be employed in the preliminaries. The embassy took effect. In 1347 the bride embarked, splendidly accompanied, on her way to be married to Don Pedro. Landing at Bordeaux (1348), she caught the plague and died. She might be considered fortunate, for her intended husband was 'Peter the Cruel.'

We arrive at the year of the battle of Crecy and siege of Calais. That Sir John de Brocas and his son, Bernard, accompanied the king in his invasion of France, in 1346, is proved by the war-pay Sir John received, '*radia guerre*,' in that and the two following years, and by Sir Bernard's evidence in the Scrope and Grosvenor Rolls.[1] In these years Sir John received for himself and his company five different sums, amounting to about 228*l.* in all.[2] At the siege of Calais we know, from an authentic list,[3] what the strength of his company was, and it was probably the same at Crecy. If not among the fourteen esquires whom he led to battle, we may be sure that neither of his sons was far from his side, Oliver attending on the king, Bernard on the Prince of Wales. The evidence for the elder of the two is almost as direct as for the younger, since, in the autumn of the year 1346, Oliver receives, as a king's esquire, 60*s.* for his services in buying horses for the king's use in April, and in 1348 he receives the amount owing him

[1] 'Sir Bernard was apparently one of the heroes of Cressy, Poitiers, and Najara' (Sir H. Nicholas, in his edition of the Scrope and Grosvenor Rolls).

[2] Exchcq. Q.R. Wardrobe Accts. $\frac{6}{8}$, 18–21 Ed. III.

[3] The following abstract account of the force present at the siege of Calais may not be unacceptable, since it does not seem to have ever been printed, and is quite inaccessible to the general reader.

By far the largest proportion of the 975 knights in the army were enrolled under the banners of the Prince of Wales, Henry Duke of Lancaster, the Bishop of Durham, and the thirteen earls who commanded bodies of troops. The names of these knights, amounting to 708, and of those serving under other leaders of inferior rank, are not given. But the following sixty-eight knights commanded companies of their own, and accordingly have both their names and arms recorded. They are as follows, the order being apparently quite promiscuous: Sirs Morris Barkley, John Maltravers, Robert Morley, Henry Engayne, Roger Lestrange, Theobald Rochecourte, John Beauchamp, Thomas Holland, Othes Holland, Hugh Spencer, Thomas Vaghtred, John Sherborne, William Warren, Amias Brett, John Cobham, Thomas Beaumonte, Thomas Swynerton, John Radcliffe, Nicholas Langton (or Longford), Gilbert Turberville, Robert Daulton, John Carew, William Franke, Richard Damereye, Warren Trussell, Richard de la Vache, Thomas Borne, John Lewknor, John Brokas, Nicholas Stapleton, John Barkley, William Conder, Gwge of Brian, Hugh Courtney, Stephen Wallis, Thomas Lancaster, John Ravensholme, John Brewes, Amory Darcy, John Fitzwarren, John Borehont, John Hampton, Thomas Hogshage, Allayne Claveringe, William Trussell, John Warde, John Cobham, Thomas Beaumont the younger, William Darcye, Ralph Ferrers, Thomas Colvile, John Potenhall, William Felton, Robert Nevile, Adam Asherst, John Beauchamp, John Carew the younger, Nigell Loring, Pounet Ryvers, Reignald Chesshehunt, Philip de Spencer, William Graunston, Thomas Hawkstone, Symond Basset, Walter de la Poole, William Marmyon, William Wolforde (a Gascon), and Peter d'Espaine. Each company is for the most part divided into knights, esquires, and archers, of whom Sir John Brocas commands 1 knight, 14 esquires, and 24 archers, a number considerably above the average. To name a few others whose families or themselves find a place in this narrative, Sir Nicholas Stapelton

for war-pay, viz. 10*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.*,[1] a sum which, for an esquire, involves long previous campaigning. It is tantalising to be able only just to place this gallant family of Anglo-Gascons in the midst of the chivalry which won for England its highest renown, and to be unable to pierce the cloud which forbids us to follow them in their own persons through those romantic scenes. It is, however, something to feel that we know the kind of man who, with his son Oliver, was charged with a large share of the responsibility for the equipment of the English troops; and our imagination must be dull indeed if we cannot frame a picture of the youthful Bernard, the special friend of the Black Prince, 'armed for the first time on the shore of La Hogges,' or, in other words, putting on for the first time, on the landing of the troops, at the same moment when the Prince was dubbed a knight, the armour of an esquire; dull, indeed, if we cannot follow him on that exciting and bewildering march which looked so like, but was not, a flight; or see him by the side of his friend turning to bay at Crecy, and winning his own share of the honour of that glorious day.

The mark of favour received by Sir John de Brocas for his share of the glories of these campaigns suggests that the scenes he had passed through had exercised a sobering and religious influence. In the year following Crecy he makes a permanent provision for the chaplains of Windsor Hospital in the following form. He already held that hospital by gift of the king for life. He now begs he may have it in fee, in order that he may settle the lands of the hospital on 'certain of the chaplains belonging to it.'[2] An Inq. ad q. d. reports that, the hospital not being an ecclesiastical benefice, such a proceeding would not damage the king or anyone else. Perhaps this was the fulfilment of some vow made in battle: at any rate, it must be taken along with Sir John's establishment of a provision for divine service, first 'within his manor of Clewer,' and then at a chapel in his own house in the manor.[3] All this was quite in keeping with the king's own plan of including charitable and religious objects along with the knightly foundation he was now beginning to institute. Chivalry was to march hand in hand with religion.

commands 1 knight, 4 esquires, and 6 archers; Sir Adam Asherst, 1 knight, 4 esquires, and 2 archers; Sir John Borhunte commands 1 knight, 1 esquire, and 2 archers; Sir William Trussell, 4 knights, 9 esquires, and 18 archers; Sir Warren Trussell, 1 knight, 2 esquires, and 2 'archers on horse.' Sir Michael Poynings appeared as a baron, with 1 banneret, 8 knights, 23 esquires, and 13 'archers on horse;' as also Sir John Lisley (or De Insula), with 1 banneret, 6 knights, 11 esquires, and 13 'archers on horse.' The number of ships and mariners follows, as well as the pay of each officer and man; which last has often been quoted, but is required in reference to our knights. The Prince of Wales had 20*s.* a day, a duke 13*s.* 4*d.*, an earl 6*s.* 8*d.*, a baron 4*s.*, a knight 2*s.*, an archer 3*d.*, a mariner 3*d.*, and a 'Welshman' 2*d.* (Wood's MSS., E. 11, Bodln. Lib. There are two other copies in the British Museum.)

[1] See Wardrobe Accts. as on p. 70.

[2] Inq. p. m. (Escheats) Sir J. B., 21 Ed. III.

[3] Oratoria ex Rob. Wyvill Registro, 1334 and 1345, Bodln. Lib.

Sir John's connection with the great hastiludes or tournaments which preceded the foundation of the Order of the Garter will complete this group of notices. He is associated with three others, Prince Thomas of Lancaster, John Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and Peter de Brewes (or Braose), in an order on the Wardrobe for two ells and half a quarter of short blue cloth for each of them, to make a coat or robe, and an ell of short white cloth for a cape '*de secta Regis*,' of the king's pattern.[1] The order occurs as part of the larger order for the various preparations now making for the great tournament of Eltham, and indicates special employment in connection with it, natural enough for the Master of the Horse. These preparations, as is well known, included the 'Hony soyt q̄ mal y pense' on the twelve garters, and on the king's 'harness,' 'Hay, hay, the wythe Swan,' and on his doublet, 'It is as it is;' and, as is also well known, were the immediate cause of the institution of the Garter, about June 24, 1348, based on the earlier conception of the revival of King Arthur's Round Table. The Order of the Garter was to be the central link binding together the knighthood of all Christendom, the king and his son, who had well earned their place, being at the head of it. It was a noble idea, carried into act, and bearing fruit. Was there ever a finer indication of the military leadership of England, acknowledged as it was by all the world? Perhaps it was well that it should last only twenty years, for there was much evil mingled with the good; but England, if we take the standard of excellence from the king down to the archer, has never seen anything approaching the completeness of her glory and the general recognition of it then attained—not even the visit of the Allied Sovereigns, in 1814, surrounded by the brilliant heroes who had lifted the British army and navy to the highest place in the world.

Sir John de Brocas is found again, in 1348, receiving robes from the royal wardrobe for the hastiludes of Lichfield,[2] but this time amongst a large number of lords, knights, and ladies. He does not, however, become one of the Knights of the Garter, nor do his sons. Perhaps it was not thought well to elevate the Gascon blood to such a height, and expenses were involved which they could hardly yet support. Once more: not long after the foundation of the Order, there is evidence of Sir John's employment in some service 'beyond sea,' for he and his company again receive war-pay. This was probably as part of the force which accompanied Edward and his son on that chivalrous adventure at Calais, which ended in the discomfiture of Chargny and the chaplet of pearls for Ribaumont.

We now have to follow our knight into a more peaceful field, for nothing comes amiss to these Gascons; but we should err if we did not

[1] Exch. Wardrobe Accts. $\frac{3^{3}}{2}$, 21-23 Ed. III.

[2] *Ibid.* 22 & 23 Ed. III.

connect his work at Windsor Castle with all that had preceded it. In issuing a Royal Commission for the building of his palace, Edward was making a new departure in one sense, but not in another. It was only a second stage in a great national work, the idea of which had been gradually extending itself ever since the battles of Crecy and Neville's Cross, the series of great tournaments, and the foundation of the Garter. As early as 1344 the insufficiency of the accommodation at the Castle had forced itself on the king's attention. In that year he had erected the lower portion of the 'Round Tower,' to receive his Knights of the Round Table; but the great events of 1346 had suspended his plans, and the presence of the captive king of Scotland, with his nobles, as well as the splendid representatives of foreign chivalry who now thronged his Court, forced him to proceed further. Imperial ideas required local expression. There was a lull in the war, and this was the time to press forward with the work.

The Constable of the Castle, from 1330 to 1360, was Thomas de Foxle. To him, as previously to Oliver de Bordeaux, when Constable, had been committed from time to time the repairs of the houses, walls, towers, bridges, and park inclosures,[1] and under him the obscure surveyors of the new works, which had been gradually undertaken beyond the 'middle and lower' wards, had been hitherto employed. First, the completion of the great Keep, then a palace east of the Keep, with its vast substructures and embankments, had to be undertaken; and Foxle might well demand that others should share his enlarged responsibilities. Many difficulties would present themselves with regard to the tenure of the neighbouring lands. The enlarged palace must have enlarged grounds. It was no longer to share with Rockingham, Northampton, and other castles, the occasional presence of the leaders of European chivalry, but to be their central and permanent home, the receptacle of their treasures, and the visible emblem of their magnificence.

The idea of the Commission was to assist the Constable by associating with him two confidential servants of the Crown, whose past experience and present position made them familiar with the place in its minutest particulars, and who were more or less concerned with the numerous properties affected by the proposed expansion. Exactly such were Sir John de Brocas and old Oliver de Bordeaux. These three were commissioned in 1351 to 'survey the workmen and their work, to encourage such as did their duty, but to compel those who were slothful.'[2] We have traced De Brocas in his offices of Chief Forester of Windsor Forest, and Warden of Windsor Hospital, and as an owner of Windsor land. Oliver, a still older Household officer, had

[1] Quoted in Tighe & Davis's *Annals of Windsor*, 1858.

[2] Ashmole's *Hist. of the Order of the Garter*, quoting Lit. Pat. 25 Ed. III.

not only himself been Constable of Windsor Castle from 1319 to 1325, and Chief Forester, but was actually in possession of the manor of Old Windsor, and had, by royal permission, imparked in his estate of Foli-John a large portion of the lands which Edward now required. Besides this local connection with the work, it was a happy thought to combine in so delicate a transaction the members of one family — for that they practically were — supposing they could each be trusted; and that had been long ago proved in war and peace. Foxle's son was the husband of De Brocas' daughter; we have observed the connection between the two Gascons.

These points have never hitherto received attention. The fame of William of Wykeham, who has found many a *cates sacer*, has eclipsed all memory of his predecessors in relation to Windsor Castle, and there will be no attempt made here to detract from his merits; but we must only regard him as the talented agent by whom a work, commenced and largely carried forward by the first Commission, was splendidly completed by the second. That second Commission was granted to Wykeham in exactly the same terms as the first, at a moment when Oliver de Bordeaux was dying, Sir John de Brocas called off to the new war, and Thomas de Foxle was drawing near his end. It was under the first Commission that the talents of the young 'King's Chaplain,' already for several years employed in humble services to the Crown, had begun to display itself; and, if we may judge by his lifelong devotion to the families both of Foxle and Brocas, it was to them that he felt he owed his rise out of obscurity. This will appear in the sequel.

It must also be observed that Wykeham had great advantages over his predecessors. They had to work on the scale of the old precedents, which were formed during the war and under the difficulties presented by Oliver de Bordeaux's tenure of property. He took up the reins when the Battle of Poitiers had virtually concluded the war; and just as he was making fresh and fresh demands for money, he found that the Peace of Bretigni had placed at his disposal the funds set free by the dispersion of the king's great cavalry establishment. Oliver's death was also most opportune. On the death of John of London, Constable of the Castle in 1318, Edward II. had conferred his estates in Windsor and the neighbourhood on Oliver and Matilda, his wife, *pur son bon service*, and these grants had been confirmed and extended to this faithful officer by Edward III.[1] But when he and his wife died childless the king was under no such obligations to the stepson, Trussel. Thus he resumed all the royal grants to Oliver in Old and New Windsor, Winkfield, Ascot, and Eton, all of which he 'rejoined and united to the castle and manor of Windsor,' giving Trussel, by way of com-

[1] See several notices in the *Patent Rolls* of 4, 5, 10, 12, 13, and 19 Ed. II., and 1 Ed. III.; also in *Rot. Orig.* 13, 14, and 19 Ed. II.

pensation, the manor and advowson of Eton Hastings.[1] He now placed the resumed estates under Wykeham's guardianship, who had thus plenty of space at his disposal, as well as abundant funds and new powers of impressing labourers and artificers from all parts of the kingdom. There is not much to be said for impressment; but if it could ever be thought justifiable in any age it might be in this case. The point at which the first Commission broke off and the second began work has not yet been ascertained, but it may be remarked that Thomas de Foxle was not at all likely to have been a mere passive instrument in the hands of Wykeham or any other architect. The grand scale of his work at Bramshill would indicate that his ideas were quite commensurate with those which governed the erection of Windsor Castle.[2] The fact is that in 1356 the time had come for entrusting the work to the genius of the younger man, who had hitherto been employed in a subordinate place. There are no marks of rivalry or jealousy. Brocas must have satisfied the king's expectations, or he would not have received at this time the grant of forfeited lands in Aquitaine, which had been set free by the death of his son.[3]

The renewal of the war in 1355 summoned Sir John from these peaceful occupations. In October of that year he has again the king's protection when about to set forth beyond sea.[4] His son, Sir Bernard, would seem to have sailed in June, to join the Black Prince in Aquitaine; and the father follows him in company with the fresh troops sent in the autumn. Beyond this fact, and the very suggestive one of the substantial reward he received for his services in those parts, we have no information; but the magnitude of the reward shows that he must have been greatly distinguished, and the absence of all historical notice of it is a good proof of the extreme scantiness of our knowledge of these matters. We are, in fact, entirely dependent on just what Froissart happened to pick up amidst the superficial gossip of the knights, clerks, and traders whom he met on his travels. What could they know about the real direction of affairs?

The grant was no less than one penny in the pound on the coinage of all silver money in the duchy of Aquitaine, to be paid on every delivery of the said money. This is stated to have been given to Sir John by the Prince of Wales (during pleasure) for the good service he had rendered him. In 1358 the grant, which had probably been made the previous year, is confirmed by the king, and made tenable for life.[5] We might fairly guess that Edward, disappointed with the meagre results of his son's plundering expedition to Narbonne, had sent out

[1] *Rot. Orig.*, 32 Ed. III. m. 20.

[2] See book vi. chap. i.

[3] *Gascon Rolls*, 27 Ed. III. m. 5 (May 17, 1353).

[4] *French Rolls*, 29 Ed. III.

[5] *Gascon Rolls*, 32 Ed. III. part i. m. 8 (March 14, 1358).

his trusty counsellor to review the situation, and plan the campaign which ended in the battle of Poitiers. We may assign him what part we please in that victory, for he would surely be there; but we should not be aware of his presence on the spot any more than we should be of that of his son, which we infer from a most accidental circumstance. Two-thirds of the army were Gascons. The conviction is forced upon us that these levies were largely effected by Edward's confidential Anglo-Gascon officers, father and son.

The last services of the veteran are performed in connection with the last actions of the war, and the establishment of the Peace of Bretigni. In 1359 he again sets forth beyond sea, at the head of a company in which were serving Stephen de Ashwy and Sir John's two sons, Oliver and Bernard.[1] This was the grand expedition furnished forth in the magnificent style described, though with some exaggeration, by Froissart, and which brought France, already reduced to her last gasp by the impoverishment of the land, the destruction of her armies, and the captivity of the king, on her knees. The result was the Peace, which the English also were glad enough to make. Sir Bernard could not have served with his father throughout these campaigns, for in the early part of 1361 he is sent on a special service to Normandy;[2] but Oliver seems to have been very soon entrusted with a small independent command, as we learn from the special payments of his salary for three different periods.[3] Still, as before, he and his father are closely associated, for they are in England together, and start once more together with their respective companies, three weeks before the Peace.[4] We may make a fair guess, remembering a payment to Oliver for procuring horses for the king before the battle of Creçy, that his duty was to assist his father in the management of the cavalry establishment. At the former date—1346—we have seen that he was an Esquire of the Royal Household,[5] and had no doubt been in the king's service for several years. When he became a knight is uncertain. Probably very long before 1361, when we first find him named as such in a public document; but none of his deeds have survived. The first entry of his pay at $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ in 1361 does not represent even that of an esquire.[6] He could hardly have

[1] *Fœdera, sub anno.*

[2] *French Rolls*, 35 Ed. III. m. 12 (March 1361).

[3] Exch. Wardrobe Accts. $\frac{6}{3}$, 34 Ed. III.

[4] *Fœdera*, 34 Ed. III. (April 16).

[5] Exch. Q.R. Wardrobe Accts. $\frac{6}{8}$ Mich^{s}. 20 Ed. III.

[6] The entry is as follows: 'To Sir Oliver Brocas for his war-pay, at $4\frac{1}{2}d.$, his 2 companions (*socii*), each at 12*d.*, and 6 archers, each at 6*d.* a day, from September 8 to 30—in all 23 days, 6*l.* 3*s.* $7\frac{1}{2}d.$' 'To the same for war-pay, as well as 2 esquires, each [of the three] at 12*d.*, and 6 archers at 6*d.* a day, from October 1 to April 11—in all 194 days, 58*l.* 4*s.*' 'To the same for his war-pay at 2*s.*, esquires and archers as before, from April 12 to May 18—in all 37 days, 12*l.* 19*s.*' Sir John's company had been detained in France from August 22, 1359, to May 31, 1360. He received 99*l.* 18*s.* for 284 days' service with 3 esquires and 4 archers—himself at 2*s.* a day, each esquire at 1*s.*, and each archer at 6*d.* It will be observed that the archer's pay has doubled since 1346. The country understood and appreciated their splendid service.

been expected to pay himself by plunder, for there was nothing left, after so many crushing invasions and victories, to unhappy France. As he was a man of good fortune, he may have been serving without pay at first. These expeditions may have worn him out; for he dies, still young, in 1363, leaving a son John, the manner of whose death makes him, as far as records have survived, a more interesting person than his father, about whom we have so few details. As we shall only recur to Oliver as an owner of property, we may observe here that the uniform tradition of the family, finding a place in all the pedigrees, is that Sir Oliver was 'Seneschal of Aquitaine and Governor of Bordeaux under King Edward III., as appears in an old MS. in French, of the Laws and Customs by which he governed the Province.' This book has been searched for in vain. Unless the publication of the Gascon or other Rolls should confirm the tradition, it may be supposed that Sir Oliver has been taken for his younger brother, Sir Bernard Brocas, who was Constable of Aquitaine in 1361.

We here take leave of the founder of the English family of Brocas. After the Peace, Sir John receives a pension of forty marks a year,[1] a sort of half-pay to the *emeritus*: but he is now rich, and this was only an *honorarium*. The year before his death, in 1365, he receives from the royal wardrobe certain cloths and furs to make a robe for the king's livery, besides thirty-two 'belly-skins of pure miniver,' to make a hood.[2] He could not have worn it often before his last summons came to a higher court.

He was removed from the scenes of a varied and busy life at a moment which the sages of antiquity would have pronounced happy. The royal family which he had faithfully served was at the height of its renown and prosperity. No shadow had yet crept over the sunny prospects of the land he had once called his own. The Spanish alliance, which he had borne a part in strengthening, was still of value, for the bearing upon the future of Peter the Cruel's expulsion from Castile was not yet developed. No one dreamed that France, shockingly harassed by the Free Companies, would ever again raise her mangled form and prostrate head. The relations of England with Scotland and Ireland were exceptionally favourable. The national independence had been proudly sustained against the French Pope. The English language and literature were taking a fresh start under the auspices of a magnificent Court and a splendid royal family. A palace worthy of such a dynasty, in the progress of which he had been concerned, was approaching completion. The old courtier might fairly cry, 'Vixi.' Nor, as he surveyed the position of his own family, was he much less to be envied. He had, indeed, been preceded to the grave by his two elder sons, but they had done their duty to the last. His faithful brother, Bernard, with whom he had worked through life,

[1] *Gascon Rolls*, 34 Ed. III. (August 18). [2] Exch. Wardrobe Accts. $\frac{5}{7}$, 37–39 Ed. III.

was still to the front. His heir and grandson, John, was the inheritor of a fine property in right of his mother; while his third son, Sir Bernard, a hero of Crecy and Poitiers, and a friend of the Black Prince, was at the height of his renown and fortunes. The old knight, by a second wife, Isabella, had two children, a second John, and a second Oliver, showing by their names that old memories were still near his heart; but there was no dismion in the family which he had planted deep in English soil. The place of his burial is unknown. We may be pretty sure it was in Clewer church, but there is no tradition of any memorial.

The sort of official material which has alone been available for the above sketch prevents us from making any higher and deeper acquaintance with this important member of the Brocas clan; yet it will be admitted that there is light enough to discern an honest, prudent, brave, and capable man, not so much overwhelmed with affairs as to make no provision for the affairs of religion—a man who did his duty. That was sufficient title to establish the Gascon knight in the rank of a true English gentleman, and to pass that rank to his descendants.

The questions arising out of the condition of the brothers as aliens, and the general position in which they left their family as English landowners, are so necessary to the comprehension of the subsequent chapters, that, instead of reserving them for Book VI., according to the general plan of this volume, they must be summarily treated in a note appended to the above sketch.

NOTE UPON THE ESTATES OF SIR JOHN AND 'MASTER BERNARD' DE BROCAS.

The law as to the position of aliens was naturally, in a time of war or uneasy peace, such as the reign of Edward III., strictly observed. They could neither grant nor receive land in fee, nor transmit the inheritance of landed property. But Gascons do not seem to have been in quite the same position. They were aliens, but, as subjects of the king, had certain privileges; and the question was certainly in an unsettled state towards the end of this reign. The distinction may perhaps be traced in the expression used in Acts of Parliament—'Gascons and other aliens.' About the very time of Sir John de Brocas' death, the House of Commons petitions for a Statute, 'that the children born in Calais, Guines, Gascony, &c., may be able to inherit lands in England just as if born there.' The *Responsio* is: 'Let the Common and Statute Law on this point be kept and guarded.'[1] On the one hand, it was specially desirable at this moment to encourage the people of Aquitaine to make common cause with the English; on the other hand, the English law, powerfully represented in Parliament, refused to give way. The disposition made of their property by Sir John de Brocas and his brother, Master Bernard, all through their lives and before their death, is that of Englishmen-born. They receive and grant land in fee; they pass

[1] *Rolls of Parliament*, 42 Ed. III.

their land to trustees like other people, and these trustees perform their trusts like other trustees. At the same time, both brothers take special care that no lands shall be left standing in their own name at their death, and Sir John, after having made out his trust-deed, thinks better of it as regards his Windsor estates, and makes a free gift of them to the king, who re-grants them to him for his life. The inference seems to be that the brothers, taken up by the Court early in life, had been naturalised; but, being prudent men, were careful to leave no uncertainties behind them.

Both brothers settled their estates upon trust about the same time; Master Bernard on December 8, 1362, employing Arnald and Simon Brocas along with three neighbouring clergy in the matter; Sir John on July 15, 1363, employing his son, Sir Bernard, and son-in-law, Sir John Foxley, the deed being witnessed by his mesne lord, Sifrewast, and the chief people of the Windsor neighbourhood. The estates are in the vills of 'Clyware, Didworth-Maunsel, New Windesore, Old Windesore, Eton, Dauneye, Boveneye, and Froille, in the counties of Berks, Boks, and Southampton.' Soon afterwards we find him making a provision out of his lands for an annual supply of wax for the purpose of burning perpetual lights in his chapel at Clewer-Brocas. What happened to make him grant on February 25, 1364, his estates in Clewer, New and Old Windsor, Bray, and Didworth to the king we cannot tell. No doubt the king wanted them very much; but so did Sir John's family, as soon appeared. He may have reflected that now Sir Oliver was dead, his own young heir, Oliver's son, would be, when he came of age and took up his mother's property, a rich man; that Sir Bernard had been handsomely settled in Hampshire; and that it might be well to place the interests of his two infant sons, by his second wife, under the special protection of the king by gratifying him in this particular. His manor of Polyngfold, in Surrey, had been granted to Isabella in his lifetime in lieu of her future dower, and appears to have been the only provision he had made for these children. After her second marriage to Sir Nicholas Lillyng she assigns the manor for their support. There was no question of resumption of grants in this, as in the case of Oliver de Bordeaux. Nearly all the estates had been bought and paid for.

Whatever may have been the cause of the gift, it was complete; for on the day after it was made Sir John gives a power of attorney to deliver seisin to the king. He died 'in his mansion at Clyware on the Feast of St. Maur the Abbot,' 1365;[1] on February 24, 1366, Sir Bernard Brocas surrenders to Robert Hertle, Constable of Windsor Castle, 'the whole of the muniments of Clyware, Wyndesore, Dideworth, and Bray (south-east part),' including 60 deeds and 5 account rolls for Clewer, 65 deeds for Windsor, 17 deeds and 3 court rolls for Didworth, and 8 deeds for Bray.[2] The king now grants some of this property to William de Wynford and Amicia, his wife. Wynford was Wykeham's chief assistant in the Windsor works. He is found on the Brocas lands in 1369 and 1372, and in the latter year has a formal grant of the whole estate for life 'for good service,' the annual value of it being reckoned at 19*l.* 17*s.*[3]

[1] Inq. ad. q. d. 43 Ed. III. No. 12.

[2] See Deeds in book vi. chap. i.

[3] Inq. ad. q. d. *ut supra*; and Inq. p. m. 46 Ed. III. 1st Nos. 6: cf. *Rot. Orig.* 46 Ed. III.

This had been no doubt a gift by Sir John of his whole property in these parts, and it is so stated—'all the lands, &c., which belonged to Sir John Brocas.' The difficulty which presents itself in relation to the extent of the gift in the discrepancy between the escheats of 1366, 1369, and 1372 is only apparent. The first inquisition reports that Sir John had no estate except the profits of the Wardenship at Guildford for life. But this is the legal view of the case. The real property was on trust. In 1369 the Escheators report that he had been seised at his death of estates in Clewer, Windsor, Pondfeld, Marled-Ruding, and Shepton-Ruding.[1] In 1372 the heir had come of age, and the trust, we must suppose, had expired. Sir John is now said to have been seised at his death of 97 acres of land at Clewer, of Bulstrode manor, and of lands and tenements in New and Old Windsor, and at Bray. These are the estates which the king had re-granted to him for life, and of which Wynford remained in possession till 1383. In that year we have several documents which illustrate the recovery of these lands by Sir Bernard Brocas, and show that it was effected in connection with William of Wykeham, and with the foundation, out of a part of the estate, of the Brocas Chantry in Clewer church. By a writ of certiorari to the Exchequer on October 20, a copy of the gift and power of attorney is registered.[2] John Hulcote, Sheriff of Berks, issues a precept to John Kingsmill, the king's Bailiff, to give Sir Bernard Brocas seisin of the lands in Bray, Clewer, and New Windsor, which he had recovered from William de Wynford in the king's court.[3] Lastly, on November 5, 1383, William of Wykeham deposits in the hands of the Treasurer of the Exchequer a paper 'concerning the lands and tenements of Sir John Brokaz, Knight,' which is placed in a certain box marked 'Buk' Brokoz.'[4]

A considerable part of the Windsor property was now at once granted, by permission of the young king, for the Clewer-Brocas foundation, with which Wykeham was concerned, just as we shall see he had been in the case of the Southwick Chantry. He was in power at this time, and Brocas was in favour both with him and Richard. The motives of Sir Bernard in making this foundation will be found treated in Chapter III. of this Book.

The old property, reunited though diminished, in all these places, descended with the rest of the Beaurepaire estates till it was sold by William Brocas (3) to Sir Reginald Bray in 1499. The sale of that date included the manor of 'Brocas in Clewer,' also styled 'Brocas otherwise called Clewer,' the manor of 'Didworth-Mauncell and Buntingbere,' and 'all other londes, &c., in Clewer, New Wynsore, Old Wynsore, Cokeham, Bray, and Winkfeld,' 'excepte the patronage and advowson of the Chauntrie in Clewer, which the said William hath as advowson in gros, and not appendant to any of the premyses.' How the early deeds of these properties survived the sale, and are still to be found in the Brocas chest, is not apparent. In addition to their purely antiquarian interest, they have a value of their own, as showing the prudent manner in which John de Brocas invested his early savings from his various offices.

Besides these Windsor estates, Sir John held at one time estates in Nottinghamshire, but soon got rid of them. They must have had their origin

[1] Inq. ad. q. d. 43 Ed. III. [2] Inq. p. m. 7 Ric. II. No. 109. [3] Book vi. chap. i.
[4] See Palgrave's *Ancient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of the Exchequer.*

in connection with his short-lived tenure of Nottingham gaol. We only hear of them in one deed, which is placed amongst the Berkshire portion, because part of the Clewer estate was assigned to Walter Whichors and Isabella Barry, in case they should lose these Notts estates in Keworth, Basingfield, Lambton, and Boghton. The manors of Yeshampstede and Cludesdon were only temporary grants. The Surrey estates of Sir John at Guildford and Polyngfold were for life at the former, in fee at the latter. In Hampshire he had, at an early period of his life, three estates, but only two of these are found in possession of Sir Bernard Brocas—the estate in Froyle (of which we have no account), and that at Basingstoke, described elsewhere. The third estate, which he had settled on his eldest son John, but got rid of after John's death, is also noticed elsewhere. Sir John then joined his brother in the acquisition of the Beaurepaire estate, which was at once handed over to Sir Bernard. Thus we see why he is called in the Hants deeds, not 'of Berks' or 'of Surrey,' but 'Sir John Brocas, of the County of Southampton.'

CHAPTER II.

SIR BERNARD BROCAS AND THE BLACK PRINCE.

Sir Bernard Brocas, third son of Sir John, and eventually his heir, is for every reason the central figure in the family history. From him alone, of Sir John's sons, all later generations have descended. Long before his father died he had carved out a position of his own, quite distinct from that of his brothers, though doubtless indebted largely to the influence already possessed by the family. We must not state it too positively, but reading his career by the light of the facts which we find recorded, we shall not be far wrong if we place him in very much the same situation with reference to the Black Prince which his father had held towards Edward III. The character which we have traced in that father and his ancestors came out very clearly in the son; and he added touches of his own.

We have no means of fixing the exact date of Bernard's birth, the age assigned him by escheators on the death of his relatives varying over several years, and being entirely inconsistent with his own statement that he was 'first armed on the seashore at Hogges.' This, as already mentioned, referred to the invasion of France in 1346. Sir Harris Nicolas justly observes that he must have been at least sixteen years old to be 'armed' at that time. That he was not likely to have been born much earlier than 1330, may be inferred from the fact that he was elected Knight of the Shire for Hampshire as late as 1395, the year of his death. Few knights in the age of chivalry are to be found older than sixty-five; though, indeed, Sir John Brocas must have been at least seventy when he died.

Bernard must have been then of about the same age as the Black Prince, who was born in 1330, and on the occasion when one became a knight, the other, as we have seen, became an esquire. The son of the Master of the Horse and confidential servant of the king must, at least, have been well acquainted with the king's son long before that day. Judging by their subsequent relations to one another, it is more than a guess that they had spent much of their boyhood in each other's company.

Other remarkable men were their contemporaries: Chaucer, who

was born about 1330; William of Wykeham, born in 1324; Wiclif, about the same time; Froissart, who was slightly the junior of the Prince and the esquire. Thus, in studying the careers of the very few men of that great age who are known to us in any detail, we are living in the light of the circumstances which influenced the life of the subject of this chapter. We know something about the sovereigns, princes, nobles, and courts of Europe with which he was familiar, the chiefs of the chivalry of which he formed a part, the point of development of the language which he spoke, the military organisations with which he was concerned, the character of the Parliaments in which he served, the condition of the various classes of society with which his estates brought him into contact, and the revolutions, social and religious, through which he passed, at the most interesting period of English history. It must be confessed that these pages will not throw any great light upon the period, but if they enable the reader to realise it a little better than before, something will be gained. It was not given to everyone to be the associate of the Black Prince and the friend of Wykeham, to be a partaker in all the great battles of the time, a high official in English dependencies, the Knight of his own Shire in Parliament, and an officer whose career during two reigns, in the slippery precincts of a Court, and in that most dangerous age, seems to leave little or nothing of which any one could disapprove.

Of the earlier years of Bernard's life we could not expect to know anything certain. There was no great family position which could send him forth to war, surrounded by feudal retainers. His father and elder brothers were simple 'king's knights,' or Household officers of the Court. We may well suppose that he was making a good beginning at Creçy and Calais, and witnessing during the prime of eager youth the gorgeous scenes at Windsor and elsewhere, which followed upon those events. At the 'Round Table' he would have served as page to the chosen knights; at the 'hastiludes,' in which his father held high office, he would attend as one of his esquires; the splendid lords and lovely ladies of the time would fire his youthful spirit. From his father and uncle he would be sure to learn the prudent arts of family business, and receive the highest education the times could afford to esquires and knights. The finest types of chivalry were before his eyes; the king and his eldest son must have stood before the young esquire as a sort of demigods. The young Edward was advancing upon the stage like a prince of fairyland, and the esquire was close upon his footsteps. So favourable a preparation for a fine career was not afforded in vain. A French chronicler, as we shall see, describes Sir Bernard Brocas, in 1361, as 'ung des haulz hommes et nobles d'Angleterre, tres bon chevalier, qui moult grandement avoit servi le prince [the Black Prince], et pour lui tant en ses guerres que autrement avoit moult

travaillié.' This French evidence of his position occurs in the year before Sir Bernard becomes Constable of Aquitaine, from which date we have an almost continuous record of public service, marked by a close connection both with the Prince and William of Wykeham. For the previous period we have a few private and public notices, which must first engage our attention.

The earliest of these notices does not convey or suggest much information. In 1352 we find our esquire, not yet apparently a knight, coming forward as one of four sureties in chancery for the 'good abearing' of Sir Thomas Dutton, Governor of Halton Castle. The next is of a very different kind. It refers to a marriage which is in itself suggestive. Two years later than the above he is already a knight, and already married. How long before that date he is to be regarded in either capacity we do not know, but even if that were the first year, he was young enough. Eight years had elapsed since he was 'armed.' During this time he was earning his fame in wars and tournaments, and amongst his companions in court and camp were the three young knights of the Yorkshire House of Stapelton, two of whom became Knights of the Garter. With one of these, Sir Brian, the family was in such close relations that he becomes in after years the trustee of the Brocas estates in Yorkshire. Now it so happened that the head of the House and his sister had recently made a double marriage with the Vavasours of Hazelwood, Barons Vavasour in the time of Edward I., and direct descendants of a companion of the Conqueror; and as the Brocases had no previous connection with Yorkshire, we cannot but be tempted to connect with these Stapeltons Sir Bernard's introduction to Agnes Vavasour, or Le Vavasour, daughter and heiress of Sir Mauger Vavasour of Denton, head of the junior branch of the family. At any rate this lady brought her husband in marriage the manors of Denton, Asquith, and Otley in Wharfedale, and Scharneston, Spofforth, and Wolsington (or Wolfdon) in other parts of Yorkshire, along with Wickley in Northamptonshire. This was a rich inheritance, but could not have been regarded with much satisfaction in after times; for six years after the marriage the parties were divorced.

It might perhaps be possible to discover the cause of this divorce, but very little light has yet been thrown upon it. The deed accompanying its 'celebration' will be found elsewhere.[1] It is a very business-like document, and seems to prove that the fault was on the side of the wife; or how could she have been advised to relinquish to her husband the whole of the inheritance she had brought with her and held jointly with him? She had a son, whom she had named Bernard;

[1] Book vi. chap. iv., where the questions of property arising out of the divorce are noticed.

but he was not the son of Sir Bernard Brocas. On this point also sufficient proof will be found elsewhere. Yet there are two facts which lead us to suppose the existence of extenuating circumstances. Some months after the divorce, Sir Bernard settles the most valuable of the estates, Scharneston, on Agnes, and on this son in fee, which estate is, several years later, found in possession of her second husband, Henry de Langfield, the putative father of the son. Secondly, the Church of those days must have been very lenient if it allowed both parties to marry again, as it did, unless there was something peculiar in the case. One remembers the story of Enoch Arden, the popular presentment of many such another incident. In the days of chivalry, wild adventure, and distant pilgrimages, when communication with Continental Europe, to say nothing of Asia and Africa, was so slender and uncertain, a false report of Sir Bernard's death might easily have reached England, and been too easily credited. De Langfield, a Yorkshire neighbour, may have been on the spot when Agnes was visiting her estates. The position of a widow was not always enviable in times of violence, and a private marriage may have taken place. Be this as it may, we are not at any rate called on to attach any blame to Sir Bernard Brocas, who was serving his country during some of these years, under the Black Prince, at Poitiers and elsewhere. Nor was his fate uncommon in those licentious times. His wife was indeed with him when he was at work upon his house at Beaurepaire in 1359, just after his return to England; at least we find money paid by the steward to the cofferer of the '*domina*.' We may fill up the story as we please. The Yorkshire estates remained in the Brocas family for three generations.

We have seen that Sir Bernard and his father were both employed as soon as the war broke out afresh in 1355. He receives the king's protection on going beyond sea on May 29,[1] but as he is still found on June 20 collecting seamen for the king's service, we cannot be sure that he accompanied the Black Prince in his plundering march to Narbonne and back. He is in England in the spring of 1356; for on May 24 of that year he is one of twenty-one knights who are sailing for 'parts beyond sea,' and who formed part of the Black Prince's second and more famous expedition.[2] As we might expect, we find, or have reason to think, that he was present with him at Poitiers; but in the meantime an important event occurred—Sir Bernard became 'lord of Beaurepaire.' The deed by which it was conveyed to him is dated July 9 of this year. When we come to deal with the Beaurepaire deeds, we shall find that the purchase was the result of a timely loan to John Peeche, the previous lord, followed by his surrender of the estates which were to be the centre and designation of the family for 520 years. That took place in 1353,

[1] *French Rolls*, 29 Ed. III. [2] *Ibid.* May 24, 30 Ed. III.

and the process may be thus summarised. The new estate was conveyed to Master Bernard for life, with remainder to Sir John and his heirs. Two years later Master Bernard, as 'lord of Beaurepaire,' grants it to his nephew, Sir Bernard. It was either procured out of money supplied by the nephew, or it was, as is most probable, the act of the two brothers, with a view to making this rising young knight, now that the eldest brother, John, was dead, and Oliver had provided for himself and his son in Kent, the head of the family in Hampshire.

The peculiar nature of the grant favours the latter view. It is remarkable that it should be made not to Sir Bernard alone, but to 'Henry, Duke of Lancaster, and Bernard Brocas, Knight.' The Duke was the greatest military commander of the period, well known in history. Holding large property in Hampshire, he would be a neighbour acquainted with these estates, but his position in this deed would be accounted for by his having commanded many years in Gascony, and so being the chief under whom Master Bernard had himself served. Both in court and camp he would also have been intimately concerned with Sir John Brocas, and thus a natural patron of his family. We may suppose then that he so far concerned himself in the affairs of the young officer as to allow himself to appear as one of the two grantees of the new estate; but it was, of course, merely formal, for soon afterwards, long before the death of the Duke, we perceive by the deeds of Sir Bernard that his own name alone appears as 'lord of Beaurepaire.' The grant is witnessed by the nearest relative and friend of the Brocases, Thomas de Foxle, Constable of Windsor Castle, and by two of the chief persons of the neighbourhood, Sir John de St. Philibert and Sir John de Podemale. It thus has all the solemnity of a foundation of the family, and it turned out that it was a foundation well laid. The 'capital lords of the fee' were the Barons St. John of Basing, but for portions of the estate taken before or afterwards out of the Forest of Pamber, the king. The Duke's part in the matter may also have had some connection with the latter circumstance. The dilapidated nature of the property will be gathered from the Accounts of the new lord's steward, Sir John Saddok, given in Book VI.[1]

We must now follow Sir Bernard to the wars, but without any light on the details till we come across him at the battle of Poitiers, if indeed we may infer as much from the following incident which arose out of the capture of King John of France. The evidence of our knight's presence is not complete, but it serves to strengthen the force of such indications as we derive from other sources.

Readers of Froissart will remember the brilliant narrative which he gives of this battle—another book of the 'Iliad,' stirring the blood like the sound of a trumpet. They will remember his account of the

[1] Chap. ii.

Black Prince's fine conduct in the field, the generalship of Chandos, the romantic valour of Audley, the heroism of King John of France, and the struggle which took place for the honour and profit of his capture. The king himself adjudged that honour to Sir Denis de Morbeque, the strong French knight who, for good reasons of his own, was fighting on the English side, and who pushed his way in among the struggling crowd by sheer strength and weight. One would think, as Froissart did, that the king might settle the question. But he does not forget to tell us of the bitter dispute that arose on the subject between the friends of Sir Denis and the Gascon knights and esquires, who, with their accustomed vivacity, supported the rights of a countryman of their own. This was Bernard de Trouttes, or du Troy, who claimed to be the real captor of the king. In fact the brave king and his young son Philip, who stood by his side to the last, warning his father of this threatening stroke and that as the crisis drew near, took a great deal of capturing; and the Gascon esquire may well have been the man who had finally broken down the king's defence, when Sir Denis forced his way into a fight practically concluded and received the formal surrender. It required all the influence and power which the heroic Prince, victor of the field, could exercise, to prevent a duel between these two men, which would probably have led to a free fight between the component parts of his force.

Six years later Bernard du Troy lay on his death-bed; one thing troubles his mind. The claim to have captured the French king has never yet been allowed. He calls around him certain 'celebrated peers and knights,' to bear witness to his last deposition, and to his appointment of certain persons to take up his quarrel after he is dead. In this document he asseverates: 'I took the king of France, who delivered himself up to me, and is my true prisoner; and no one else has any right to him in law or reason.'[1] Amongst the witnesses is Sir Bernard de Brocas, whose name would hardly be found there unless he had been in the battle, and approved of the claim from his own personal knowledge. Two of his co-signatories are mentioned by Froissart, amongst the very few whom he names, as having been with the Black Prince about this time. Brocas had no reason to be ashamed of his co-signatories, Oliver de Clisson, son of the great Breton nobleman of that name, William Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, Robert Holland, and Thomas de Ros.

'The Prince,' says Froissart, 'remained all that winter at Bordeaux, where was much feasting and merriment; and they foolishly expended the gold and silver they had gained. In England also there were great rejoicings, when the news arrived of the affair of Poitiers

[1] *Chronicle of London*, printed from Caligula D. III. f. 74, Cottonian MSS. The above forms one of the 'Illustrations' appended by the Editor.

and of the defeat of the French. Solemn thanksgivings were offered up in all churches, and bonfires made in every town and village. Those knights and esquires who returned to England after having been in this battle, were honoured in preference to any others.' We may well believe that the young knight would receive due honour at Bordeaux amongst his Gascon relatives, who would have been untrue to their proverbial character if they had not made the most of Sir John and his son. It was considered in Gascony a Gascon victory, and the composition of the force was chiefly Gascon. But neither the old nor the young knight was at all likely to have remained long amongst the revellers; and they certainly did not spend all their silver and gold, for we find them both showing signs soon afterwards of having something to spare. In 1358 Bernard is spending money on his estate at Beaurepaire, which swallowed up one hundred of his 'motons' in three-quarters of a year, and buying up lands, rents, and services in the neighbourhood, which he at once passed to trustees. His uncle is one of these, and his father witnesses the deeds.

It falls in with what has been already said, that we observe Sir Bernard's reputation to be considerably increased in 1359. On March 6 of that year we find him occupying a place of much greater trust than might have been expected at his age. He is now ordered to Normandy, along with 'William de Wyndesore,' a personage of importance, for the purpose of bringing Robert Mareschal to obedience, he having abstracted for his own use revenues intended by Henry, Duke of Lancaster, for the fortification of Domfront and Mersy. On March 8 they have similar orders for the apprehension of Thomas Fog and John de Weston.[1] In March 1361 he is again ordered on some foreign service in Normandy which is not specified;[2] but here we have an indication of some great expenses which had been incurred either then or previously 'beyond sea.' A glance at the receipt of Aynon de Ynz for 700 'gold crowns of John,' from Sir Bernard's 'attorney-general,'[3] will repay perusal. The reader will find himself initiated into the mysteries of the coinage of the day, the 'phelip,' the 'Johan,' the 'demi-John,' the 'leopar,' the 'moton Ducis,' and the 'moton Regis,' with their various proportions to one another; and may assist at the London office of the 'Master of the House of St. Thomas de Acres,' along with Syngleton, the two members of the family of the merchants De Ynz, and John de Worsted, 'citezayn' of London. The lenders were probably Flemish, and John would be sure to have Flemish connections. The place from which he took his name in Suffolk (the chief seat of the wool manufacture), and from which has been derived the name of the familiar fabric, was then, like its

[1] *Fœdera, sub anno.* [2] *French Rolls*, 35 Ed. III. [3] Book vi. chap. iv.

neighbouring towns and villages, in the height of its prosperity; and John was perhaps its London representative.

This large sum of money may have been required to support our knight's appearance at the Court of Hainault, where he is said to have been Chamberlain to the Count; but it may not have been altogether expended on even so public a service as that. In this very year the lord of Beaurepaire, divorced from Agnes in the year previous, is involved in such close relations with very great personages, and must in consequence have been led into expenses so much above his rank, that he may well have had to borrow 700 'gold crowns of John.' It was all the more creditable that he so speedily paid off the debt. A short digression will here then be necessary.

Of all the beautiful and fascinating ladies of England whose praises have been sung by poets or recorded in prose by historians or Court-gossips, no one has achieved such celebrity as 'The Fair Maid of Kent,' wife of the Black Prince. In spite of all improbability, or even impossibility, she it is whose empire, as Countess of Salisbury, over the heart of Edward III. has been so often described, and to her has been attributed the fabulous origin of the Order of the Garter. But it cannot be denied that it required the intervention of the Pope to determine who had the right to call himself her first husband; and the conquest of the Black Prince for her second is the subject of many a page in prose and verse; the profound affection of the English for the Prince invested her with an authority which, during the earlier years of her son's reign, rendered her virtually the chief person in the kingdom; and her death, in 1385, removing a powerful check upon the Court nobles, left the government of England, feeble enough before, feebler still.

The conflicting accounts of her curious history may perhaps be reconciled thus. It would seem that she was contracted when a child to William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury; that, in spite of the contract, she was married to Sir Thomas Holland; was claimed by the Earl; and finally adjudged, by the Pope, to Sir Thomas. How far any of these proceedings justify the usual statement that she was divorced once, if not twice, it is not easy to pronounce. Barnes, a careful author of the seventeenth century, went so far as to say that she was never Countess of Salisbury, as she was never really married to the Earl; nor ever Countess of Kent, since the formalities required to make her so on the death of her brother had not been completed before she married the Black Prince.[1] Be this as it may, she was now a widow. Her royal birth, her extraordinary beauty and grace, and the circumstances of her life, had caused her to be the cynosure of

[1] *History of Edward III.* Cf. Ashmole's *History of the Garter*; Dugdale's *Baronage*; Miss Strickland's *Queens of England; Archæologia*, vol. xxii., Editor's Note to *An Historicall Relation.*

every eye, and the universal subject of the talk of men. The Black Prince himself had, it is said, in early days come under her irresistible influence, but the disapproval of the king and queen, the disparity of age—for she was some years the elder of the two—and the ties of consanguinity and sponsorship, had prevented the marriage. All the family projects to make a proper match for the Prince—three, if not more—had ended in failure.

The 'Lord Thomas Holland,' a gallant soldier and trusted servant of the Crown, had assumed the title of 'Earl of Kent' in right of his wife, who had borne him two sons, only too well known in after history. On his sudden death in 1361, the Lady Joan Plantagenet, Countess of Kent, made up her mind that she had had enough of betrothals and marriages arranged by other people, and that she was quite competent to settle the question of another union for herself. This, it is agreed on all hands, she proceeded to do. In all the accounts of this celebrated courtship she is represented as taking the privilege which we connect exclusively with Leap-year, and plainly informing the Prince that she meant him to be her husband.

One part of the story, as it has very generally been handed down, is that the Prince, not at first thinking of his widowed cousin for himself, proposed a friend of his own for her husband. The only original English authority for this story now to be found is the Metrical Chronicle of Harding, from whom it has been copied by others; but no mention of the name of the Prince's friend has as yet been found in any English book, ancient or modern. Quite recently a valuable anonymous MS. reposited in the National Library at Paris has been edited by the well-known antiquary, M. Simeon de Luce, called the '*Chronique des quatre premiers Valois*,' of which this one copy alone exists, or has yet been found; and here the secret is revealed by a contemporary. The knight for whom the Prince pleaded was Sir Bernard Brocas. The passages both from Harding and the chronicler are too characteristic to be omitted in this place. Here follows the English rhymer:

'Earl John of Kent dead was afore sothely
Earl Edmonde's sonne, to whom Dame Johan truely,
His sister, was heyre; whom the Erle Mountague
Of Salisbury had wed of mayden newe,
And her forsoke, after repudiate,
Whom his stewarde, Sir Thomas Holand wed,
And gatte on her Thomas Erle of Kent late,
And John Holand her other sonne she hed.
Thomas their father died of sickenes bested.
The Prince her wowed unto a knight of his;
She sayd she would have none but himself I wis.'

Let us now hear the Chronicler (p. 123):

'Apres le trespassement de son dit Seigneur moult de nobles chevaliers qui moult avoient servi le Roy d'Angleterre et le Prince son filz en leurs guerres vindrent requerre au Prince qu'il lui pleust à parler à la Contesse de Hollande, En especial ung des hautz hommes et nobles d'Angleterre nommé Monseigneur de Brocas,[1] tres bon chevalier qui moult grandement avoit servi le Prince et pour lui tant en ses guerres que autrement avoit moult travaillié, requist le Prince qu'il lui pleust tant faire qu'il eust la dicte Dame et Comtesse pour lui à femme, et qu'il en parlast à la dicte dame.

'Le Prince pour le dit chevalier parla á la dicte Dame de Hollande par plusieurs foiz. Car moult voulentiers aloit pour soy deduire veoir la dicte dame qui estoit sa cousine, et souventeffoiz regardoit sa tres grande beauté et son tres gracieux contenement qui merveilleusement lui plaisoit. Et comme une foiz le Prince parloit a la dicte Comtesse pour le dit chevalier la Contesse lui respondi que jamaiz espoux n'auroit. Et elle qui moult estoit soubtille et sage par plusieurs foiz le dit au Prince. "Ha! A! se dit le Prince, belle cousine, en cas que vous ne voulez marier a mez amis mal fut vostre grant beaute dont tant estes plaine. Et se vous et moy ne nous apartenissons de lignage il n'est dame soubz le ciel que j'eusse tant chiere comme vous." Et alors fut le Prince moult supprins de l'amour à la Comtesse. Et lors prinst la Comtesse à plourer comme femme soubtille et plaine d'aguet. Et donc le Prince la prinst á conforter et la prinst á baisier moult souvent en prenant ses larmes a grant doulceur et lui dit:—"Belle cousine, j'ay a vous parler pour ung des preux chevaliers d'Angleterre, et avec ce il est moult gentilz homs." Madame la Comtesse respondi en plourant au Prince:—"Ha, sire, pour Dieu vueillez vous souffrir de me parler de cettes paroles. Car c'est mon entente que je n'aye jamaiz espoux. Car je me suys du tout donnée au plus preux de dessoubz le firmament. Et pour l'amour d'icellui jamaiz espoux fors Dieu n'auray tant que je vivray. Car c'est chose impossible que je l'aye; et pour la sienne amour me vueil garder de compagnie d'omme, ne jamaiz n'est m'intencion de moy marier."

'Le Prince fut moult en grant desir de scavoir cil qui estoit le plus preux du monde, et moult requist la Comtesse qu'elle lui deist. Mais la dicte Comtesse plus l'en veoit eschauffé plus lui prioit qu'il n'en cerchast plus avant, et lui disoit:—"Pour Dieu tres chier Seigneur, en soy agenouillant, pour la tres douce Vierge mere vueillez vous en souffrir a tant." A brief renconter le Prince lui dist que s'elle ne lui disoit qui estoit le plus preux du monde qu'il seroit son mortel ennemy. Et lors lui dit la Comtesse:—"Tres chier et redoubté Seigneur, c'est vous; et pour l'amour de vous jamaiz a mon costé chevalier ne gerra. Le Prince qui moult fut adonc embras

[1] Observing that the word 'Brocas' was spelt 'Broacs' in one part of M. de Luce's volume, and 'Brocas' in another, the writer of these pages begged M. Francisque-Michel to examine the original, and also consult M. de Luce. Both report that the spelling favours the form 'Broacs,' but that there cannot be the least doubt that it is meant for 'Brocas,' as there could not be such a name as the other, nor was there any other knight of those days but Brocas who could possibly be meant. The concurrent decision of two such consummate authorities is final.

d'amour a la Comtesse lui dit :—" Dame, et je voue à Dieu que jamaiz autre femme que vous tant que vous vivres n'auroy." Et presentement la fiança ; puis apres assez briefment il l'espousa. . . .

' De laquelle chose Edouart le Roy d'Angleterre fut merveilleusement marry et dolent ; et voult qu'elle fust mise a mort. Car moult plus hautement se fust le Prince marié, et n'avoit empereur, roy, ne prince soubz le ciel qui n'eust eu grant joye se le Prince de Galles se fust mist en son lignage.'[1]

The chronicler proceeds to attribute the appointment of the Prince to the government of Aquitaine, and the speedy departure of the pair

[1] It is very easy to spoil this fine old French, and very difficult to convey its racy style in an English translation ; nevertheless, there may be some who will be glad to have a little assistance, and the following is submitted to their favourable consideration. ' After the death of the said lord, many noble knights who had distinguished themselves in the service of the king of England and the Prince, his son, in the late wars, came to beg the Prince that he would be pleased to speak to the Countess of Holland in their favour. In particular, one of the high and noble men of England, named Monseigneur de Brocas, a right good knight, who had done very great service to the Prince and had laboured hard for him both in war and peace, requested the Prince that he would be pleased to do him the favour of getting the said lady and countess for him to wife, and that he would himself plead his suit with her. The Prince did speak many times for the knight to the said Lady of Holland ; for he went with great good will for his own pleasure to see the said lady, who was his cousin, and he oftentimes observed with admiration her brilliant beauty and most gracious presence, which marvellously delighted him. And when one day the Prince was speaking to the said Countess for the said knight, she gave him her answer. She never would have any husband. And often said she this to the Prince, for she was very subtle and clever. " Ha ! " said the Prince, " fair cousin, if you decline to marry my friends, your wonderful beauty will be all the worse for you. If you and I were not so near of kin there is no lady under heaven whom I should love so dearly as I should you." Then was the Prince much overcome with love of the Countess ; and so the Countess fell a-weeping, just like the subtle woman that she was, and full of wiles. And now the Prince began to console her, and tenderly affected by her tears took to kissing her very often, and said, " Fair cousin, I am come to speak to you for one of the most perfect knights in England, and moreover of high lineage." Bathed in tears, Madame the Countess thus addressed him : " Ah, sire ! for God's sake I beseech you say no more on that point, for I am resolved never to marry. I have already given myself away to the most perfect knight in all the world ; and for the love of him never do I mean to have, so long as I shall live, any spouse but God. It is quite impossible. For his love I forswear the society of men, not one of whom do I intend to marry." The Prince was tormented with a vehement desire to know who this most perfect knight in the world might be, and repeatedly pressed the Countess to tell him his name. But the said Countess, the more eager she saw him become, the more she besought him that he would ask no further question. Falling on her knees, she cried, " For the love of God and of His most sweet Lady Mother, will you not submit to this restraint ? " To bring the story to an end, the Prince told her that if she would not inform him who was the most perfect knight in the world, he would be her mortal enemy. Then said the Countess, " Most dear and honoured lord, it is you. It is for the love of you that I declare that knight shall never marry me." The Prince, who was by this time well nigh beside himself with love, then said, " Lady, and I also on my part vow to God that as long as you shall be alive, never will I take any other woman to my wife." And there and then he plighted her his troth, shortly enough after which the marriage took place. . . . Edward, the king of England, was marvellously vexed and annoyed at this affair, and was even desirous of putting her to death, for this Prince might have made a very much more lofty match. There was neither emperor, king, nor prince under the sky who would not have been rejoiced to have the Prince enrolled among his lineage.'

from England, to the dread which the Princess entertained of the king's ill-will. But as the appointment was the most natural thing in the world, after the Peace of Bretigni and the liberation of these provinces from the over-lordship of France, we need not look further for a reason. It has been always believed that neither Edward nor Philippa gave any cordial approval to the marriage; but in that romantic age the popular interest in it would scarcely have been so lively had there not been a difficulty to overcome. What we are concerned with in this place is, however, the bearing of the event upon the career of the ambitious young knight, whose recent divorce was not considered, either by the Church or the public opinion of the day, to interfere with his matrimonial projects. He must of course have received a dispensation, for there was never any question about the legitimacy of the offspring of his second marriage; but the instrument has not survived, nor does his disappointment in the affair of the gay Princess leave him inconsolable. About the same time as his master, we find him also married to a young widow, Mary de Borhunte, daughter of Sir John de Roches, who could not have waited very much longer after the death of her husband, Sir John de Borhunte, than the vivacious Joan of Kent after hers. As the sole heiress of the De Roches' estates, most of which were held under the king, she was a 'king's widow,' and we cannot but suspect that the hand of the Prince of Wales is to be traced in so convenient a transaction. If he had carried off the prize from the friend who had solicited his good offices for himself, he would do his best to heal the wound, not perhaps 'as deep as a well, nor as wide as a church door.'

The De Roches match would, however, be natural and suitable. The families were much in the same position: they had already been concerned together in business transactions, and their properties were not far apart. Master Bernard and Sir John were doubtless on the look-out, and such a marriage as this would be a thousand times preferable to one with the widow of royal blood, '*soubtille et sage*,' whose rank might have proved inconvenient to even 'one of the most perfect knights in England,' who was only lord of Beaurepaire. Not that the disparity would have been so great as that between Owen Tudor and Catharine the Fair, or Richard Wydeville and Jacquetta of Burgundy. According to the laws of chivalry, a perfect knight of gentle blood was a match for any one. An amusing instance of the easy way in which these contests for a lady's favour were taken, in that age, was afforded by the gathering above mentioned around the death-bed of Bernard du Troy in this very year. To the same declaration, at the same time, were attached the signatures of William de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, who had long ago consoled himself for the loss of his betrothed, Joan of Kent; Robert de Holland,

father of Joan's late husband; and Sir Bernard Brocas, who had just been obliged to give way to the Black Prince. The signature of the latter, had it been possible, would have given a final touch to the picture.

The two bridegrooms, with their brides, soon met at Bordeaux: Edward and Joan as Prince and Princess of Aquitaine, Bernard Brocas as Constable of Aquitaine, with Mary de Roches as his wife. Edward's appointment dates from July 19, 1362, and it is made on condition of the annual payment of an ounce of gold to the king, 'by way of sign and recognition of his superior lordship.'[1] His friend had received an earlier appointment, for he is named as Constable, on a Commission dated February 18 of this year, for the purpose of receiving into charge certain French castles, upon the surrender of which the four French princes were to be delivered from their captivity. With him are associated Sir John Chandos, Felton, Seneschal of Poitou, and William Deseris, 'our counsellor.'[2]

Two other members of the Brocas family are also sent to Gascony before the year is out—Master Bernard, Sir Bernard's uncle, and his cousin Arnald. The former had been constantly employed there since the time when we first discovered him as Registrar of the Court of Gascony and then Controller of Bordeaux for life. In 1354 he is called 'Controller of Gascony,' and again in 1357, 1359, and 1362, Controller of Bordeaux, which was another form of his title; or, to give it in full, '*Custos et Executor sigilli et contrasigilli Domini nostri Regis Anglie et Francie.*' The last time we hear of him in his office is in 1365, when he is required to pass his accounts, which had been delayed. It is during this long tenure of an important post that we come across an interesting trace of him, in his very early adoption of the then new system of water-marks in paper. In 1354 the paper he used in his Court bore the device of a falcon, in 1359 that of an arbalist. Very few paper documents of any sort are found at that date in England, but they were common enough in Gascony. Paper had probably been introduced into Bordeaux from Spain, where it had been borrowed from the Moors, and they in their turn had received it from some Oriental people, perhaps the Chinese, with whom they had come into contact.[3] Through Bordeaux it gradually made its way into England, and the progress it made in superseding parchment may be traced in any collection of old deeds, such as those contained in the Brocas chest. Bernard the Controller may not unfairly be reckoned as one of the living links in this chain of progress.

The nature of the special commission on which he was appointed in 1364, indicates the confidence reposed in this experienced officer soon after the opening of the new regime. It is nothing less than, in conjunction with another officer, to collect the rents in Aquitaine which had been due to the Crown before the Prince of Wales'

[1] *Fœdera, sub anno.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii. p. 451.

appointment.[1] None but old servants of the Royal House could have been trusted to deal with so delicate a matter. It would be interesting to know how they succeeded. They were also to report on the claims of Sir Guichard d'Angle, afterwards Earl of Huntingdon.

Of the other rising member of the English branch, now sent to aid his relatives in Gascony, this is the first notice. Arnald Brocas was obtaining his last lessons from the old Controller of Gascony, and preparing to become, like him and old Sir John, and along with Sir Bernard, a high State official under Richard II. Thus the family fell, as it were, into its natural place at a critical moment. To them was committed no slight share in the arduous task of making Aquitaine, under its new conditions, an orderly and well-governed principality. A complicated series of events, directed by a wise policy on the part of the English kings, had issued in the varied training of a whole family for administrative offices, in posts which none could possibly fill so well as men of the same blood and language with the people of the new principality. The obstinately cherished institutions of those people had to be so worked as to become susceptible of receiving the necessary infusion of English ideas, and to take up whatever was best in English progress. We are not yet in possession of many details on this subject, but amongst the developments of English institutions which we can already trace in Aquitaine during the government of the Black Prince, we find the establishment of a new Court of Appeal to supersede the old 'appeal' to the king of France. This 'Cour de Supériorité,' or 'Cour de Ressort,' took the form of a sort of English assizes, or judicial 'grands jours,' held in the principal cities of Aquitaine.[2] Many would be the rivalries, and

[1] *Gascon Rolls*, 38 Ed. III. m. 4.

[2] After the Prince's departure from Aquitaine, the king took the appointment of the members of the Courts of Appeal into his own hands, and these finally settled down into one central Court, or 'High Council,' fixed at Bordeaux. This Court was the origin of the celebrated 'Parliament of Bordeaux.' It had a Chancellor, a Procureur-Royal, and a Registrar, and it was divided into two Chambers—for civil and criminal causes respectively. As for Sir Bernard Brocas' office of 'Constable of Aquitaine,' it may perhaps turn out to have been a new and only temporary one created for him, and for the special working of the new order of things. Sir John Chandos holds the office in 1367, and probably succeeded Brocas. (Froissart, i. 234.) The 'Constable of Bordeaux' was a well-known king's officer, placed immediately above the Provost, or chief municipal officer of the city, and his rank was next to that of the Seneschal of Gascony. The latter officer, under the English rule, was also called 'custos,' or 'gardien.' The office was not, in the earlier Plantagenet times, confined to 'Gascony.' There was also a Seneschal of Poitou; but both were sometimes merged in the Seneschalty of Aquitaine, which was also often called the Seneschalty of Gascony; and this creates a confusion of which the historian has to beware. The 'Seneschalty of Bordeaux' was confined to the diocese and county. Further, in times of war there was generally a 'King's Lieutenant,' or 'Captain,' who exercised supreme authority over Seneschals and everyone else. (M. Rabanis, *ut supra*.) In the time of Edward III., Henry of Lancaster, Ralph, Lord Stafford, and the Prince of Wales (before 1362), were amongst those who held this rank. The office of Master Bernard, as Keeper of the King's Seal and Counter-seal, if that was the same

large the demand for tact and statesmanship, which such a change involved; and of all things it would have been most desirable that the Prince's subjects should feel that these demands were dealt with by men who could understand their feelings and respect their prejudices. It would be absurd to build too much upon slight premises, but it is worth a question whether we may not trace, in the case with which the initial stages of the Prince's government were conducted, the useful offices of the Brocas family, and in the financial and other errors which brought it to ruin, the withdrawal of those good offices by the death of the old Controller in 1368, and the retirement of Sir Bernard, somewhat previously. The rougher military counsels of the Prince's English officers had now superseded the Anglo-Gascon influence, and we know the result.

How long Sir Bernard Brocas retained his great appointment in Aquitaine has not yet been exactly ascertained, but we have several indications of its coming to an end about 1366. During those years he and Mary must have been prominent figures at that brilliant Court over which the Prince and Princess presided in the pride of their fame and beauty, familiar to us in the pages of Froissart, who places its magnificence beyond that of any other of its day. It was the transient sunshine between terrific storms. The friends must have had many a pleasant time together, in which the inimitable assurance of the Princess's treatment of Sir Bernard's wooing must have been the subject of much merriment. It may be worth notice that when time had come 'full circle' upon the fame of this gay Court lady, when she had long followed to the grave 'the most perfect knight in the world,' who had sunk to his rest amidst the bitter foreboding tears of his countrymen; when her son's headstrong life had brought punishment on himself and disgrace on his mother's name, when the giddy world which had once worshipped her thought no scandal about her earlier life too coarse, no tongue, as far as we know, ever joined the name of her old admirer, 'Monseigneur de Brocas,' with hers in prurient tales of shame.

Between 1362 and 1366 there are scarcely any family deeds, but Sir Bernard would be in England after the death of Sir Oliver, to

thing as 'Keeper of the Seal of the Sovereign Court,' carried with it that of Chancellor of Gascony or Aquitaine, and gradually, in the course of time, became equal in dignity to the offices of Seneschal and Constable. The seal itself, which bears so important a place in his title, 'garde et executeur du Sceau,' was an institution. It bore the arms of England with the name and titles of the king. The counter-seal bore on a field of wavy lines, three fishes, two of which represented the Garonne and the Dordogne, swimming towards one another; while the third, swimming below them, signified the Gironde, in which those rivers meet. On a fess was the word 'Gironda.' These seals were called in the Gascon dialect, 'lo saget et lo contre-saget de Bordeu,' and also the 'sceau de rigueur,' abbreviated to 'La Rigueur.' Under the 'gardien' were the 'sergents,' who performed the active duties. (*Ibid.*) In 1338 we find that the king's seal, called 'Griffoun,' is to be used for secret letters.

take up his father's trusteeship, and obtain the charter of Free Warren in six of his manors which holds so important a place in the family pedigree, emblazoned, as if it were a sort of title-deed, in the midst of the lines of descent and alliance. The form is of the usual kind, viz. that no one except Sir Bernard and his heirs may hunt over these manors, under a fine of ten pounds. The signatures of the witnesses are those of the chief ministers of the Crown. After the Chancellor and Treasurer comes John of Gaunt, now Duke of Lancaster—for the great Duke Henry, Brocas' friend, had died in the previous year.[1] For some reason or other, perhaps owing to the family lawsuits, many copies of this document are still existing, and to be found at the present day in the hands of various people. Few things were more coveted in the fourteenth century than these charters of free warren from the Crown. Until such a grant was made tenants *in capite* could hardly call the land their own. Henceforth the rights of the owner, saving the 'customary services' due to the Crown, were the same as in any other private estate; and as the Free Warren could be aliened in fee with the land, the value of the estate was greatly increased.

There are three events which connect the termination of Sir Bernard Brocas' official service in Aquitaine with the year 1366. At the close of the previous year his father had died, and we now find him delivering up to the king, as mentioned in the foregoing Note, the deeds concerning the Windsor estates. His 'good service' in Gascony and elsewhere was now recognised by an annual grant of 50*l.* for life[2]—a very large pension; and the king assists him in procuring for himself and his heirs the Mastership of the Royal Buckhounds, which he only as yet held in right of his wife for the term of her life.[3] Thus he had now a title and office, held of the king by grand serjeantry at the English Court, to which, on leaving the service of the Prince, he transferred himself, a home, a wife, and a comfortable income. He was still young; his sons Ralph and Bernard must have been already born, and his position in the county was so well assured that in 1369 we find him elected Knight of the Shire. We might have expected him after his twenty years of service to settle down and take his ease, and indeed, after one more campaign, we are now to regard him for some years rather as a Knight of the Shire and country gentleman than a commander or administrator. Next year we find him to the front once more; but it is not till the disasters of Aquitaine roll onward upon England itself that he is again constantly employed.

[1] *Charter Roll*, 37 Ed. III. part i. No. 9.

[2] *Exch. Issue Roll*, Mich. 40 Ed. III. m. 6. (Mention is made of two sums, 40*l.* and 10*l.*)

[3] See book vi. chap. v. In this year Sir Bernard's name appears amongst those of the 'Bachillers' of the Royal Household for whom robes were to be provided against Christmas. (*Exch. Wardrobe Accounts*, $\frac{29}{10}$, 40 Ed. III.)

We shall see reason to believe that even this interval of rest was not of his own choice.

Of the share taken by our knight in the battle of Najara we have no details, but there can be no doubt that he was there. The well-sustained tradition of the family is that he was one of that numerous body of knights who rallied to the appeal made by the Prince to his old friends, and that he set out from England to join him with three hundred men. No value can be attached to this tradition in itself, but it is confirmed by Sir Bernard's own statement, which Sir Harris Nicolas considered decisive.[1] On the occasion of the celebrated Court of Chivalry (1385–1390), before which the claims of Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor to certain arms were tried and adjudicated, Sir Bernard Brocas' evidence was condensed and officially reported as follows:

Mons^r Bernard Brokes del age de XL ans[2] armeez primerement al ryvaille de Hogges . . . jurez et examinez; demandez si lez armez dazure ove un bende dor apparteignent et deyvent apparteigner du droit et de heritage a Mons. Richard Lescrop dist que oil, come il ad oy dire dez veilz chivalers et esquiers: et le dit Mons. Bernard dist qil ad veu Mons. Henri Lescrop estre armez en mesmez lez armez ove difference, et Mons. Richard Lescrop en les entiers armez, et ses cosyns armez en les armez ove differencez en diversez viagez (expeditions) en Fraunce, en Escoce, en Gascoigne, en Breitagne, et en Espaigne en presence dez roys, dez princes, dues, comtes, barons, et autres grands seigneurs, chivalers, et esquiers, estantz en mesmez lez viagez pour quarante ans . . . et toutdys, en meyntez lieux ou il ad este armez trovez lour corps armez en lour armes.'

Sir Harris Nicolas, though repeating without suspicion several errors into which he had been betrayed by the family pedigree, rightly points out that Sir Bernard's own statement, to the effect that he had been forty years in the wars, refutes the opening record that he was forty years old when he made his deposition; that to have been 'armed' at La Hogue he must have been at least fifty-six years old; and that he was 'apparently one of the heroes of Crecy, Poitiers, and Najara.' Where else could he have seen the Scropes in arms 'in Spain,' 'in the presence of kings, princes, and dukes,' except on the bloody plain of Najara or Navarete, the most fiercely contested of all the Prince's great battles, where Du Guesclin was taken prisoner and Henry of Trastamare put to flight? But Brocas is not mentioned by Froissart. We may return to the consideration of that and other such facts in another chapter.

The Spanish campaign obliges us to attend for a moment to the story connected from ancient times with the Brocas crest, and which has found expression in the inscription placed (in the last century) on the Westminster Abbey monument. The 'Moor's head with the

[1] *Scrope and Grosvenor Roll*, edited by Sir Harris Nicolas.

[2] It is likely enough that 'XL' is a corruption for 'LX.'

Oriental crown' is still to be seen upon the helmet of the recumbent figure on the altar-tomb; and long before the date of the modern inscription it supplied, as already noticed, a stock legend for the Abbey vergers of Addison's time. This was 'the lord who had cut off the king of Morocco's head,' and the sight of his effigy warmed the chivalrous heart of good Sir Roger de Coverley. Dean Stanley, in his well-known book on the Abbey, remarks that this carved crest 'was either the result or the cause of the account'—a very easy way of dealing with the question. It has been—on no other ground than that there were Moorish kings in Spain, and that Brocas fought there—supposed that the crest was in some way or other connected with this Spanish campaign, but not only is there no hint of the story in any chronicle, but we hear of no Moorish king or chief being engaged in the battle of Najara. We do hear of them in other battles in which the English were not engaged.

The deeds, however, in the Brocas chest show that we should be altogether wrong in looking to the Spanish campaign for a solution of the problem, for the crest is found on the seals of the deeds of 1361, just after the marriage with Mary de Roches. There are no earlier seals of Sir Bernard Brocas, so that it is open to us to look some few years earlier for the occasion of the crest, but not later. In this, and all succeeding seals of Sir Bernard's descendants, it should be observed that the characteristic features as to nose and lips, not of a Moor, but of an African negro, are faithfully preserved, and the crown is always the conventional 'Oriental crown' of heraldry. He is the first to use it; indeed, crests were only then just beginning to be usually worn, and we may be absolutely sure that Sir Bernard could never have worn the crest or used the seal unless the king, punctilious beyond all crowned heads on points of chivalry, had given permission. This particular crest is at that date, and perhaps ever since, unique, and it must have had some corresponding origin. If he were not entitled to it by success in some actual battle, we can hardly doubt but that it was won in some tournament, and denoted a victory either over some Moorish prince or some knight who had himself won such a crest, and was forced to deliver it up to the victor. But that we shall ever advance any further in the matter is not very probable. From this date at any rate it becomes the insignia of the family, and besides the Abbey monument it is still to be seen on the brass in the Brocas Chapel at Sherborne St. John, on the gate-posts at the moat-bridge of Beaurepaire, and the weathercocks of Bramley Church. Neither of the last two representations can make pretensions to any great antiquity, but they bear faithful witness to an indisputable fact of no slight interest in a remote past.[1]

[1] These remarks had been already penned when the publication of the *History of the Stapelton Family* disclosed the fact that the author had to deal with precisely the same diffi-

If we suffer for want of details during our hero's prosperous career in Aquitaine, we are at least spared any evidence of his connection with the disasters which attended the return of the Black Prince from Spain. There seems every reason to suppose that he carried his company back to England, where we find him in July 1368, and we are after that date able to watch his career almost continuously. We are not therefore here concerned with one of the most depressing periods of English history—the failure to reap any fruit from so many brilliant successes and immense sacrifices, the ruin of a fabric built up by so many skilful hands, the cruel disease of the Prince, the ill-advised taxation, the prompt revolt, the massacre of Limoges, the frantic struggle against irremediable disaster, and the final expulsion of the English from all but the sea-coast. We may be sure that if Brocas could have aided the Prince in his calamity he would have been by his side; we shall see that there might have been good reasons why he was not. In fact, we may take his retirement as significant in connection with the political life he is about to lead, and from this time forward regard him in an unbroken connection with the old friend of his family, William of Wykeham, the greatest prelate and statesman of his time. He also is about to commence a new stage of his career, and had taken the measure of the young knight, who thus formed a link of no slight value at such a time between the Prelate and the Black Prince. On July 9, 1368, the Bishop was enthroned with all fitting pomp in Winchester

culty as to the origin of the crest of his ancestor, Sir Brian de Stapelton, a 'Sarazon's Head.' There is, however, no crown to distinguish this Saracen. In both cases, the Crusades having passed away before the time of the first knight who assumes the crest, the easy expedient of referring such crests to that period was not available. Certain writers of the Stapylton family in the sixteenth century professed to identify the occasion of taking the crest with a single combat recorded to have been sustained before the kings of England and Cyprus, when 'this Bryand Stapelton, K.G., did fight with a Sarazon, faith for faith, whom, by the grace of God and his valour he did kill;' and the author reminds us that the kings of France and Scotland being prisoners in England between 1357 and 1364, many splendid tournaments were held for their entertainment. He leans to the theory of such a combat rather than to an adventure beyond sea; but he also reminds us of Chaucer's 'very parfit knight,' who had served in Armenia and at Alexandria (in 1352 and 1365), of the knights of renown who came to do battle with Moors, 'for the good of their souls,' in the open space between the two camps at Algesiraz, when besieged by Alfonso of Castile in 1344, and of the two knights who were sent home from Armenia to settle their quarrel by combat before king Edward III. All these notices familiarise us with ideas which have so long become antiquated, that they leave little behind them beyond the character of legend. We know in reality very few of the details of chivalrous exploits in a century which witnessed them as a part of everyday life. Froissart is almost our sole informant. The more we study the period the more we perceive our loss. It is far more likely that these stories, guaranteed as they are by crests and dates, are true than that they should be mere legend. Unsupported legends require extreme caution; but to doubt that there was a real origin of fact for such stories as these is not much less absurd than it would be to doubt the exploits of our modern heroes of the Soudan, a chivalry quite as noble as that of Edward III. and the Black Prince.

Cathedral. A list of the chief persons present on that occasion, by his invitation, is extant. Amongst those invited were three knights, Sir Bernard Brocas, Sir John de Clinton, another hero of the late war, and Sir John de Insula, or Lisley, as the name was then beginning to be called, with a great multitude of other persons, religious and secular.[1] This is the first public mark of special connection which we come across; but there is every reason to suppose a previous long-standing intimacy, and we shall soon find other marks of a much more suggestive kind. In the Parliaments of 1369, 1370, 1371, and 1373, to which Brocas is now successively elected, we cannot doubt that his action was taken in concert with Wykeham and the Prince during the political struggle now commenced.

It cannot be too attentively observed that these four Parliaments witnessed the formation, for the first time in English history, of two distinct political parties, which, under the distressing condition of Edward III.'s later government, became important enough to make and unmake Ministers, to change the attitude of the country upon home and foreign affairs, and to establish precedents of the greatest weight in the framework of the English Constitution. The principles of the party led by Wykeham may be summed up under the general formula—reform of abuses, political, military, and social, under the continued government of ecclesiastics. This was the side espoused by the Prince, though it was not till quite the close of his life that he was roused from the prostration caused by his shattered health to take a leading part, and die of the exertion. Perhaps he felt, as much as anything else, that the only hope of the succession of his child to the throne lay with this party. It was the party of the Princess and young Richard. The other party was led by John of Gaunt, and included all the political elements of discontent with ecclesiastical government which had been for several years gathering strength, not only amongst the nobles and gentry, who felt themselves excluded from offices which they believed they could well fill, but also amongst the people, who had been roused by Wiclif and his friends to protest against the abuses of the Church. The latter party achieved the first success. The temporary fall of Wykeham would affect his friend, at least so far as to keep him apart from John of Gaunt. It is thus that Sir Bernard Brocas, as far as we can see, was kept in the background during the bitter struggle which left France triumphant over the enemy, who but a short time previously had torn her to pieces. John of Gaunt would naturally employ his own friends, not those of the Prince and Wykeham.

At the same time the Master of the Royal Buckhounds was

[1] *Wykeham's Register.*—F. J. B.

evidently acceptable at Court. He obtains a great favour – permission to impark his estate at Beaurepaire,[1] a large part of it out of the royal forest of Pamber. He gets rid of a manor in Warwickshire (Benham), in exchange for the life-wardenship of a king's manor nearer home (Compton Basset, in Wilts).[2] When the attitude of the French becomes more and more dangerous, he is appointed a member of the Commission which was to guard the ports and coasts of Hampshire, especially the city of Southampton. The Commissioners are not only to see that the lay people do their duty, but also the clergy, if the Bishop of Winchester should be lukewarm or negligent in arraying them.[3] Here we surely trace the hand of John of Gaunt.

Between 1373 and 1376 there were no Parliaments. Matters under Gaunt's unfortunate leadership were going from bad to worse. The country was not ripe either for the reform of the Church or for replacing ecclesiastical officials by laymen. At length, in the latter year, the people of England were thoroughly aroused, and the 'Good Parliament' was the result. Wykeham was triumphant. But Brocas was not, as we might have expected, in that Parliament. With the little light we possess, it is not of much use to speculate as to the cause, but the appointment he obtains this year to the Constableship of Corfe Castle for life (carrying with it the Wardenship of the Warren of Purbeck),[4] taken along with those which soon followed, suggest that he or other people considered that he had been a politician long enough, and that the times required his military experience. In that year (June 8) died the Black Prince, and with him died down the hearts of the English people. The country looked about for his friends, and to that cause, quite as much as to Wykeham's friendship when he once more rose to power, it is right to attribute the much higher position which Brocas took up in the reign of Richard II. than in that of Edward III. Amongst those specially invited to attend the Prince's funeral was the companion of his boyhood and manhood, the knight whom we believe to have stood by his side at Crecy, Calais, Poitiers, and Najara, the lifelong child of the English Court, the friend whose cause he had pleaded with Joan of Kent and then so pardonably betrayed, the ornament and support of his Court at Bordeaux, the sharer of his later political sympathies, the man whom he could trust to watch the dangerous opening of the young Richard's career, and,

[1] *Patent Rolls*, 42 Ed. III. part ii. m. 3.

[2] *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* 47 Ed. III. Ro. 15.

[3] *Foedera*, July 20, 1373. His fellow-Commissioners are John de Montague, Luke de Ponynges, Thomas West, Maurice de Bruyn, Walter Ramsey, and John de Buttesthorn.

[4] *Patent Rolls*, 50 Ed. III. part ii. m. 23.

we may not doubt, the sympathising attendant on his melancholy years of slowly passing life.[1]

The death of the Black Prince and the death of Henry V. are the two occasions on which the English people have experienced, during their whole history, the deepest and most poignant feelings of disappointment and distress. Nothing else can be compared with them, whether we look at the men or at the gloomy prospects opened out by the early closing of their splendid careers. Some of this national feeling might naturally be expected to lend a colour to the official life of a devoted follower of the first of these national heroes.

[1] Letters of invitation were sent to 'Lady D'Engoyne, John Montagu, Bernard Brocas, and Lady de Luttrell.' (*Issue Rolls*, 50 Ed. III.)

CHAPTER III.

SIR BERNARD BROCAS UNDER RICHARD II.

The disgrace of William of Wykeham and the death of Edward III. followed hard upon the death of the Black Prince. Within a year had fallen to the ground the three main supports on which the fortunes of Sir Bernard Brocas had been reared. The old king, indeed, prematurely worn out, as most great knights were in that day, by bodily toil, and not a little by the pressure of increasing anxieties and disappointments, was not much more than a negative factor in the nation's life, but he had been the lifelong friend and patron of the Brocas family. It may be remarked in passing that for a courtier to have escaped any whisper of a charge of direct or indirect concern in the malpractices of Alice Perrers, as they were ruthlessly brought to light on the triumph of either party, is a creditable circumstance. Humbler persons than Brocas felt the political lash. Even Wykeham had to make his peace with her by means of a bribe.[1]

But the fall of Wykeham must have appeared a much more serious blow, and that was immediately consequent on the death of the Black Prince. John of Gaunt, now supreme, had dismissed the 'Good Parliament,' repudiated its acts, banished the Bishop from Court, and seized his temporalities. Nor could such a succession of misfortunes have befallen our knight at what was seemingly a more inauspicious moment. The French, emboldened by the losses, the intestine divisions, and the failures of their enemies, insulted the English shores with impunity. The new king was a child; in the virtual sovereign, John of Gaunt, the friend of Gaunt's opponents could not have felt any confidence; yet ten days after the death of the old king, when Gaunt was supreme and Richard not yet crowned, Brocas is appointed to the highest office which could be held out of England and Aquitaine at that time, the object of ambition to every active general or nobleman, a post held by the leading men of England down to the day when the loss of it broke Queen Mary's heart—the Captaincy of Calais. That appointment was followed within the course of two years by no less than six others, military and diplomatic.

[1] *Chron. Ang. R. S.* pp. 136, 137.

It is by no means certain that this full and sudden tide of honourable employment, difficult to account for on any simple theory, may not have been inspired by a double motive on the part of John of Gaunt, whose position was one of extreme delicacy. It has been generally believed that he had himself aimed at the Crown. He found that the devotion of the people to the memory of the Black Prince had made such an idea chimerical. Failing this, his next object was to keep a firm grasp on the power which circumstances had enabled him to obtain. On the one hand, he would convince the people that he held in honour the memory of their hero by every mark of deference to his widow and child, and by the employment of his friend Brocas in great situations; on the other, he would get that friend out of the way. It was not well to have him about the Court of the Princess Dowager, by the side of the impressionable son of his old master.

It was certainly not the influence of Wykeham which at this time raised Brocas; for the Bishop had only been restored to his temporalities a fortnight previously, sorely against the will of Gaunt—*invito duce*.[1] Indeed, to place the sea between Brocas and England was, in its degree, a sort of checkmate to Gaunt's episcopal rival, for the Duke was at this moment proceeding to pack the House of Commons. He knew well that Wykeham's influence in Hampshire would be used for Brocas' election, and at Calais the knight would be out of the question as a candidate. In a few months, as if to show that Brocas' long exclusion from public employment had been no fault of his, Wykeham was to confer upon him publicly the highest mark of confidence which it was in his power as a private individual, out of office, to bestow.

This interpretation of Gaunt's policy is confirmed by the temporary nature of the appointment to Calais. The author of the *Chronicon Angliæ* speaks of the famous Sir Hugh de Calverley as holding the Captaincy both in the earlier and later parts of this very year, 1377. Perhaps he was on some other service at the critical moment.

That it was indeed a critical moment will be acknowledged by all who study the wailing chronicles of the period. The Brocas family were to the front. Sir Bernard had not indeed to repel any attack upon Calais, but his nephew met an honourable death in combat with the enemies of England at a moment when personal sacrifice could alone atone for the national delinquency, or rather that of the Government. This was John Brocas, the head of the family. Of his father, Sir Oliver, we know little more than has been already mentioned. He had married Margaret, the daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas and granddaughter of Sir Ralph de Hever, in Kent, had become heir to his father on the death of his elder brother in 1352,

[1] *Chron. Ang. R. S.* pp. 136, 137.

and died in 1363, leaving this one son, John, aged thirteen. That son was now twenty-seven, but not yet married.

The tactics of the French were rather, like those of the earlier Danes of old, to make petty descents on a sudden upon this place and that, than to run the risk of failure by invasion with large forces or by attacks on strong places. That would have roused the whole country, composed its divisions, and produced a perhaps fatal retribution. The method they adopted would only irritate and wound, promote faction, and anticipate reprisals. One day in September 1377, pursuing this policy, some French ships landed their people at Rottingdean, in Sussex, who spread themselves about, and began to burn the defenceless homesteads. No troops were at hand: some said by foul collusion with the enemy, but, in fact, it had been some time since there had been any money in the exchequer to pay troops. So there was nothing for it but that every man should[1] do his own duty as best became Englishmen.

Some little distance inland of Rottingdean lies the famous town of Lewes and its priory. The Prior is the man for the occasion, and either commands the little party of rescue, or, being a churchman, the monkish chroniclers name him first. Anyhow, the brave Prior of Lewes rushes down to the sea, *armatus*. He is accompanied by two knights, Sir John Fallislee and Sir Thomas Cheyne, and by John Brocas, who is only 'armiger' or esquire. Very few are found in their train. The Prior starts off full speed, *cum paucis*, i.e. with just the few brave fellows who could be picked up at a moment's notice—the servants, perhaps, of the Priory, and of the knights. Thus they have to do most of the fighting themselves, and end, after the loss of 100 men—who, says Walsingham, killed a much larger number of the enemy—in being carried off captive on board the French ships. Of John Brocas we hear no more than that, soon afterwards, the king's escheators find that he is dead, perhaps of his wounds, perhaps of the stench of some noisome dungeon.[1] They all agree as to the day

[1] Note on the Brocases of Kent and Sussex.—By Sir Oliver Brocas' marriage with Margaret, daughter and heiress of Thomas de Hevere, as well as niece and co-heiress of Sir Andrew Peverel, several estates in the southern counties came to his son John, and at that son's death, unmarried, reverted for the most part to various members of Margaret de Hever's family, both on the paternal and maternal side. (See Inq. p.m. 1 Rich. II. No. 4.) The manors of Blachyngton and Rypp, in Sussex, and of Barton Peverel, in Hants, went to Reginald Fitzherbert, a Peverel; the manor and lands in Apse to Sir Edward de St. John, a De Hevere (see *Fine Roll*, 2 Rich. II. m. 3), as also the manor of Shapwick, in Sussex; while most of the Kentish estates, including Hever, were inherited in gavel-kind by no less than six heirs male, including four of the Chevenings. A portion, however, of the Kentish property, acquired by John since his father's death, viz. the manor of Broksham and a certain estate in Hever, came to Sir Bernard Brocas, as his nephew's heir; as also estates in Apse and Walton, Thames Ditton, and Moulsey, on the Surrey side of the Thames. There are no deeds extant concerning these estates. Perhaps the reason why we hear so little of them is that John Brocas, dying suddenly in the manner

of his death, September 26.[1] Of another 'armiger' who appears on the scene, and is killed, the chroniclers tell a ghastly and incredible story. At any rate, the poor people of Rottingdean were avenged; the French received a wholesome lesson, and the gallant Gascons had put in one more claim to be considered Englishmen. With this young man perished the idea, which had been cherished for a whole generation, of founding a Brocas House in Kent and Sussex. The fine ruined castle of Hever is now only connected in the minds of visitors with the story of Anne Boleyn, to whose father it belonged. Like Guildford, Rockingham Forest, Windsor, Eton, and the banks of the Wharfe, it could tell stories of the Brocas family in long previous generations.

As we now gather up the whole of the Beaurepaire branch of the clan in Sir Bernard Brocas and his descendants (with the single exception of the children of Matilda de Foxley), we must make one more pause in our narrative in order to introduce his wife, Mary de Roches, the mother of all Sir Bernard's children, the widow of Sir John de Borhunte. The families of De Roches and De Borhunte were once among the most important in Hampshire; their names have been lost for centuries. Mary was the last of the De Roches; the family of the De Borhuntes ended, or were lost in females, in her lifetime, or soon afterwards.

Peter de Rupibus, or De Roches, the first and only great man of the House, was one of those able ecclesiastics of the Middle Ages of whom it would be well if we knew more. A careful history of a man who in some points might be compared with Becket or Wolsey, and not altogether unfavourably, would repay the labour. At present we have only the vaguest accounts, displaying such inconsistent and contradictory phases of his character, that it is evident we are the

above described, and not long after he had come into possession of the Peverel estates, had made no provision for paying off a debt of 1,000 marks, which he had raised on his lands by statute staple, and he had made no will. Being at first only reported as having been captured by the French, escheators (Inq. p. m. 2 Rich. II. No. 93) were appointed, on the supposition that he might be released, to 'take the body of the said John, and to detain him in prison till John Campden and others [who had lent the money] were satisfied.' They returning that he was dead, his lands were seised into the king's hands for payment of the debt. This would involve a forced sale. Some property at Calais which John had either acquired or inherited, is found to be an altogether imaginary inheritance, for it was held on the tenure of 'keeping watch' on the fortifications; and John having forfeited it for breach of the conditions, it had already been seized by the 'King's carpenters.' (Inq. p.m. 1 Rich. II.) However brave, this young John seems to have been scarcely so prudent a man as the rest of his kin. It was in Kent that he was acquiring land when he was killed; but his Sussex estates would naturally bring him into contact with the Prior of Lewes. William of Wykeham appointed Henry de Popham and William Bossal to administer his goods (F. J. B.), and thus, it may be, saved his affairs from total wreck. (See Cary-Elwes' *Castles of West Sussex*, p. 160.)

[1] *Chron. Ang. R. S.* p. 168. Walsingham's *Upodeigma Neustriæ*, p. 327.

victims of partial chroniclers. There are two sides to all stories, and we must hope that some one will arise to lay the times before us from the point of view which must have been present to Peter de Roches. He was French, and his political ideas were French; but the kings of England of his time were French, and their possession of so much of the territory of France, which was then only nominally under the kings of that name, made it a vital question whether the Constitution of England should expand in the old Anglo-Saxon or in the French direction. Our kings, with this vast area to choose from, often found their French subjects more able administrators than the English, and generally more agreeable to their despotic notions. Fortunately for England, its own nationality was gradually asserting itself, and these men found their match in a Pembroke or a Hubert de Burgh. But the odds against which such a man as Peter de Roches had to contend, and yet the considerable amount of success he attained on the whole, convince the impartial observer that he is in contact with one of the most remarkable men that have ever taken part in the government of England.

The early history of the family in France may yet be discovered. At present we only know of one man of the name at that time, probably his father, William de Rupibus, Seneschal of Anjou in the early years of King John. As for Peter, bred up in the great times of Henry II., Bishop of the rich See of Winchester at the opening of John's reign, a knight, a man of great military talent, a dexterous administrator, a builder of castles and churches, a founder and large benefactor of monasteries and hospitals, Sheriff of Hampshire for no less than eight years, a man of the most indomitable courage and tenacity, and especially endowed with that spirit of independence which sustained him in defiance of the most powerful Popes if they crossed his policy, or, when his star began to pale, in defiance of a kingdom in arms—the mere outline of such a career and character delineates a strong man, towering high above his fellows. Such a man, in such times as those of John and Henry III., could not but experience every vicissitude of fortune. As Justiciary, or, as we should say, prime minister, he is now a virtual king. Borne down by his enemies, he is now a fugitive in the ends of the earth. He is always great. When on a so-called 'pilgrimage' to the Holy Land, during his exile, he meets another great man, the Emperor Frederick II., who discovers that the Pope's unworthy excommunication has followed him to Jerusalem. Amongst the few who dared to stand by the Emperor was Peter de Roches. He had braved Popes before.

It even suggests that there is more to be said for King John than we generally find, when such a man was his devoted servant; but it is difficult indeed to defend that miserable monarch, and his minister's character must suffer in his company. That Henry III.,

the son of such a father and mother, turned out as well as he did, must be largely laid to the credit of Peter, who was his tutor. The virtuous and religious habits of that weak-willed prince at least played a very important part in laying the foundation of the greatest character in English history, that of Edward I.; and Henry certainly did not learn those habits from the quarter to which a child has a right to look.

The fact is, that the long reign of Henry III. was a period of the violent clashing of opposing forces, necessary friction, and imperfect fusion—in short, of transition. It is vain to judge such times by our modern standards, to perch ourselves on the stool of the schoolmaster, and lay down the law that such and such things should, or should not, have been done. Many battles had to be fought out, and Peter de Roches was the champion of a cause which we are all thankful, as we study the struggle, to see fail. But he was not, after all, much more unpopular at the time than his great rival, Hubert de Burgh; and we can well understand how, in order to support his cause, he found himself obliged to call in the aid of his own countrymen from Poitou. He must have friends and supporters, and he must place them where they could be of use. Such a policy of course created bitter enemies, and has had a great deal to do with the scant justice he has received both at the time and since; but one contribution may be offered on this point, even from these humble pages. He was not, as great ecclesiastics have generally been, a nepotist. Had he been so, his collateral descendants would have been found possessed of far more property than we can, with the utmost pains, discover; for, besides his rich See, he had the command of immense wealth.[1] The only trace we can find of its use for the benefit of his

[1] Note on the Two Families of De Roches and De Roche.—Possibly an impression to the contrary has been produced by the prevalence of the name, or rather another form of it, in another family, previously settled in England; and this family has been specially liable to be confused with that of the Bishop, owing to the curious fact that in Edward III.'s reign there were two knights of the name, both called 'John' and both public men, but who were no relations at all. All the Roches who were not of the blood of Peter de Rupibus seem to have descended from the same ancient Continental stock which, in Norman times, had settled on the borders of Wales. The arms of the Pembroke and Herefordshire Barons de la Roche and of the Wiltshire knightly family of De Roche were the 'canting arms'—gules three roaches naiant in pale argent. The latter branch has long been extinct, the last of them being, apparently, Sir John de Roche, who died in 1410; but their arms are still to be seen in Wiltshire, and there is still a manor house in that county bearing the same name, 'Roche Court,' derived from them, as the North Fareham manor, which derived it from the Bishop's family. Lord Fermoy represents the ancient stock of the Welsh border, which identified itself with Ireland at the time of the Plantagenet conquest of the island. The name in all branches of that family is generally, and should be always, spelt without the final 's'; the name of the Hampshire family never, though it varies between 'Des Roches' and 'De Roches.' The last form has the best authority. The arms of the Hampshire family were sable, two lions passant guardant in pale argent. Thus their own seals exhibit the arms; thus they were quartered by the Brocases. It is singularly unfortunate that the wrong arms, the

relatives, the men of his own blood, for whom he would make the first and chief provision, is the marriage of his ward, Emma Fitzroger, to his brother, Geoffry. This was an exercise of the feudal right of lordship, which was subject to one condition, by no means always observed, viz. that the marriage should be *sine disparagatione*. The brother of the Bishop of Winchester, and Justiciary of England, was far from an unequal match for the daughter of Sir William Fitzroger, who held under the bishopric.[1] Neither Geoffry's estate, nor Emma's patrimony, was anything but moderate. She brought with her four 'knight's fees' of the inheritance of her father, two at Usseborne (Hurstbourne), one at Bradley, and one at North Farcham, all in Hampshire. The last is the estate of 'Roche Court' which has come down through the Roches and Brocases to the Gardiners of the present day, in direct descent, through a period of nearly seven centuries. Geoffry's lands were in Candover and Stoke Charity (Eldstoke or Oldstoke). Some other estates were acquired by the descendants of Geoffry, all of which were settled by Sir John de Roches, on the failure of male heirs, upon Mary, jointly with her first husband, Sir John de Borhunte. He died in 1359, so that the whole of these estates came to be vested in her, as well as a life estate in her husband's property and in the Mastership of the Royal Buckhounds, which would have come to him had he lived a little longer. The addition to Sir Bernard's fortune, thus brought by Mary, at once placed him in a position of even more importance in the county than the De Roches and De Borhuntes had enjoyed, and they had been leading families. Martin de Roches had, like his uncle, been Sheriff, and Sir John de Roches Knight of the Shire.

The De Roches had the house at North Farcham, called Roche Court, and probably one at Steventon, near Basingstoke, some remarks upon which will be found in Book VI.[2] They were also identified with the former neighbourhood by their possession of the Court suits of South Farcham, or Farcham proper, a place which must have been then of more importance than the mere 'little fishing village' which it was designated in the time of Henry VIII. by Leland. Otherwise it could hardly, at the commencement of English Parliaments, have been one of the very few towns in the county to return members to

three roaches, should, in recent times, have been emblazoned on the shield of Peter de Roches amongst the arms of the Sheriffs depicted in the windows of Winchester County Hall. It is worth remarking that those who make this mistake err in high company, but err they do. In the *Master of the Game*, by the Duke of York, quoted in the anonymous edition of the famous *Book of St. Albans*, occurs the following: 'Forasmoche as there was a certen man that hyght Petre de Rupibus in tyme passyd, the bysshop of Wynchestre, which bare in his armys three roches after his own name, it is thus to be sayd of ye same Petre: He beryth sable and 3 roches swymmyng of sylver.' Doubtless this has been taken for authority, but it is none.

[1] F. J. B.

[2] Chap. ii. part i. section ii.

those early assemblies. This it did in 1306 and 1307, when as yet only Winchester, Southampton, Portsmouth, and Basingstoke shared with it the honour, or rather burden, of representation. In the first of these sat for the county Sir Richard Burghunte, or Borhunte, the grandfather of Mary de Roches' first husband. We shall not be far wrong if we trace the temporary political importance of Fareham to its near neighbours at Roche Court and Borhunte. It seems to have exhausted its energies, for never again does the name appear upon the Rolls of Parliament. Whether by accident or design, the selection of the name of this now thriving town for that of the South-east Division of Hants, in the recent redistribution of seats, has been more in accordance with antiquarian precedent than in most of the other cases which have tried the patience of the Commissioners.

To return to Sir Bernard Brocas and his successive employments. We must now attempt to measure his position during king Richard's reign as a whole, for which purpose we have sufficient indications, more or less direct; but to do so we must first endeavour to make some sort of analysis of the reign itself in the briefest possible manner. How well has Shakspeare's genius penetrated into the dramatic character of what some have called the most interesting reign in English history. How wisely has he placed it as the opening Act of the eight Plays which together form one magnificent tragedy, commencing with the last tyrannical years of the heedless monarch, in contrast with his pitiful end: proceeding to the usurpation of the House of Lancaster, its heavy cares, its glorious moment of triumph, the inevitable retribution, made infinitely more touching by the vicarious suffering of the saintly victim. How skilfully has he relieved the terrible picture by the touches of broad humour which brighten the youth of the hero of Agincourt, and finally brought out the equally inevitable retribution which overtook the executioners of doom, the too successful, cruel, House of York—the mighty drama closing in gloom on the ensanguined field of fatal Bosworth; yet not without a beam of light on the horizon, shot from the rising sun of Tudor order and national progress. This is history teaching by example.[1]

But Shakspeare's plan did not permit him to use the whole of Richard's reign as a preparation for the closing scenes of it; nor perhaps were there in his time sufficient data. It is an opportunity which still lies invitingly open to modern enterprise.

Under any view of this reign, in prose or verse, four distinct portions must be distinctly recognised. First, the handsome, princely boy brought into regal prominence at the unfortunately early age of eleven years, and, if we may judge by his fine bearing at Wat Tyler's

[1] Schlegel's *Dramatic Literature*. The author also points out how the plays of 'King John' and 'Henry VIII.' set off the great tragedy by way of prologue and epilogue.

insurrection, possessed of no little precocity of character. He was then fifteen, already too well acquainted with the selfish struggles of unscrupulous politicians, and the fierce religious conflicts which gathered round the name of Wiclif. Happily saved from some of the vices of princes by a model wife, the 'good Queen Anne,' he yet exhibits the natural results of an undisciplined childhood and premature royalty, the wastefulness, frivolity, devotion to fascinating favourites, which could not but bring on the storm, unheeded till it burst. Yet these very favourites were rather presented as a counterpoise to his turbulent uncles. Nor could any prince have had worse examples than Richard's ill-conditioned half-brothers; no atmosphere could have been more unfavourable than that of the national life, disappointed, irritable, dangerous. Could such a youth, though cultivated, able, and courageous, be expected to perceive that he was but the foam on the crest of contending waves?

The second portion of the reign includes the four years of petty revolutions which grew out of the follies of the first, one in each year from 1386 to 1389. The uncle and nephew alternately triumph. First, Gloucester and the 'Wonderful Parliament' crush him and his favourites, placing him under sovereign Commissioners like the Lords Ordainers of Edward II.'s reign, a simple oligarchy. Next the king, cleverly appealing to the country and the judges, for a moment recovers his position. Again he is crushed to the dust by the 'Merciless Parliament,' and his friends judicially murdered. Finally, he makes a sudden appearance at the Council, and, in the spirit of his ancestors, begs them to tell him how old he is. Instantly, and as unexpectedly as when he lost his royal position, he now recovers it. John of Gaunt returns from Spain, sobered by age and misfortune, and Gloucester's turbulent career is for many long years at an end.

But the third period is more surprising still. We should surely expect that Richard, seeing how public opinion had turned against his enemies, would now resume his former reckless course. Nothing of the sort. Calling the veteran Wykeham to his side, ruling partly with his aid and then by the help of other able Ministers, he deports himself for many years in a manner which writers of all schools allow to have been unexceptionable. It was more than a reformed and constitutional Government; it was one of the highest order, laborious, far-reaching, dealing with the most wasting, chronic diseases of the body politic. In the Parliament of this period the great Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire were effectively framed and passed; the laws of Mortmain, which the ecclesiastics had hitherto defied, brought into working order the disorders of feudalism checked; the interests of the people defended from attack; the trade and commerce of the country encouraged by wise legislation; Ireland subdued and organised —though, indeed, but superficially—for the first time since the days

of King John. There are few brighter periods in our history. It lasted nominally till 1397, but was really breaking up in 1396.

Then began the fatal years which have led most historians to lose sight of the great merits of the previous time, and clumsily to throw together in undistinguishing condemnation the whole four portions of the reign of this king. Under their view he is from first to last a hopelessly debased young tyrant, cunningly nursing his revenge for many years, and then, when the time had come, suddenly breaking out in his true character, and ending life as he began. The extraordinary change which these last years display affords indeed a colour to such a view; but it is a monstrously superficial one, and even grotesque. No doubt at the close of Richard's reign the lessons taught by the earlier time had lost their power; no doubt the ineradicable faults of his education and temper were still present; but there can also be no reasonable doubt that the king now believed himself to be face to face with a recurrence of the old conspiracies and treasonable party conflicts, and, what is more, there was only too much ground for his belief. No longer assisted by wise counsellors, nor restrained by the excellent wife whose loss he deplored, he resolves to strike first and to strike hard. Then, armed with too intimate a knowledge of the way in which Parliament might be made subservient, one step after another hurries him headlong into absolute and frantic tyranny, till the end came, as it could not but come. The French alliance, French methods of government, waged deadly conflict with the traditions of the English. The violent perished by violence.

This is a very different reading of the reign from the preceding. We are now to observe that the subjects of this chapter were not too obscure to perform a part in it which, if we may trust the most direct inferences, was very much to their credit. At any rate, their removal from the scene by death was exactly synchronous with the fatal change above described. The second Sir Bernard Brocas, who lost his life in the cause of his infatuated master, must be treated separately.

We have seen that the Captaincy of Calais, so promptly entrusted to Sir Bernard on the old king's death, was of short duration. Before the end of the year he receives from Wykeham the appointment of 'Chief surveyor and sovereign warden of all parks, chaces, and warrens throughout our Bishopric, to hold during our pleasure.' This grant,[1] extracted from Wykeham's 'Register,' is the sole contemporary notice of the transaction, and there is nothing in the 'Register' or elsewhere either to show when the office came to an end or what the profits of it were; but eleven parks and five warrens are mentioned in Wykeham's will,[2] which at least gives us the measure of the new Warden's responsibilities. There can be no doubt that the

[1] See book vi. chap. iv.

[2] Lowth's *Wykeham*, app. xvii.

confidence shown by Wykeham in making this appointment, taken along with his consent to accept the trusteeship of Brocas' estates a few months later, is as strong a proof as we could have of the intimacy existing between the two men. That they should be closely allied in the difficult politics of this reign, as well as the last, is a natural corollary, and will henceforward be taken for granted in these pages. It may be remarked that, only ten days before the above appointment of Brocas, Parliament had confirmed Wykeham's pardon and reinstatement in temporalities. Have we here an evidence of the good Bishop's desire to set about divesting himself of as many temporal cares as possible, while he devoted himself to the spiritual concerns of his diocese?

Two Crown appointments in the spring of 1378 show Sir Bernard, in company with the chiefs of the English military force, Calverley, Sir John Montagu, Guichard D'Angle, Earl of Huntingdon, and Sir Hugh de Segrave, superintending the musters of the troops which were now at last being collected by the Council. The first, on May 1, is general, to superintend the muster of men-at-arms, archers, and ships' crews; the second is limited to Calais and the adjacent forts.[1] On June 24 of the same year he is sent as member of an embassy to Louis, Count of Flanders, for the purpose of continuing, under the new king, the alliance which had been formed between the late king and the Count, and of concerting fresh enterprises.[2] He is here again associated with Calverley and Segrave. This Count was Louis de Male, whose hereditary enmity had, like that of his father, always been a thorn in the side of the English, but whose hostility was kept within bounds by the great Flemish cities which favoured England. A crisis had arrived in these relations. England and France had taken different sides in the matter of the rival Popes, and every effort was used by the former to secure Louis' co-operation. Neither the Duke of Brittany nor the Earl of Huntingdon had been able to succeed; and Brocas, now at the head of a second embassy,[3] similarly fails to make an impression, and this though Louis had brought on himself a quarrel with the French, in which his subjects offered to support him. He is soon, however, involved in a war with these very subjects; and to save himself turns round to the French, whom he summons to his aid. Philip Van Arteveldt and the Flemings are now at last crushed under the hoofs of the French chivalry at the famous battle of Rosbecque.[4] With the death of this worthless prince, in 1384, ended his dynasty, and the richest State in Christendom, passing with his daughter to the Duchy of Burgundy,

[1] *French Rolls*, 1 & 2 Rich. II., March 18 and May 1.

[2] *Ibid.* 2 Rich. II. June 24, 1378.

[3] *Ibid.* Jan. 20, 1379.

[4] *Hist. de Flandres*, par le Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, 1847, vol. ii. p. 424; and *Froissart*, book ii. chap. xxx.

commences a history of its own not at all less important than those of the contiguous kingdoms.

Perhaps as a compensation for the shortness of the tenure of the Calais Captaincy, as well as to keep him away from England, Sir Bernard obtains also this year a lucrative appointment, but one which we should hardly have expected him to accept in his position—the Controllership of Calais.[1] If his son had been old enough, we might rather have supposed that he was the 'Bernard Brocas' who receives the appointment; and, indeed, it is quite possible that it is so, and that he may have exercised the office by deputy. It may, however, be that some one of high authority was wanted just at this time to superintend the working of the restored privileges which had been recently granted to the citizens, viz. the right of municipal elections and the establishment of the Staple.[2]

Once more we find Sir Bernard concerned with a romantic marriage. This time the lady was the daughter of the Princess to whose hand he had once aspired, Richard's half-sister, Maude Holland, widow of Peter Courtenay. The young Count de St. Pol, Waleran of Luxembourg, Constable of France, and one of its most powerful nobles, had been taken prisoner by the English in 1374. Froissart thus describes his imprisonment at Windsor. 'The mother of King Richard resided there at that time with her daughter Maude, the most beautiful woman in England. The young Count and this lady fell loyally in love with each other, frequently meeting at dancings, carollings, and other amusements, so that it was suspected the young lady tenderly loved the Count, and she discovered the whole to her mother. A treaty of marriage was then made, and the Count was ransomed for 120,000 francs, of which one-half was to be remitted on his marriage, the remainder he was to pay.'[3] He was permitted to cross the sea to procure his ransom, on promise to return within the year. Many were his adventures and misfortunes, owing to the hostility of the French king; but he returned to England with the 60,000 francs, claimed his bride, and carried her to the Continent—taking care, however, to avoid France.

Froissart's story is confirmed by the records of this transaction. Brocas was the officer placed at the head of a Commission, with Sir Robert Rous and John Cottisford, to deliver Waleran from prison on conditions.[4] Among the inventories of the Treasury of the Exchequer is to be found the entry of a receipt, by the above three persons, of two bonds for 60,000 francs, sealed with the Count of St. Pol's seal, and delivered by them into the Treasury, where they are kept in a certain box.[5]

[1] *French Rolls*, 2 Rich. II. Feb. 17, 1379.
[2] *Rolls of Parliament*, vol. iii. pp. 15–24.
[3] Book ii. chap. xxxi.
[4] *French Rolls*, 3 Rich. II. July 12, 1379.
[5] Palgrave's *Ancient Kalendars*, vol. ii. p. 5.

It should be added to Froissart's account that the chroniclers report the discontent, both of the Princess Dowager and the English people generally, with this marriage of the beautiful widow to a 'foreigner and alien-born,' which was attributed to the desire of the Court to attach the young Count to the English interest.[1] Considering the close neighbourhood of his territory to Calais, their policy, if this were true, was scarcely blamable. History follows the Count to Richard's side at the lists of Coventry, where the king stopped the combat between Henry Bolingbroke and Norfolk; finds him, after Richard's murder or disappearance, challenging the usurper to single combat;[2] and loses sight of him when, as a Burgundian leader, he is mainly responsible for the atrocities of that faction in the streets of Paris.

Here end the various Commissions which had no doubt kept Sir Bernard out of the Parliaments of the time while they lasted,[3] and we now find him once more sitting as Knight of his Shire in the two which preceded Wat Tyler's insurrection, and led to that dreadful catastrophe. We could not expect to discover any hint of the share he took in these matters, but might have hoped for some light, from the deeds of that date, upon the effect which the rising produced on his affairs.[4] It is not, however, till 1382 that we find any personal incident, and by that time, Mary, his wife, who was alive in 1380, has passed away, and he has contracted a third marriage, to another widow, Katharine, relict of Sir Hugh Tyrrell.

It is one serious defect in the method, alone open to us in so remote an age, of following up a life by means of dates and records, that we can obtain scarcely any insight into the history of the ladies of a family. As to Mary, a person of so much importance in the pedigree, we can learn nothing. These English women assuredly come and go before us in all the privacy which we are told that Pericles declared to be the glory of the sex: but as it has not been in their power to break the silence, we should be paying them an undeserved compliment if we gave them the credit of it. If the prominent place taken by Mary's name in the mortuary Foundation which her husband and his new wife jointly instituted, soon after their marriage, and in his own still greater Foundation, a little later, is any guide to us, her memory must have been dear to him. There

[1] *Chron. Ang. R. S.* p. 257; cf. Walsingham.

[2] *Chron. de la Traïson.*

[3] The Parliaments in which Sir Bernard Brocas sat were those of 1369, 1370–1, 1371, 1373, 1379–80, 1380, 1386, 1391, 1392–3, and 1394–5. In all of these, except the Parliament of 1391, he represented Hampshire. On the latter occasion he sat for Wilts, for which he was qualified by his wife's estates and his own Wardenship of the King's manor of Compton Basset.

[4] About this time 'Mons. Bernard Brocas' receives permission from the Crown to hunt in the Warren of Methwold. (See 'Warrant to the Warden of Methwold' in the *Duchy of Lancaster Registers*, vol. xiv. p. 27. March 1, 3 Rich. II.)

are difficulties as to the number of children whom she bore him, but she must have been the mother of two sons—Ralph, who died young, and Bernard, who succeeded his father. The pedigree knows nothing of the first, and it credits her with three daughters—Isabel, wife of Sir John Golafre, of Oxon; Elizabeth, wife of Sir Thomas de Mussenden, of Mussenden, in Bucks; and 'Jane' or Johanna, who became the wife of Robert Dyncley; of whom, however, we can only accept one. This last was in fact Mary's only daughter. Her husband was the son of Robert Dyncley and Mary Comyn, and grandson of Henry Dyncley, of Lancashire, whose wife was sister of Sir John Holland. The family went on in the male descendants of this Johanna and her husband for four generations, and ended in a female who married George Baret. The Brocas deeds of the fifteenth century bring us acquainted with three of these generations, living close to Beaurepaire, and no doubt members of the above family. One of them is a witness to the important family deed of 1429. The name of their place seems to have been Wolforton.

But the difficulties in accepting Isabel as Sir Bernard's daughter are insuperable. Leland asserted, and it has been shown by Lipscombe and others that he was right, her identity with 'Elizabeth,' and that Sir Thomas de Mussenden, or Missenden, was her first husband, Golafre her second. Knowing very little about Sir Bernard Brocas or his father, they, however, accepted the pedigree without question on another point, and admitted her as Sir Bernard's daughter. The dates found at the Record Office render this impossible. She was pretty certainly Sir John's daughter by his first wife, and so only a sister of Sir Bernard, who probably owed his introduction to the county of Bucks to her, and whose fame led to her grandson, Sir Bernard Missenden, being called by her brother's name.[1]

[1] Note upon the Family of Missenden.—A Fine of 1347 shows that Isabel was married to Sir Thomas de Missenden at that date. Sir Bernard Brocas was then about seventeen years old, if, as we suppose, from his being 'first armed' at La Hogue, he was born c. 1330. If Isabel was born about that date, as she might very well have been, her marriage with Missenden would fall into its place, as well as her later marriage, after 1369, when she might be about forty, to Golafre. The male line of her family by Missenden came to an end with her grandson, and she had no children by Golafre. The following is the pedigree. (See Lipscombe's 'Bucks,' *sub* Missenden, and Leland's *Itin.* vol. iv. f. 2, 3.)

(1)		(2)
Sir Thomas de Missenden, Lord of Missenden and Quainton, ob. c. 1369.	= Isabel, d. of Sir John Brocas, Lady of Missenden and Quainton for life.	= Sir John Golafre, seised of the manor and advowson of Quainton *jure uxoris*, ob. 1379.
Sir Edmund Missenden, Lord of Missenden and Quainton, ob. 1394.	= Juliana, d. of Lord Grey of Rotherfield, ob. 1407, seised of Missenden.	
Sir Bernard Missenden (aged eight in 1394)	= Isabel Frome.	
Katharine Lady of Missenden,	= John Iwardby, seised of Missenden *jure uxoris*.	

We do not know exactly when she died, but she outlived her second husband, retiring to a convent, and passing over to her son her manors of Missenden and Quainton. Of these manors Sir Bernard Brocas was one of the Trustees appointed by Sir Edmund Missenden[1] at his death in 1394–5; and we find Quainton in possession of the second Sir Bernard Brocas—or at least a subject of dispute between him and Walter Cramford in 1397. Sir Bernard's attainder no doubt settled the question, for we hear no more of it. William Brocas, in 1432, mentions Missenden as a place where the young Bernard Brocas had been residing. He would be there with his second cousin, Sir Bernard Missenden.

Isabel's second husband was descended from a companion of the Conqueror, whose family settled in Oxon, and, by marriage with the heiress of John Fyfield, became lords of that place in Berks. Of the two sons of the Sir John Golafre who acquired this manor, the eldest, Thomas, married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Foxle; the younger, Sir John, married Isabel Brocas, widow of Sir Thomas de Missenden. Thus they married ladies who were already connected. This Sir John Golafre, who died in 1379, must be distinguished from his nephew, as well as from his illegitimate son, each of whom was also named 'Sir John Golafre,' and both of whom became celebrated.[2]

Neither the first nor the third wife of Sir Bernard Brocas appears in the pedigree, omissions which of themselves absolve us from paying much attention to the early part of it. We learn about the third from a public document, and from the deeds. The widower had won the heart of the widow of a brother knight, who, like the Brocases, came to the front at the critical period marked by the death of the old king. When the French took possession of the Isle of Wight in

[1] *Close Rolls*, 18 Rich. II. m. 9.

[2] Note upon the Family of Golafre.—The nephew was Richard's brave servant, standing by his master when nearly everyone else deserted him in his hour of need, thus expiating his faults as one of the agents of his later bad government. (*Chron. de la Traïson*, App. E. p. 292. He is here called 'esquire,' but was no doubt a knight; for he is the knight mentioned by Chaucer, by whose hands Richard sent him a silver-gilt goblet containing 100 nobles.) Surviving the revolution, Golafre flourished under the Lancastrians, and died in 1441 at Fyfield, near Abingdon, in the church of which place his skeleton-tomb still exists, known by the name of 'Gulliver's tomb.' He it is who witnesses the Brocas family deed of 1429, along with Dyneley. He was Sheriff of Oxon in 1399 and 1413, and his arms were once to be seen on the beautiful cross at Abingdon, destroyed by Waller in the Great Rebellion. The family, several of whom were buried in the church of the White Friars at Oxford, soon became extinct. The third Sir John Golafre was the natural son of Isabel's husband, a very distinguished soldier and friend of Richard, who ordered that he should be buried in Westminster Abbey. There, 'ny Richard the Second's tomb at Westminster,' as Leland describes it, but closer still to that of Sir Bernard Brocas, both being in St. Edmund's Chapel, the visitor will descry a small stone which marks his grave. It was his widow who, as Leland tells us, was married to 'the Duke of York that was killed at Agingcourt.' The interesting manor-house of the Golafres at Fyfield now forms the residence of Mr. James Parker, the Oxford publisher and antiquary, who has restored it in excellent taste.

1377, Sir Hugh Tyrrell was in command at Carisbrook Castle. Seizing his opportunity, he sallied forth on the invaders with such a hearty goodwill that he straightway drove them headlong out of the island.[1] Of Katharine Tyrrell, we only know that she was the sister of a certain Elizabeth de Clinton, the wife of the same Sir John de Clinton whom we have met along with Brocas and De Insula at the enthronisation of William of Wykeham. The husbands must have been comrades in the great war, and we see they had a common link in the Bishop, who, we may well suspect, from what followed, had a hand in the marriage. Katharine was now a 'king's widow.' Either she or her late husband, or both, were tenants *in capite*; and not perhaps caring to put herself into the hands of the persons then about the young king, she committed the 'trespass' of marrying Sir Bernard Brocas 'without our license,' for which she has to sue out a 'Pardon,'[2] no doubt on payment of a fine. The process is suggestive, and probably far from unusual.

We cannot refuse to connect this lady with the religious foundations which now became frequent with her husband. Soon after their marriage she is concerned in one of these along with him, showing that she was as forward to commemorate her predecessor as Sir Bernard himself. She must therefore share his credit for performing what was then accounted a religious act. It took place in 1384, the very year of John Wiclif's death. It is at least clear that neither the knight nor his successive wives could have had any Wiclifite sympathies. They must have been conversant with all the questions raised by the fearless Reformer, religious, political, and social. As Wykeham's friend and a Member of Parliament, Sir Bernard must have had his own opinions on the alliance between Wiclif and John of Gaunt, his defence at the hands of the Princess-dowager, and his appeal to Parliament against the bishops. He must have been familiar with his arguments, perhaps heard him thunder forth from some London pulpit, that 'the most trifling good work done by a man during his lifetime was of far more use to him than the spending of thousands of pounds after his death for the repose of his soul.'

Far from accepting such ideas, a considerable portion of the Clewer and Eldstoke estates, and the manors of Hoo and Hanyngton, are now devoted to the institution of two charities, the first at Southwick Priory church, the second at the parish church of Clewer. The two manors, having come with Mary de Roches, were those which would naturally be assigned for mortuary services at the church which lay close both to Roche Court and Borhunte, and where no doubt they had often worshipped together. The tenure *in capite* by which Sir Bernard held some of his estates necessitated an *Inquisitio ad quod*

[1] *Chron. Ang. R. S.* p. 166.

[2] *Patent Rolls*, 5 Rich. II. part ii. m. 1.

damnum, which reports that he could still perform his services to the Crown though he should part with the manors.[1] In short, no difficulties occur; and if they had, William of Wykeham was powerful enough at this time to sweep them clean away. He was specially interested in Southwick. The Priory church was the burial-place of his father, mother, and sister. Not long after he obtained possession of his See he himself had founded a chantry there for the benefit of their souls. He would seem to have presided in person at the solemn celebration of the new Foundation, at which John Uvedale was present, along with the founders. The terms of the Foundation are thus abstracted: the Prior and Convent of Southwick are to pray for 'the king, the said Bernard and Katharine his wife, while they live, and for their souls when they decease, and for the soul of king Edward III., and of Mary, late wife of the said Bernard, and for the souls of the fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters, and ancestors of the said Bernard and Mary.'[2] Another link between Southwick and the Brocases had been recently formed through the admission of Isabel Golafre, Sir Bernard's sister, to the convent. This we find, from Wykeham's 'Register,' took place in 1379, the very year in which her husband died. She had now been a member of the Society for five years, and was personally interested in promoting the Foundation.

It may here be observed that, before Mary's death, she and her husband so excited the admiration of an enthusiastic 'chaplain,' William de Northlech, that he granted an acre of his own land in Clewer to a certain person, on condition that the grantee and his heirs should keep a lamp perpetually burning before the high altar in the chancel of Clewer church, for the souls of 'Sir Bernard Brocas and Mary his wife, and of others in the book of Clewer church.' This is the latest notice we have of Mary. The chaplain was probably her confessor, and now attending her last illness. The grantee and his heirs were to pay sixpence a year by way of rent to the chief lord of the fee, then Sir John Syfrewast, who, along with William de Wynford (then in possession of the Brocas estates at Windsor), witnesses this interesting deed.[3] It must have been an unusual provision for one who was not a member of the family to make in the lifetime of the parties.

The connection of Southwick Priory with the mortuary services was fitting enough in relation to the Hampshire property. There were many reasons for selecting Clewer church as the local point of connection with that of Berks. Here had been the first settlement of the family in England; but strangely enough, though Sir John

[1] Five acres of land at Southwick were thrown into the bargain along with the manors. (See Inq. p.m. 7 Rich. II. No. 137, and Writ of ad q.d. March 12, 7 Rich. II.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Book vi. chap. i.

Brocas, the first owner of the land, is mentioned in a general way at the opening of the deed of foundation, his name does not specially occur, nor is he one of those whose souls are mentioned as the subject of the prayers. Was the provision he had made for himself of the annual two pounds of wax candles for the chapel of his 'mansion' at Clewer held to be sufficient? Did that final grant of Windsor and Clewer land to the Crown, which it must now have cost his son a large sum to get back from William de Wynford, stand in the way? At any rate, the prominent persons in the prayers, and throughout this most elaborate deed, are Sir Bernard himself and his late wife Mary. Katharine's name does not occur once. This may perhaps illustrate what has been said above. Mary had probably lived much, and died, at Clewer. Here she was known and loved. Here she should be commemorated and benefited.

The deed of the earlier Foundation was not deposited in the Brocas chest; but the deed concerning the second, which is here printed entire,[1] is one of the most complete documents of its kind, and, lengthy as it is, will repay perusal. In order to provide a perpetual 'chaplain' for these perpetual masses a house was assigned, with seventy-two acres of land, at Eldstoke, along with six marks of annual rent, to be taken out of the profits of Hanyngton manor; and next year are added a house and twenty-two acres of land at Clewer-Brocas. The escheators report that 'the manor of Cliware-Brocas, with appurtenances, beyond the gift and assignment aforesaid, remains to the said Bernard, which same manor the said Bernard holds of the lord the king *in capite* by knight's service.'[2] The license to aliene for this purpose is granted for the Clewer estate by Sir John Syfrewast, mesne lord; for the Eldstoke estate by William of Wykeham; and for Hanyngton by Edward de St. John, lord of Stopeham. The king's license in mortmain is recited in full in the deed. The names of four clergymen are joined with that of Sir Bernard, though the lands are all his own; but, to prevent mistakes, it is provided that it shall always be called 'The Brocas Chantry.' All of these clerks were at one time or other employed in the legal business of the property, but why their names appear in this way is not evident. The most elaborate precautions are taken to prevent the possibility of any intermission of the daily service, any waste of the vestments or chapel ornaments, or embezzlement of the funds. The *De Profundis* is to be daily sung in a loud and intelligible voice; but on the day of the death of Mary Brocas and of the founder, 'when he shall have migrated from this light,' the Requiem is to be sung with special solemnity in a subdued voice. Sir Bernard himself, specially distinguished from the rest, provides a missal, a portiforium of the Use of Sarum, a silver chalice, two sacerdotal vestments, two chasubles,

[1] Book vi. chap. i.

[2] Inq. p.m. Writ ad q.d. *ut supra*.

two albs, two amices with stoles, four towels or handkerchiefs, two 'corporals,' two altar cloths, and a super-altar 'conferratum.' The Rector of Clewer church and four parishioners, who must be 'trustworthy and sufficient,' are to take charge of these articles if the chaplain should ever be deprived, or notoriously suspected of dilapidation. A merciful provision is inserted, by which a peccant priest is not to be considered incorrigible until he has been three times convicted.

The house at Clewer, with its twenty-two acres of land, was to be the residence of the chaplain, Thomas de Colyngham, who is named in the deed; but though the endowment of the Foundation would seem to have been ample, Colyngham is no sooner admitted by Ralph, Bishop of Sarum, than he changes his mind and makes way for William Heremyte, one of the four clerks joined with Brocas in the act of foundation. He is accordingly inducted as first chaplain by John Pesmer, Rector of Clewer. The appointments of this chantry-priest from time to time, including the deed by which a 'next presentation' is granted to Gilbert Brocas in 1424, are found among the family papers, down to the very eve of the Act for the Suppression of Chantries.[1]

The 'Brocas Chantry' is still to be traced, with difficulty, on the south side of Clewer church, towards the east end, and was once, no doubt, separated off from the rest. Perhaps, if some memorial had been placed there, even a century or two after the Reformation, the name of 'the Brocas' would not have remained an enigma to so many generations of Eton men. One would at least have expected that some effort would have been made, at the modern restoration of the fine old church, to mark the spot.

These mortuary provisions are not absolutely inconsistent with Brocas' office of Chamberlain to Queen Anne, but we do not know the date of that appointment, nor anything connected with it except the fact, which is ascertained from the monument in Westminster Abbey and the recital in one of the family deeds. Anne became Queen in 1382, and early showed evidence of her inclination to the views of the Reformers. Still less can we say about the office he is said to have held as Chamberlain to Philippe, Comte de Hainault, for we have no contemporary evidence that it was a fact. Yet we need not disbelieve the tradition. It was probably of an earlier date than this, as previously hinted. Sir Bernard was often in Flanders, and the connection between the family of Hainault and the Court through Queen Philippa was close.

That Sir Bernard did not allow his position at Court with Queen Anne to interfere with his gifts to Religious Houses appears from his assignment of estates in Shafton, Dorset, and in Alwardebury, Whaddon, and Farle in Wilts, as late as 1392–3, to the Prior and Convent

[1] Book vi. chap. i.

of Mons Ederosi. These would seem to be the property held by Sir Bernard in right of Katharine his wife, and their assignment confirms the view that he was much influenced by her in these proceedings. Monks' Sherborne Priory was a cell of the above-mentioned Norman monastery. Thus the religious institutions in the midst of the North Hampshire estates were strengthened, as well as those which lay amongst the South Hampshire and the Clewer properties. This was the way in which the 'lay element' of the unreformed Church was incorporated into the ecclesiastical fabric. The knight, the priest, and the ecclesiastical lawyer were all united in the same interests, temporal and spiritual. But how about those who could not afford to make such valuable provision for the future?

To return to the sequence of events in the career of Sir Bernard. In the year 1384 he adds another to his numerous appointments,[1] the Captaincy of Sandgate Castle, which, like the Captaincy of Calais, in 1377, we may connect with the alarms of a French invasion, imminent in the above year. This is also the year when Richard prepares for his great expedition to Scotland, in which, as we have seen by the deposition in the 'Scrope and Grosvenor Roll,' Brocas was serving. We may well suppose that he was consulted by his cousin, Arnald Brocas, as to the 'large warlike machines' which it fell to Arnald's lot to prepare for the king, no doubt for that expedition. We must now, therefore, bring this cousin before the reader.

We have observed Arnald's name, along with those of his two kinsmen, in 1362, as presumably serving with them in the first settlement of Aquitaine; but it is impossible to say how much time he spent there, as he was then already a clergyman whose course may be traced in the Episcopal Registers. It is wonderfully like that of his uncle, though he must have entered upon his ecclesiastical career later in life. In the very year when he receives letters of protection on going abroad with Sir Bernard and Master Bernard Brocas, we find him instituted to his first preferment, the Rectory of Whippingham, in the Isle of Wight. In the following November he obtains a license for non-residence for a year, for the purpose of study, on condition of receiving all the minor orders and the sub-diaconate within the year. In March 1364, as a sub-deacon, he obtains asimilar license for the purpose of study in England, on condition of receiving the diaconate; and a similar one again in 1365. In that year, on the presentation of Master Bernard Brocas, he is instituted to the Rectory of Ash, near Guildford, resigning Whippingham, and again obtains another year's license for study. In August 1366 there is an entry of his institution to Whipstrode Rectory, at North Fareham; but this is probably

[1] The date of Sir Bernard's lease of Odiham Castle, manor and liberty, from the Crown, at an annual rent of 5*l.*, is not exactly known; but we are not told that he was Constable of the Castle. (See Warner's *Collections for a History of Hants.*)

a clerical error for 'Bernard' of Guildford, who held that living at his death in 1368. Observing the strongly secular marks of his after career, we cannot but doubt the *bona fides* of these licenses to study, which have a suspicious appearance of arrangements made for non-resident life abroad in the service of the Crown, and the suspicion is confirmed by the late date at which this very secular ecclesiastic receives the higher Orders of the Church. It is not till 1374 that he is ordained—many years after the stipulated date—deacon, nor till 1375 that he is ordained priest.[1] On the other hand we find him styled 'Magister' as early as 1362,[2] so that he had quite completed his University course in Arts before ordination, and, like Bernard, was prepared for public service by the highest course of education then known, extending over at least seven years, to which we must add the time necessary for his attaining the degree of 'Bachelor of Laws,' which we find inscribed, as his proper University title, on his monument. His marriage, and the founding by him of the Brocas family of Compton, are noticed in Chapter III. Here it is only necessary to observe that Arnald was preferred to the Rectory of Worpledon, also near Guildford, in 1374, on the presentation of Sir John de Cobham;[3] and, in 1381, is discovered as 'Clerk of all the King's Works.'[4]

Arnald Brocas was probably long before this engaged in the domestic service of the Crown, for he could not have advanced *per saltum* to such an office. He would naturally be looked upon, at his uncle's death in 1368, as the representative of that tried official, and he would naturally also have shared in Sir Bernard's growing prosperity, above all in Wykeham's patronage. That was very distinctly shown in 1387, the date of Arnald's preferment to Bernard's old Rectory of St. Nicholas, Guildford, which had been opposed, perhaps on the strength of an Act of Parliament passed in 1384, to deprive aliens of Church preferments. The Act was often broken or evaded, but as Arnald was established in his Rectory by a commission appointed by the Bishop of Winchester, 'to inquire into the right of presentation to St. Nicholas in Guildford, and to institute Arnald Brocas to the same,'[5] it may be at least assumed that he was not an alien. Indeed, that he was born in England would be what we might expect from the dates of his opening career. It will be remembered that Wykeham himself had been King's Clerk of the Works, and he may have been the agent in the appointment of Arnald to his own old office.[6]

[1] Wykeham's *Register*.—F. J. B.

[2] Deed 433, book vi. chap. iii.

[3] Wykeham's *Register*.—F. J. B.

[4] *Foreign, or Miscellaneous, Accounts*, from May 3, 4 Rich. II., to Sept. 30, 8 Rich. II. See also *Patent Rolls*, 4 Rich. II. m. 15.

[5] Wykeham's *Register*. Quoted by Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, vol. i. 181 n.

[6] Arnald Brocas was presented to St. Nicholas by Henry Loxley, who had acquired the advowson from the Dean of Sarum. Next year Arnald was Chamberlain of the

There are several entries in the 'Issues of the Exchequer' which give an insight into the nature of Arnald's employments, and illustrate the differences between the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. In the former Wykeham's tenure of the office is marked by constant employment in building Windsor and other castles; in the latter the entries are as follows: 'To Arnald Brocas, Clerk of the Works of the lord the king within the Palace of Westminster and Tower of London, Windsor Castle, and divers others of the king's castles and manors, &c. In money paid to him by the hands of William Hannaye, Comptroller of the works aforesaid, for repairing and constructing the door broken by the "rebel commons" within the Tower of London, 31*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*'[1] This is fixed by the date of Wat Tyler's insurrection to a day between June 12 and June 21, 1381, very soon after Arnald's appointment. Here, though we cannot fill up for ourselves the part which the Brocas cousins may have taken in this affair, we assist at the repair of the breaches, and marvel at the great cost of a Tower gate or gateway. The insurrection having been choked in blood, another entry refers no doubt to the Scottish war: 'December 24, 1384.—To Arnald Brocas [as above]. In money paid to him by the hands of John Hermesthorp, one of the Chamberlains of the Receipt, for ordering, making, and amending of divers large warlike machines made in the Tower, by order of the king and his council, intended for certain urgent and secret affairs by the said king and council, 9*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.*'[2]

We are soon afterwards introduced to Richard's labours upon Westminster Hall, the rebuilding of which (at a later date than this entry) is perhaps the chief glory of a reign not otherwise glorious. On February 15, 1385, Arnald receives 6*l.* for 'making [in the sense of causing to be made] divers images ordered at the king's pleasure for the great hall at Westminster.' On November 30 he receives 2*l.* for making a 'tabernacle over the head of an image made in the likeness of the king,' placed at the end of the great Hall at Westminster; on December 15, 5*l.* for 'making two images in likeness of the kings and Houel,[3] the same placed at the end of the king's great Hall within the Palace of Westminster;' and on May 15, 1386, 5*l.* for 'painting the images in the said Hall.' At the same time he is paid for 'repairing

Exchequer, and Loxley Escheator for Surrey, a concurrence of events which would scarcely be fortuitous.

[1] Devon's abstract in his *Issues of the Exchequer*. He translates 'ostium' by 'door.' It should rather be 'gateway,' or 'gate.'

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.* Translated by Devon in his extracts, *ut supra*, 'of the king and Houel,' but the word is 'regum,' which lands us in a fresh difficulty. Whatever was meant, it looks as if the statue of Howel Dha, the great king of Wales five hundred years previously, was to be placed amongst those of the kings of England—an illustration of the attachment which Richard always felt to the Welsh people, as well as of the liberality which would not refuse to place Welsh princes amongst the sovereigns of the realm. The full title of Arnald Brocas at this time runs as follows: 'Clerk of the Works to the King in the

a bridge at Westminster.' No further clue seems to be found as to the nature of these 'images.' They are evidently statues, and afford the best possible authority for the statues of kings of which the beginning of a series has been of late years placed in the Hall. Had Arnald anything to do with the interesting picture of Richard, discovered and restored under the auspices of the late Dean Stanley? Was he concerned in the building, or at least planning, of the edifice now about to be restored by the nation at the hands of Mr. Pearson? Exact evidence on this point has not yet been discovered.

So passed the hey-day of the boy-king, before the rude awakening of 1386. In the 'Wonderful Parliament' of that year Sir Bernard once more sits for Hampshire.[1] John of Gaunt had left England, and the lead was now taken by his son, afterwards Henry IV., and by Thomas, Duke of Gloucester. William of Wykeham and the ecclesiastics generally were on their side. Parliament was in their hands, and we can hardly doubt that Sir Bernard Brocas was as closely allied with them as it was possible for a courtier to be. His friend Richard de Scrope was in high office, and he could have had no love for the new favourites, by and with whom Richard was already misgoverning the country. An invasion by the French, so long threatened, was now imminent: the patriots who had served under Edward III. and the Black Prince had to see to the government. Whether he approved of so violent a measure as the appointment of the eleven Lords Commissioners, who with the three great officers of State virtually superseded the Sovereign, we cannot tell; but Wykeham was one of them. If we may judge by his subsequent absence from Parliament for several years, we might suppose that he at any rate disapproved of any further measures of the same sort. Thus he escaped the stigma deservedly attached to the 'Merciless Parliament' of 1388. Indeed, it was in this very year that he receives permission from the king to enlarge still further his park at Beaurepaire.[2] On the other hand, when that Parliament was still sitting, when the king was crushed and humbled to the dust by the Lords Appellant, he must have been in favour with

Palace of Westminster, Tower of London, Castles of Windsor, Berkhampstead, and Hadley, the Manor and Lodge of the King in Windsor Park, the Manors of Kennington, Eltham, Havering, Woodstock, Clarendon, Shene, Byflete, Yeshampstead, Henley, Worldham, Langley Mareys, Childern Langley, and Feckenham, the King's Lodges of Hathebergh and Brockenhurst in the New Forest, the Lodges in the Parks of Clarendon, Guildford, Foli-John, Cold Kennington, Eltham, Childern Langley, Feckenham and Beckley, and the Mews for the King's falcons near Charyngecrouthe, &c. (Here follow the petty details of the office unconnected with names of places.)

[1] An indication of the danger to which the family, like many others, felt itself exposed by these revolutionary proceedings is afforded by the action of Sir Bernard Brocas, junior, in the year 1386, with reference to the Denton estate, which his father had previously made over to him. He now passes it to Sir Brian Stapelton, Arnald Brocas, and others in trust, a precaution which saved it at the time of his own forfeiture in 1399.

[2] *Patent Rolls*, 12 Rich. II. part i. m. 15, October 12, 1388.

the king's opponents, or he would not have been employed, in May 1388, on a highly responsible service. This was to muster the two bodies of English troops, each consisting of 'men-at-arms and archers,' assembled under Richard, Earl of Arundel, and Sir Thomas Percy.[1]

Arnald Brocas' elevation to the post of Chamberlain of the Exchequer[2] was almost exactly coincident with these appointments of his cousin. After the Parliament of 1388 had been dissolved, we find him acting along with John Gilbert, Bishop of Hereford, Treasurer of England, in giving certain of the king's jewels to the Mayor of London in pledge.[3]

We shall not be wrong in attributing all these appointments to Wykeham's influence. His own course was that of the moderator and peacemaker, acting with both parties, and losing favour with neither. What is Richard's first act, after his success in throwing off the yoke of the Appellants and Lords Commissioners in 1389? It is to send for Wykeham, and replace him in his old position as Chancellor of England. His next is to become reconciled to his enemies, and to establish, if not peace, at least a pacific footing with France; while, under the advice of his new Council, he applies himself to the settlement of the great questions in relation to the Church, the Papacy, taxation, and commerce, which had long been waiting for a favourable moment. Wykeham had placed the men he could trust, and whom he knew would be agreeable to the king, in offices of importance. We may well believe that they, like himself, had steered a moderate course through the three petty revolutions of 1386, 1387, and 1388, and were thus prepared to give whatever aid was in their power towards keeping the king in the right path in 1389. What can be more significant than the fact that Sir Bernard Brocas now, after an interval exactly embracing the late critical years of revolution, immediately re-enters Parliament, and sits continuously till he dies in 1395? Of course it is not to be supposed that he could take the place from which Wykeham was now retiring. The simple Knight of the Shire, Queen's Chamberlain, and Captain of castles could not aspire to the influence of a Chancellor; but no doubt there were many ways in which he could represent the retired Minister, both in Court and Parliament, and his relations to Wykeham in Hampshire and to the king at Windsor and Westminster were exactly suitable for such a position. The last glimpse we obtain of the veteran Knight is when he is employed confidentially by Richard in obtaining possession of some property in Westminster, perhaps in connection with

[1] *Gascon* and *French Rolls*, 11 Rich. II. May 14 and May 20, 1388.

[2] *Patent Rolls*, 11 Rich. II. m. 2.

[3] Palgrave's *Ancient Kalendars &c.* vol. ii. 24, 25, March 15 and June 20, 1388. 'The Chamberlain of the Exchequer took care of the receipts and payments of the king's revenue.' (Madox's *Hist. of the Exch.* p. 41.)

the rebuilding of Westminster Hall.[1] Of Arnald we do not hear again after 1388. In 1395 they both die. Queen Anne had died in 1394.

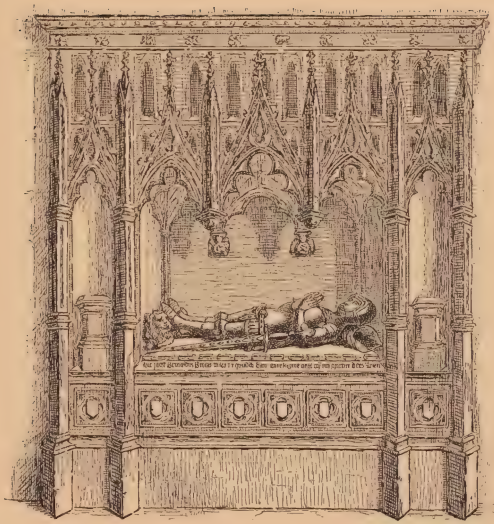
A careful consideration of these dates in connection with all that has preceded cannot but be suggestive. It is but reasonable to associate what we have called the third period of Richard's career, the surprising period of moderation, magnanimity, and public spirit, with some influences which touched him very closely. Giving both to Wykeham at the outset and the Queen for a longer period all the credit they no doubt deserve, we may not refuse to connect with this brighter time the counsels of the two ancient friends of Richard's father and grandfather. When they die, almost immediately afterwards, they are buried with all pomp and circumstance, and the new counsels are palpably discerned in the unfortunate marriage with the child Isabella of France, the seed of all the subsequent disasters. The national party, too suspiciously and violently perhaps, takes the alarm. Signs of a revival of the old internecine struggle appear; and, as already said, the king, with all the vigour of the Plantagenets, determines to take the initiative. In 1397 Richard, now truly 'the Redeless,' rushes on his destruction. Those who might have helped him at the critical moment are in the grave.

The circumstances attending the funeral and monument of Sir Bernard Brocas go far to confirm this estimate of the important place he had filled. No ordinary courtier would be buried by Richard in the chief place of St. Edmund's Chapel in Westminster Abbey, close to the tombs of kings and queens; nor would an ordinary funeral cost for hearse, banners, pennons, and torches 40*l.*, or some 800*l.* of our money.[2] The fine embattled altar-tomb, very little damaged by time, still attests the high condition of the deceased. Round its ledge runs the following inscription, the contractions of which are here expanded: '*Hic jacet Bernardus Brocas miles TT quondam camerarius Anne Regine Anglie cujus anime propicietur Deus. Amen.*' It is not worth while to describe the figure which now lies in complete armour recumbent upon the tomb, the head pillowed on the helmet, which bears for crest the head of the Moor, because doubts have been thrown on its antiquity.[3] The inscription placed above it

[1] Palgrave, *ut supra*, 15 Rich. II. (July 14, 1391).

[2] Quoted in Woodward and Wilks' *History of Hampshire*, vol. iii. p. 241.

[3] In Stothard's *Monumental Effigies* this figure is elaborately represented bearing a shield. In the absence of exact knowledge as to the history of the existing figure, it has been thought best to reproduce for this book the drawing in Dart's *Monuments of Westminster Abbey*, published in 1725, which Gough considered satisfactory, expressing no doubt as to the genuineness of the figure, but remarking that it differed from the figure existing in his time by the fact of its bearing no shield. (*Sepulchral Monuments*, 1786.) Nor is there any shield upon the figure now. It must have been placed there between the dates of the works of Dart and Gough, and again removed since Stothard made his drawing. There is no crown on the head of the Moor; which, as it is found in all the ancient seals, shows that the helmet and crest at least are modern.



Tomb of Sir Bernard Brocas

From Dart's Monuments of Westminster Abbey, 1725

Monumental Brass in the Brocas Chapel, Sherborne St. John Church

See note, p. 129

From a rubbing by Miss Chute

in the last century requires no further notice, the mistakes in it having already in the course of this narrative become too palpably evident to require exposure. It is fortunate that no possible suspicion can attach to the actual tomb with its simple legend, a beautiful work of art in itself, of which a good engraving will be found in Boutell's 'Monumental Brasses' (1847). The ornamental figures of animals between each word are well executed, and perhaps symbolical.[1]

As the estates of Sir Bernard Brocas were all carefully placed in the hands of Chitterne and other trustees, with whom he had been acting all his life, he makes no will: at least there is none to be found either in Wykeham's 'Register,' where it would naturally be, or elsewhere. And yet he certainly left one legacy, and therefore may have left more. The payment was no doubt delayed by the attainder of the son. This liberal bequest we discover by a receipt, found amongst the family papers, from the Rector of Sherborne St. John (the parish church of Beaurepaire) and three of the parishioners, to William Brocas, the grandson, for forty marks left '*ad opus ecclesie*' by 'Bernard Brocas, Knight, Chamberlain to Anne, formerly Queen of England.'[2] A considerable restoration may have been effected with a sum equivalent to between 400*l.* and 500*l.* of our money, and out of it we may presume that the cost of the Brocas Chapel, which forms part of the church, and still contains the family monuments, was defrayed. In 1506 the third William Brocas, sixth in descent from the donor, desires in his will that he may be buried in this chapel, since it was 'of my auncestor's foundation.' The chapel, which fairly corresponds with the above date, but had not indeed any special claim to admiration as a work of art, has been recently repaired, in keeping with an excellent restoration of the church itself.[3]

We here part with the most considerable person the family has ever produced. Like Sir John de Brocas, he died at a happy moment. Saved from witnessing, the one the ruin of King Edward and the

[1] They were omitted by Dart, as he could not make room for them in his drawing. The letters 'TT' have never been satisfactorily explained. The two letters cannot stand for 'titulo,' as the title does not immediately follow. They are not of the form of the cross often used to mark the beginning or fresh limb of an inscription, nor at the place where it would be used; nor can they be merely ornamental, occurring as they do in the midst of the other figures, of a distinctly ornamental type, which divide the words. The only Orders of Knights which adopted the T cross were those of St. Anthony of Ethiopia and St. Anthony of Vienne in France. The latter, founded by Gaston, a noble of Vienne, in 1095, possessed a hospital in Threadneedle Street, London, originally a Jewish synagogue, granted them by Henry III. (*Dugd. Mon.* vi. 7660). It was afterwards a Huguenot church. The Principals of this Order wore a double T cross of blue satin, one over the other. The double cross on Sir Bernard Brocas' monument may have indicated some other office held by him in the Order. (Ashmole's *Order of the Garter*, pp. 50, 63.)

[2] See book vi. chap. ii. part ii.

[3] To this chapel was removed the interesting brass commemorating the young Raulin and Margaret Brocas. Their relationship to the family is not known; but the brass is of the date of Sir Bernard. They were probably members of the Gascon clan brought to England by him and Mary when they left Aquitaine.

collapse of his conquests, the other the revolution which he had done something to retard and avert, they were identified with all that was best in both reigns, and exhibited fine characteristics, such as cannot by any means be always found amidst the glitter of Plantagenet chivalry. It is not likely that they passed unscathed through the scenes in which they played their part; but there is something at least respectable in their adherence to the religious standards of their times, and in the provision they made for religious ordinances. Omitting questions which we cannot fully answer about Sir Bernard's divorce, domestic life and duties form an honourable feature in their career, and the deeds which bear their name suggest nothing of which they had need to be ashamed. A certain suspicion of clanship, natural to a family of foreign extraction projected into the midst of a new social life, presents a not unamiable aspect to those who observe it from a distance; and we cannot blame them for pushing their way in the world when we find their valuable, perhaps brilliant, services recognised by their royal patrons to the very last. This is a different career from that of royal favourites, a Gaveston, a Despenser, or a Vere. Rewards follow upon meritorious service, not on the base arts of servile flattery. Sprung from an ancient stock of soldiers, citizens, courtiers, country gentlemen, they never rise in England much above that position. Envied no doubt they must have been: it was their conduct and prudence that lived this envy down.

It is perhaps a mark of ill-feeling or suspicion on the part of their contemporary, Froissart, that he never once mentions the names of these fine officers. It is difficult, since he gives us the names of such a multitude of persons of far less importance in Court and camp, to account for his silence in any other manner. Accidental circumstances, such as absence from the English Court when they were in chief repute, or from campaigns in which the family were employed, may help to account for the fact; and it is intelligible that Gascons should fare worse in Froissart's pages than the knights and esquires of North France, Flanders, and England, with whom he was in closer contact and deeper sympathy: but some further explanation is required. It may perhaps be found in the universal abhorrence of Gaveston, the great typical Gascon, which had sunk deep into the mind of the age, and seems to have prejudiced other chroniclers besides Froissart against all his countrymen. Kings and princes, like Edward III. and his son, and magnanimous statesmen like Wykeham, could discriminate; but the class with which the strolling chronicler mixed did not find it so easy, and what was more, neither he nor his fraternity could expect their works to be favourably received—or, as we say in these days, to sell—unless they reckoned with the popular prejudice. Further, the chronicler is Lancastrian, and the family were faithful adherents of Richard, to whose memory,

though he might pity his cruel fate, no popular writer could be expected to show much mercy. Lastly, it is not at all impossible that he may have cherished some personal pique. Fortunately, we possess independent sources of information. It is at least a curious coincidence that, along with this suspicious silence, we have in Froissart, alone of all the chroniclers, an erroneous account of the execution of the second Sir Bernard Brocas, which is made to arise out of his share in Richard's violent counsels, and so to leave the impression that he deserved his fate. Of this presently.

It would be the height of absurdity to attempt to identify Sir Bernard Brocas with Chaucer's typical Knight; but we naturally look to contemporaries for illustration. All that can be said as to any possible hint of his career in the charming portrait drawn by the poet who, as his fellow-courtier, must have known him well, is that the famous Pilgrimage is fixed by commentators at about 1383, and that this is just the time when Brocas, from his age, dignity, and reputation, might possibly have been one of those in the poet's eye.

An account of all Sir Bernard's possessions will be found elsewhere. It is enough to state here that, besides receiving his father's inheritance and recovering what he had granted away—besides the residue of his nephew's estates in Kent and Sussex, the Beaurepaire estates, which he made the centre of his properties, the Surrey estates, which he received from his uncle, and the estates in Yorkshire, Hampshire, Northamptonshire, and Dorset, which came with his first two wives—he acquired with his third wife the manors of Nether Claybrook, in Leicestershire, and Compton Chamberlein, in Wiltshire, which, as she survived him, without children, did not descend to the family, and, finally, a very important property in Bucks, of which we shall hear more. This he seems to have designed as the foundation of a second House of Brocas, through the blood of his second grandson; and so it turned out to be. What he could not have foreseen, however, was the destiny of this property to be the means of continuing the family descent in a direct line, by the intermarriage of its male heir in the sixth generation with the heiress of the Beaurepaire property, whose Brocas blood had for two generations been identified with the name of another family. Altogether, as he enjoyed a good pension in addition to numerous manors, many valuable properties, and several State offices, Sir Bernard must be reckoned amongst the prosperous men of his day. Not that there is anything at all uncommon in the process of founding a family such as this; but there are very few cases of so early a date in which we have the means of tracing it in the same exact way, and thus of illustrating the territorial history of the period at which it took place. If the present increase of antiquarian energy continues, we shall soon have more.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EXECUTION OF THE SECOND SIR BERNARD BROCAS BY HENRY IV.

THERE is not much to be said about the second Sir Bernard Brocas before we follow him to the block at Tyburn. The son of Mary de Roches could not have been more than thirty-four at his father's death, instead of forty-one, as stated by one of the escheators; nor could his son, William, have been twenty at the time of his father's execution, as stated by another, unless the father had married as early as his eighteenth year, i.e. 1381. So early a marriage is indeed quite possible, and, considering that he was a knight in 1385, not even unlikely. Under the auspices of the Queen's Chamberlain and the Chamberlain of the Exchequer he advanced rapidly at Richard's Court, where he would surely have been a page; and an heiress of moderate expectations would be the natural bride for the young courtier. According to an ancient tradition, not indeed yet verified, but which there is no reason to doubt, he was Carver to the Queen; but whether it was to Queen Anne or the child-Queen Isabella we cannot say, perhaps to both. Johanna was daughter of Gilbert Banbury, lord of Haliborne, or Holibourn, near Alton, Hants, whence the subsequent connection of the junior branch of the family with that neighbourhood. By her he had, besides the younger sons and daughters, who will be grouped together in a Note, the two sons, William and Bernard, who, emerging better than might have been expected out of the catastrophe of their father's attainder, became the heads of the two distinct branches of the family afterwards united.

In the notices of the Brocas estates we shall find ample evidence of the sense entertained by the young Sir Bernard, both before and after his father's death, of the insecure condition of affairs under King Richard. It is evident that holders of property felt that they were encamped on a volcano ready to burst forth at any moment. The inheritor of fortunes so prudently built up not only adopted the precautions by which they had been already protected, but carried them still further, though we shall see reason to think that the precise nature of the revolution had not been foreseen by the subject of this

chapter. The imminent danger seemed to be, as we can well imagine, from the despotic power of the king himself. In short, a careful examination of the few facts at our disposal would lead to the conclusion that the career of the young man had been in sympathy with that of his relatives; and that, though Froissart truly enough calls him one of the 'king's knights,' we have no reason whatever to connect him with the later period of violence and unconstitutional government further than that he was a member of the king's Court and Household at the time.

In this sense it should be observed that we have evidence enough as to the persons who accompanied Richard in his last fatal expedition to Ireland, some of whom behaved, when the trial came, like brave gentlemen, but many more showed only too plainly of what stuff they were made. Brocas was not one of these. If he had been one of Richard's agents in his malpractices, we should have expected to find him there. Again, if, as we might suppose, he was in attendance on the young queen, it must be said that we do not find him associated by the Duke of York, on the first alarm of Henry's invasion, with those who were placed in charge of her, the younger Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire, Bussy, Green, and Bagot.[1] These four were the persons implicated in Richard's ill-omened financial proceedings. At Wallingford Castle they were safe, with their young charge, from any sudden attack; and soon afterwards, fearing a siege, they made their way to Bristol in order to be near the sea, where their fate overtook them before they could escape. We may reckon it as certain that Brocas had been in no way concerned in the Duke of Gloucester's murder at Calais in 1397. Rickhill, when examined in Parliament, does not mention him. Creton, the best authority (next to the 'Chronique de la Traison') for the closing scenes of Richard's life, expressly tells us the names of the counsellors stated at Conway by the Earl of Northumberland as responsible for advising that fatal act of frantic terror and suspicion. He names to Richard the Earls of Huntingdon, Surrey, and Salisbury, Bishop Merks, and the chaplain, Maudelein. He may have been mistaken as to some of these, certainly not as to all; but the name of Brocas does not appear on the list. The fact is that while, on the one hand, we have no ground whatever for suspecting the younger Sir Bernard Brocas of conduct in any way differing, in its earlier stages, from that which would have been pursued by his wise relatives if they had been still alive, so on the other hand the obscurity which hangs over his later conduct at the crisis may fairly be interpreted in his favour. He may well have attempted to dissociate himself from acts of which he could not approve, and retired to his estates. The circumstances of his death,

[1] See *Archæologia*, vol. xx., for a translation of, and notes on, Creton's *Metrical History of the Deposition of King Richard II.*, by Mr. Webb.

and to some extent the family papers, strengthen this view; and the extraordinary promptitude with which the favour of Henry IV. was extended to his widow, and not long afterwards to his family, tells the same story. His share in the conspiracy may have been a sudden act, the more dangerous to the usurper because of Brocas' previous conduct and character. It could not but be swiftly and summarily punished. Its further penal consequences, however, should be at once expunged from the book of state, and the family should be replaced in their old position, just as if nothing had happened. That was, as we shall see, impossible, but such was the intention.

The conspiracies and insurrections with which Henry IV. had to contend during the earlier years of his reign are so numerous, that we are apt to lose sight of one which at first sight appears to have been easily crushed and comparatively unimportant. The glamour which we associate with the indomitable Owen Glendower, the chivalrous Hotspur, and the doughty Douglas, the critical nature of the battle of Shrewsbury, and the shock which the execution of an archbishop gave to the ideas of the age, fill our imagination, immortalised as most of these incidents have been by the genius of Shakspeare, and familiar to students of the Constitution by the effects which they produced for a time on the machinery of government. But the first rising was really the most dangerous, and most nearly achieved success. In all the later ones, Henry, guided by his own consummate skill and courage, assisted as he was by his brave sons, and firmly seated on the throne by the purpose and will of the leading portion of his subjects, was never taken by surprise, and always had the odds in his favour. But in the first case he was all but caught at Windsor. Richard was still alive; compassion for the fallen victim was still contending with the fear of letting loose the tiger which had tasted blood; men had been taken by surprise at the usurper's astonishing success; he was not the next heir to Richard's throne; was it certain they had not exchanged one tyrant for another? They had scarcely had time to draw breath. But yesterday they had a rightful Sovereign to whom they owed the most precious laws, one who had, indeed, gone mad, and was governing after the French method by a Council of his own creatures, veiled under a so-called Committee of Parliament; but was it really come to this, that he must die, and 'haughty Bolingbroke' ascend his throne? No one was more fully aware of what was passing in the minds of men than the new king. Never perhaps did he feel a sense of alarm equal to that which the breathless message of Rutland conveyed to him; never did he act with greater promptitude. How exactly has the great poet caught the hurry and dash of the whole affair, though his authorities have misled him as to certain points!

The facts are these. It was on August 18, 1399, that the last Act of the tragedy began. On that day the hapless monarch,

deserted by his army, and by all but some half-dozen faithful friends, was irretrievably ruined and betrayed by the foul conduct of the Earl of Northumberland, and soon afterwards lodged in the Tower. On September 30 Henry had seized the throne. He was crowned on October 27. Everyone knew that the dethroned prisoner's life was doomed. It was now or never, if it was to be saved. His nearest relations and friends resolved to make the attempt. The scene between the double traitor, Rutland, the 'Aumerle' or Albemarle of Shakspeare, and the Duke and Duchess of York, his father and mother, rises up before us:

> . . . . Thou fond mad woman,
> Wilt thou conceal this dark conspiracy?
> A dozen of them here have ta'en the sacrament,
> And interchangeably set down their hands
> To kill the king at Oxford.

It is pretty certain that Oxford had been the place originally designed; but the conspirators, betrayed by Rutland, now made (on January 4) a sudden dash at Windsor, and missing Henry by only a few hours, rode at full speed, by way of Sonning, to Wallingford, and then to Abingdon. There finding Henry, with an army raised at a moment's notice from London—for he was 'the Londoners' king'—in full pursuit, they fled in desperation to Cirencester, hoping to escape to Wales, and thence to rouse the West to arms. It was there that Richard's strength lay, though his friends had been for the moment overawed by Henry's great force, and paralysed by the entire collapse of their old master's fortunes. At Cirencester, however, the townsmen, headed by their bailiff, fell upon the leaders, who were as imprudent as the rising had been ill-concerted, and the conspiracy came at once to an end. The Earl of Kent, the late king's half-brother, was the real, or reputed, head of it, as the reports of the various escheators show by their mode of speaking of the forfeited Brocas lands; and he, along with the Earl of Salisbury and Sir Ralph Lumley, was beheaded by the people on the spot. The Earls of Huntingdon and Gloucester were soon afterwards caught and beheaded without trial. The knights and esquires were bound and carried to Henry, who had by this time arrived at Oxford. Here some of them, Sir Thomas Blount, Sir Benedict Shelley,[1] Walsh, Baldwin, and

[1] There is some difficulty in the identification of this person. He is called 'Cilie' by some of the chroniclers; and Cartwright, in his *History of Sussex*, makes no room for him in his pedigree of the Shelleys (vol. ii. p. 77), but he seems to be a well-known member of the family. According to that document the two Shelleys executed for this conspiracy are the brothers Sir John and Sir Thomas, the latter of whom is there said to be married to '. . . daughter of Sir Bernard Brockhurst, of Hants.' This is the only notice yet found of such a marriage, but it is not to be rejected on that account, for the Brocas pedigree is confessedly imperfect. If the statement is correct it is an interesting

twenty-five more, were executed in the Green Ditch, just outside the walls (where Broad Street now runs), with circumstances of barbarity almost incredible. The rest, including Sir Bernard Brocas, were sent to London to be tried. Thus, graphic as Shakspeare's narrative is, we cannot literally accept it, either as to fact or persons, where he makes Fitzwater say:

> My lord, I have from Oxford sent to London
> The heads of Brocas and Sir Bennet Seely,
> Two of the dangerous consorted traitors
> That sought at Oxford thy dire overthrow.

Following the author of the famous 'Chronique de la Traison et Mort du Roy Richart d'Engleterre,' as is now generally done, we can give the story more correctly and more in detail. This is the only author who was an eye witness of the scenes described, and though not perfectly trustworthy on every point, he is in substantial agreement, or not in disagreement, with Creton, and with all the English chroniclers.[1]

On February 4 the trial took place before the King's Justices, under the superintendence of the young Earl of Arundel, son of the 'appellant' who had been put to death by Richard. The four persons who had been sent up for trial were the two knights, 'Sir Bernard Brocas, Gascon,' and Sir Thomas Shelley, and the two clerks, Maudelyn and Feriby, who had been in close attendance on Richard, and shared his most private counsels. Maudelyn, famous for his exact resemblance to his master, had been arrayed in the royal habit on the fatal ride of the baffled conspirators. With these four were brought up for judgment three august ecclesiastical personages, who had been more or less concerned in the affair, Roger Walden, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Abbot of Westminster, at whose lodgings the conspiracy had been hatched, and the ever-faithful Merks, Bishop of Carlisle, who had formed one of the little group which stood by Richard to the last in Wales, and alone dared to stand up for him — if we may believe authorities not to be despised—in Parliament. And here may follow the very words of our chronicler, literally translated.

'All these seven lords were before the court [from break of day] until three o'clock after dinner, without the judges being able to find any reason why they should convict or put them to death. They told the Earl of Arundel that he might do what he pleased in the matter, for there was not one of them that had deserved death. So said the

circumstance, for the tie thus formed would be a factor in the conspiracy. The two relatives would have acted together, been together reserved for trial, and have suffered at the same time.

[1] Cf. Walsingham's *Hist. Ang. R. S.* vol. ii. 245; Otterbourne; Fabyan.

King's Justices. This so enraged the Earl of Arundel that it was quite a marvel. When the Judges had left the castle [the Tower] the Earl said to the people, "What will you have done to these persons?" Then they all shouted, with one voice, "My lord, put them all to death." The Earl answered, "I will, by God." Then he said to Walden, who was Archbishop, "Good man, my lord the king and the commons will grant you your life." "I thank him and you from the bottom of my heart" [said he]. The Bishop of Carlisle and the Abbot were sent back to prison, hoping for God's mercy. The four lords were drawn from the Castle of London as far as Tyburn, the place of execution, which is two short leagues distant. Sir Bernard Broucas was led on foot by four sergeants in the midst of the three, who were drawn as far as Chepe in the middle of the city. The night was so dark that one could hardly see. Then the Mayor of the city commanded forty-four torches to be brought, and four lanterns. And thus they were drawn as far as the gibbet. There were the three traitors hung, and afterwards cut down. And [then] they were asked, "Say amongst you who they were that belonged to your party." To that none of them replied a word (*la ne respondit nul*) save Magdalein, who in a piteous manner asked the mayor of London, "Alas! Shall I be quartered?" "No, by my faith," replied the Mayor, "but you will be beheaded." He then lifted up his hands, all tied together as they were, and said, "O Lord God, I beseech Thee to have mercy upon me. Blessed be God that I was born, for I shall die this night in the service of the noble King Richard." Sir Bernard Broucas was the first beheaded, and after him Magdalein, and the third was Master John Darby [Feriby], who never spoke a word except to say his orisons and prayers, and the fourth was Sir Escelle [Thomas Shelley], who had been Master of the Household to the Earl of Arundel, to whom God grant true pardon. Amen.'[1]

The same brave words of rejoicing to suffer for Richard's sake are put by this chronicler into the mouth of Sir Thomas Blount, who was executed at Oxford; but here, in London, the writer was evidently an eye-witness. It is quite likely that both did say much the same thing in their last moments. There must have been something in Richard of a different kind from what we perceive in the writings of Lancastrian authors, to make people say and do such things. M. Wallon[2] has clearly perceived this; and fifty years ago a juster view of Richard than now prevails in England might be found here and there amongst English writers. It may perhaps come round again. The special points of our chronicler's statement are that he is the only one who mentions that Brocas was a 'Gascon,' which he was by origin, and that he is careful to tell us that he was exempted from the degradation of being

[1] *Chronique de la Traïson.* Edited by Benjamin Williams, 1846.
[2] In his *Richard II.*

drawn and hung like his three companions. The exemption will appear natural to those who have read the foregoing pages, and no doubt it was by the order of Henry. The editor of this 'Chronique,' supposing, like many others, father and son to be one person, fancied that the grace was granted 'in remembrance of the knight's former exploits,' but it is quite enough to remember that the nephew of the Black Prince would be familiar enough with all the services of the family, and the offence itself was perhaps accompanied by circumstances of extenuation. Sir Bernard Brocas must die, but not ignominiously.

Yet, at this dark hour, no mean craving for life tempted the poor knight, so lately basking in the sunshine of a Court, to plead the long-tried fidelity of his honourable house, still less to disclose his associates. '*La ne respondit nul.*' All four suffered like gentlemen. He was not the only one of the loyal Gascon blood to stand to the very last by the son of the 'Prince of Aquitaine.' Jenico, a Gascon esquire, when captured along with his master, absolutely refused the pardon offered him by Henry on condition of his stripping off the livery of Richard. He was, however, magnanimously forgiven, and subsequently employed in the public service.[1]

Let us now observe the striking difference between the true account of these circumstances and that of Froissart, who was not in England at the time, and who received his information from some untrustworthy, if not prejudiced quarter. M. Kervyn de Lettenhoove, to whose fine edition readers of Froissart owe so much, has remarked this: 'Froissart, who has been silent as to the punishment of Richard's counsellors, which took place at Bristol, here greatly anticipates events. . . . Brocas and Shelley were condemned and executed on February 4, 1399' (old style). Froissart's account is briefly this. He places Brocas as one of four knights whom Richard declared, when questioned on his first arrival as a prisoner in London, to have been the chief advisers of the murder of Gloucester, Arundel, and others, in 1397. The other three, besides 'Braucars,'[2] are the same as above, under a still stranger perversion of their names, Maudelyn or Magdalein being called 'Marchais.' According to him they were all four seized in Richard's presence, drawn to Cheapside, and there beheaded at a fishmonger's stall. The sight was meant to terrify Richard and had the desired effect, for it induced him to resign the Crown in order to propitiate his enemy. The story, in short, is full of confusion and error. There were four distinct executions, under martial law, of Richard's friends, at Bristol, Cirencester, Oxford, and London, which Froissart has merged in one or two. Not understand-

[1] Creton in *Archæologia*, xx.

[2] Froissart's spelling of English words is extraordinarily bad for one who knew the people so well. Thus Oxford figures in his pages as 'Asquesuffort,' and the Isle of Wight as the 'Isle de Wicques.'

ing that 'Marclais,' in the information he received, was doing duty for Maudelyn, the faithful chaplain is raised to life again, and, in a subsequent page, personates Richard in the conspiracy crushed at Cirencester. Nor did the absurdity strike him of supposing that Richard could expect, when questioned, to escape by naming these four comparatively obscure persons as his accomplices, when the great earls named by the Earl of Northumberland, notorious as his advisers, were still at large. Maudelyn indeed figures in both lists, but he was specially known to have been in Richard's intimacy, and suspected to be a near relative.

Yet, as is often the case with this entertaining writer, as indeed with Shakspeare, though far from critical, he digests his information in such a way as to preserve the main outlines. The citizens of London give in his story a decisive voice for the execution, pretty much as we find it in history; he preserves the fact that there was some sort of previous trial—Fabyan says they were 'forjudged'—and it is likely enough that Richard was frightened into abdication by violence done to some of his followers. He has simply mixed up two or three stories together, and, somehow or other, not favourably for Sir Bernard Brocas: yet who but antiquarians have ever read any other original authority on the period? Further, it must be remembered that he is always more of an Englishman than a Frenchman; and, as with all the English writers in the Lancastrian reigns, that is for two generations, Richard obtains less than justice at his hands. We do indeed find a certain sympathy with his untimely end, as contrasted with his birth from splendid princes, from whom Froissart had himself received so many benefits; but of the truer and larger view of Richard's career he knows or says nothing. It could hardly be expected. Let us conclude with a brief review of the case before us.

It has been remarked that we have nothing but negative facts to rely upon as to Brocas' part in this conspiracy. He was not here; he was not there. They point, as has been said, to a sudden resolution to act his part, perhaps to join a party already formed, for we cannot doubt he was one of them. Nothing could be more natural than that his family connection with Windsor Castle, and Windsor itself, should point him out as an agent in the conspiracy of Richard's friends, if he were not himself one of the originators of the enterprise; and who more likely to strike a blow for the master he had known from his cradle? If it is true that he was for a time Lieutenant of the Castle of Windsor, under Sir Simon Burley, the probability is increased that he would be the first person accosted by the London conspirators in their desperate raid, his own son-in-law (if such he was) riding in the train of the Earls.

But what made Henry reserve these four particular prisoners for trial in London? There is no reason to think that the trial was to

be anything more than a form. The guilt was certain, the punishment fixed. As to Maudelyn, there could be no doubt. The Shelleys, like the Brocases, belonged to a family devoted to Richard and his half-brother Huntingdon, and most hateful to the young Earl of Arundel, who had formerly escaped from the custody of one of them. Sir Benedict Shelley, who had been executed at Oxford, was indeed a still more obnoxious member of the family, for he was charged with attempting to enlist the King of France in a scheme for the restoration of Richard. Nor was there anything to mitigate the offence of Feriby or Brocas. Still more pointedly does the selection of the injured and furious young Earl of Arundel to superintend the trial convey the idea of a foregone conclusion. There was no intention of acting upon a legal judgment, which might be favourable. Arundel evidently had his orders.

It is, then, in the first place, probable enough that Henry hoped to discover something by means of the trial of these particular persons who knew so much; but it is also very likely that his real reason for ordering a trial at all was to propitiate the Londoners by giving them a share in the punishment of the conspiracy. They and he were engaged in the same enterprise. Their services should be rewarded by pronouncing the doom of persons with whose presence they must have been familiar enough in the last hateful days of Richard's reign. They should also share with himself whatever odium might attach to the executions. But it must be said, in justice to Henry, that he took care these cruel irregularities should come to a speedy end. Three weeks afterwards he issued an order that no one should be put to death without a regular trial.

The further problem of the ground on which the judicial Court in the Tower absolved the victims must remain insoluble. It is possible that only technical proof was wanting, and that Arundel was empowered to overrule such objections. It says something for the state of the Courts that they could at such a time act a fearless part.

It only remains to add that the heads of these four conspirators were added to those already forming the ghastly garniture of London Bridge.

Thus set upon a bloody horizon, along with the sun of Plantagenet, the star of Brocas. The last of the great Royal House, in the direct legitimate line of male descent, carried with him in his fall the last of the knights and courtiers who had helped to fuse into one the interests of England and Aquitaine. A dreadful history was to arise out of the revolution. As for the Brocases, their Gascon origin is soon lost to sight in the loss of Gascony. Henceforth they are so entirely naturalised that subsequent ages were at liberty to invent for them a Norman descent and a fabulous pedigree.

In the same manner the Anglo-Gascon stock from whence they

sprang, cut off from the English influences under which they had been nurtured, became entirely French. Yet the English sentiment was not wholly extinct. The memory of the knights who had made their name illustrious in England was by no means lost. It gradually took the place of the honourable Gascon history of the race which has been brought to light in these pages, and which soon disappeared altogether from the ken of those who, in times of more active research, would have rejoiced to make much of it. An affiliation of the French Brocases to the English House became an object of ambition, and the absence of proof was not a matter of much consequence. With the English pedigree the old fables were swallowed wholesale; and who could blame those who were thus only making common cause with the English genealogists, who ought to have shown more discretion?

Here the story might well have closed; and if it had not been for the necessity of making the documents which follow intelligible, the temptation to close it would have been irresistible.

BOOK III.

THE BROCAS ESQUIRES OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM BROCAS OF BEAUREPAIRE.

The romantic period of the Brocas history now gives place to the more prosaic records of the esquires of Beaurepaire and the esquires of Horton, Bucks. Nevertheless, they are the fairly typical records of English country gentlemen, raised once more under the Tudors for a short time to their ancient state of wealth and knighthood, but falling back again under the Stuarts to the position which they held on the whole pretty continuously for many centuries. The progress of an old family through the troubles of the Wars of the Roses, the Reformation, and the Great Rebellion, though not romantic, may not be found altogether uninteresting. It is the sort of history in which our country is most deficient, for we are only gradually learning that the larger and more striking records of wars and courts are not conterminous with the broad outlines of a nation's life. This, then, must necessarily be a chapter of transition and introduction.

The young man, 'William Brocas of Denton' (as he was called during the period of forfeiture), who, by the execution of his father, now became the head of the family, was eminently fitted to set the tone of its future members. The long and intimate connection with the Court which we have watched could not indeed have come to an end all at once, and the Mastership of the Buckhounds, the right to perform the duties of which office was restored almost immediately after the attainder and forfeiture of its last holder to his son, must have maintained some shadow of the old position. It would have been quite consistent with the magnanimity often displayed by Henry IV. if the family had been allowed to resume at once its old share of

Court favour and public employment; but we must remember that its members had been the friends of the Black Prince and Richard, not of John of Gaunt or Henry Bolingbroke. Nor was William Brocas the man to force himself to the front in those troubled times. Though one of the leading men of his county—thrice Sheriff, and four times at least[1] Knight of the Shire for Hampshire—he was distinctly a civilian. Being neither knight, soldier, nor lawyer, the plain country gentleman and man of business was naturally pushed aside by those on whom the Lancastrian family was forced to rely for its support, and by the aid of whom it was to prove its title to a Crown bestowed by the people. That was to be effected by sanguinary wars, splendid conquests, and desperate efforts to retain what it soon became too weak to hold.

It is significant that William Brocas does not serve even the public offices above mentioned till Henry IV. is dead. Sitting in three of the Parliaments of Henry V., he is at least identified with the generous support received from his people by the Conqueror of France; and the dates of his Shrievalty, 1416, 1429, and 1436, suggest that he soon lived down the suspicion which may have attached to the hereditary service of Richard, and was reckoned a trusty subject of the Royal Saint. His life very nearly covered the whole of the Lancastrian period. That the latter part of it was darkened by family dissensions, caused by the Wars of the Roses, seems highly probable; but before entering upon that subject it may be well to place the lords of Beaurepaire in the midst of the neighbours amongst whom we are to trace their course.

The family had already for more than half a century been established in the seat which we must now regard as the centre of their numerous properties, especially of those which lay to the north of Basingstoke. They had a strong hold upon South Hampshire through the De Roches' estates, and, as we have seen, were well planted in other counties, but North Hampshire was their home. Their house and park placed them in the three parishes of Sherborne St. John, Bramley, and Pamber; and if the reader will bear with a short digression upon the configuration of the adjacent parts of the county, he will see how the estates ramified in various directions, giving an idea of a greater territorial position than the owners really attained, but still, perhaps, taken along with their past career, justifying the epithet of the county historians—'the great Brocas family.'[2]

Hampshire was never a county of great towns, large population, or commercial importance. The poverty of its soil and the extent of its forests at once account for the fact. Communication was difficult, estates isolated. Its importance lay in its sea-coast, the

[1] The Returns are lost for several years in the Lancastrian reigns.

[2] Woodward and Wilks' *History of Hampshire*, vol. iii. p. 213.

vulnerable character of the great harbour of Portsmouth and estuary of Southampton, and the necessity of defending the advanced outwork of South England, the Isle of Wight. Hence the care bestowed upon the strong castles of Winchester, Odiham, and Porchester. Hence the greatness of the charge, and corresponding grandeur of the family of De Port,[1] which was placed by the Conqueror in something of the same position with regard to Hampshire as the Earls of Kent, Chester, and others of his trusty companions in the still more exposed portions of the conquered land. Hence an importance not justified by their size and population of such few towns as Hampshire possessed, and especially of Basingstoke, the outgrowth, long before the Conquest, of Basing, as its name implies, but afterwards fostered by its neighbourhood to the De Ports at Basing Castle, and serving as a central link with the whole area of the northern portion of the county. The Roman roads which passed through Silchester from various directions indirectly contributed to its convenience and aided its rise. Beaurepaire lay four miles to the north of it.

To anyone who looks at a good map of these districts, the frequent occurrence of the name 'Sher' or 'Shire,' as in 'Sherborne,' or, as it was anciently spelt, 'Schyreburne,' must suggest inquiry. Sherborne St. John, West, or Monks', Sherborne (Sherborne Monachorum) and Sherborne Coudray, as well as Sherfield on Loddon, and Shirlands, in the neighbourhood of Beaurepaire—all derive their name from the little stream or 'burn' which runs from west to east till it joins the Loddon on its way to the Thames, and which at some early date may have formed the northern boundary of Hampshire. It is by no means an improbable conjecture that the kingdom of Wessex was for a considerable number of years content to reckon this 'burn' as its 'schyre' boundary, until the obstinate and prolonged resistance of the Romanised Provincials at Silchester, protected as they were by Pamber Forest, Grim's Dyke, the Schyre-burn, and the Loddon, was at length overcome. Then the old Roman road or strath which ran between London and Silchester, and was prolonged towards Bath, became the more natural and convenient boundary between Hampshire and Berkshire. It soon gave its name to the 'felds' on either side of it, which eventually, by adding the names of the lords of the manors, became distinguished into Stratfield Mortimer, Stratfield Saye, and Stratfield Turges.

For about eight miles along the south of the central portion of this boundary extend from west to east the parishes of Tadley, Pamber, Silchester, and Stratfieldsaye. The parish of Bramley, which partly separates the two last-named, does not reach as far as the boundary, but, along with the above, is cut off from the rest of the county by

[1] 'Port' was the name of a commune in the Bessin, near Bayeux.

the Shireburn and the Loddon. The burn or brook—for it has lost its own name in bestowing it upon these parishes—forms the northern boundary of Sherborne St. John, Old Basing, and Sherfield, while Monks' Sherborne lies in a line with it to the west. Sherborne Coudray, a name which has long been merged in that of 'The Vyne,' was a small manor cut out of Sherborne St. John; and Chinham, now only a farm, was a manor lying between the last-named parish and Basingstoke.

In all these places the Brocas family held property, but, if we except their temporary possession of The Vyne, only two manors, Beaurepaire and Chinham. The great lords of the district were the family which, retaining the same estates under the successive names of De Port, St. John, Poynings, and Paulet, each of which in its turn supplied great men to the service of the Crown, held the Barony of Basing and inhabited Basing Castle. The second name was adopted by one of the De Ports, the third in succession, being that of his mother, who brought an accession of estates; the last two were the names of new families, in which those of the heiresses of Basing were merged.[1] In the time of the Tudors the old residence was superseded by the princely mansion known as Basing House, built by William Paulet, the first Marquis of Winchester, and destroyed in the war of the Great Rebellion, after one of the finest defences recorded in history at the hands of the fifth Marquis, its gallant lord. Since that time its ruined substructures and the circular enceinte of its fortifications have alone remained to testify to the passing visitor the meaning of the family motto, still traceable on the crumbling, ivy-covered gateway—'Aymez loyaulté.' St. Johns, Poynings, and Paulets will all be found represented in the Brocas deeds, but it is not till the time of the Tudors that the son of the Brocas heiress of Beaurepaire marries the daughter of the first Marquis, the well-known Lord High Treasurer of England. Through her the Brocas blood was transmitted, and her four daughters were amongst the 103 descendants whom the old Marquis lived, at the age of ninety-seven, to see.

One other still nearer neighbour, a family of friends, relations—perhaps rivals—has to be specially noticed, that of Sandes, afterwards spelt 'Sandys,' of 'The Vyne.' As the lords of Beaurepaire, at the distance of about a mile, originally overshadowed and then by marriage absorbed for two generations The Vyne, at that time a small property and inferior residence, so when the Sandys family recovered their inheritance, and a great man arose amongst them in the person of the first Lord Sandys, Henry VIII.'s Chamberlain and the builder of the present noble mansion, the star of Beaurepaire began to pale. The more brilliant early history of the Brocas knights was, however, never

[1] Dugdale's *Baronage*; Collins' *Peerage*, &c. See also Book VI. chap. ii.

forgotten by their descendants, and the interesting legend of the Battle of Newbury, which will be found in its proper place, supplies the last link, real or supposed, between these ancient families. In this case also, as in that of Basing, the Beaurepaire family survived and remained in their own place when the line of Sandys of The Vyne was lost in females, and gave way (in 1653) to that of the Chutes, with which it had no connection. Fortunately, as the representatives of the latter family still adhere to the old house, some of the ancient records of their predecessors have been preserved and, by the kindness of Mr. Chaloner W. Chute, communicated to the present writer. Thus, concerning The Vyne and the Sandes family, so closely bound up with that of Brocas, a little more may here be said than is to be found in the county histories, which, indeed, leave these matters in complete obscurity.[1]

The Sandes family were not amongst the most ancient possessors of The Vyne, but were preceded by the Coudrays and the Fyfhides. They were even later arrivals than the Brocases, since they do not appear to have come there till Sir John Sandes married the heiress of the Fyfhide family, or rather till her inheritance fell in, viz. in 1386–7. This family of Fyfhide, deriving their name from the village afterwards called Fyfield, near Andover, had for at least two generations held, under the St. Johns, the park, manor, and advowson of Sherborne St. John, as well as the manor and advowson of Sherborne Coudray,[2] all of which came to Sir John Sandes; but it was not till long afterwards that The Vyne became the principal seat of the Sandes family. 'The auncient house,' says Leland, 'as far as I can learn, that the Sannes have possessed is Chouldreton, a mile and a half from

[1] Note on the Names The Vyne and Coudray.—The mystery which still hangs over the origin of the word 'Vyne' cannot indeed yet be indisputably solved. The derivation of that curious and most ancient name cannot be satisfactorily traced, as it formerly was, to any connection with vines or vineyards. It has been conjectured with more probability, by Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Akerman, that it is derived from the ancient Vindomis or Vindomum, a Roman 'station' or military resting-place—often a fortified position—the site of which has been a fertile matter of dispute. Roman remains have been found at the spot. What is more certain is that there was at The Vyne, as far back as the reign of King John, a chantry, and that 'Sherborne Coudray of The Vyne,' as it came to be called from the family to which the manor belonged, extended from Newlands Gate to that of Beaurepaire Park. The chantry has long disappeared; and in the sixteenth century, as a natural result of the erection of the Tudor mansion, the remains of the old hamlet were absorbed into the estate. Hence the remarkable absence of a park, which we might expect to find attached to so fine a place; for the owners of the manors of Sherborne St. John and Beaurepaire had already occupied and parcelled out the adjoining lands. The names of various members of the Coudray family, from whence came the distinctive name of the manor, are often attached to the Brocas deeds. Having settled there since the land was first aliened by Hugh de Port, they lingered on long after the Fyfhide and Sandes families appeared on the scene; and even as late as the sixteenth century the old name of the place given by them was still in use.

[2] Inq. p.m. 35 Ed. III. and 6 Rich. II. See also *Patent Rolls*, 36 Ed. III. p. 2 m. 7 (Jan. 2), and 6 Rich. II. m. 5.

Andover, in Hamptonshire, wher yet remaineth a fair Maner Place, buildid for the most part of flint. . . . There was no very great or sumptuous Maner Place at the Vine, and [it] was only contcined within the mote,' till Lord Sandys built the mansion which Leland describes.[1] He wrote while these matters were still fresh, and may be implicitly followed on this point. A careful study of the Fyfhide and Sandes escheats will show that the latter really became important in consequence of their succession to the estates of the former; but their rise was also connected with the distinction attained by this Sir John Sandes, the real founder of the family. He was one of Edward III.'s chivalry, already a Knight in 1339, and he sat in seven of Richard's Parliaments for Hampshire, twice serving along with Sir Bernard Brocas: twice also he was Sheriff of the county and Constable of Winchester Castle. Thus when his son, Sir Walter, settled The Vyne on his own daughter, Johanna, upon her marriage with William Brocas, he was not giving up the family mansion, but a recently acquired property, where 'the Maner Place was neither great nor sumptuous.' There were many ties between the two families. Sir Walter was Knight of the Shire with William Brocas, as his father had been with William's grandfather, and alternated with him as Sheriff of the county. His other daughter, Emmeline, became, on the death of her first husband, wife of Bernard Brocas, William's brother, who appears to have become 'of Alton' in her right. Through her the Sandes blood was transmitted to the descendants of the Brocases. She was the third, Johanna the second wife of their respective husbands. It was necessary to say as much as this in order to make the closeness of the relations between the two families intelligible. With the two elder brothers and co-heirs of the one House marrying the two sisters of the other, the alliance could hardly be closer.[2]

[1] *Itinerary*; Hampshire.

[2] Note on the Possession of The Vyne by the Brocasen.—The marriage of Emmeline Sandes, widow of — Grewend, to Bernard Brocas, second son of the attainted knight, was previously asserted in the family pedigree from the *Visitations*, and seems to be confirmed by the family papers: that of Johanna Sandes with William, the elder brother, has not found a place in the pedigree. The latter, however, rests on excellent authorities, the two best being a pedigree given in Sir Thomas Phillips' *Visitations of Hants*, which is there said to be based on Sandes deeds in possession of the Chute family, and secondly, the brass in the Brocas chapel, where Bernard Brocas, of Bromley and The Vyne, William's son by Johanna, is found quartering the 'cross raguly' of Sandes with Brocas and Roches. The fact of the possession of The Vyne by the Brocases is found in Leland, who tells us that The Vyne 'was given out in marriage to one of the Brokesses, and so remained until the late Lord Sandes, afore he was made baron, recovered it into his possession' (*Itinerary*). The recovery took place a little earlier than Leland supposed. Lord Sandys' father, in 1493, charged his debts upon his personal property at The Vyne; and as Bernard Brocas, the son of William and Johanna, and husband of Philippa, died *s.p.* in May 1488, William Sandes had no doubt possession of it soon afterwards. Thus the Brocas arms, still to be seen in the window of the chapel, or

Even so slight a sketch of Beaurepaire, in the midst of its neighbours at Basing and The Vyne, would not be complete without mention of the Priory of Monks' Sherborne, an important element in the social and religious life of all, whether gentle or simple, for many miles around. It was an Alien Priory of the Benedictines, a cell (like Selborne Priory) to the Abbey of St. Vigor at Cerasie, in Normandy, and it had been founded when England and Normandy were under one Sovereign, by Henry de Port, son of the great baron of the Conquest period, and himself a Baron of the Exchequer under Henry I. He endowed it with a large part of the manor of Sherborne, the remaining portion acquiring the suffix 'St. John' when William de Port assumed that name. The monks in all probability served not only the Chantry of The Vyne, but that of Sherborne, till the Chantry at that place developed into a church, with successive additions to the fabric, mostly of the fourteenth century. The Brocas deeds supply the name of a rector here and there, before unknown, and of an occasional prior of Monks' Sherborne; but very little regarding either has survived the wreck of the Dissolution, Dugdale having failed to recover any but the very earliest documents, in which, it need hardly be said, the name of Brocas does not occur. The history of the Priory has been curious. Being an 'Alien Priory,' it was one of those which led the way in the general doom of monastic establishments, and was given by Henry VI. to Eton College. Edward IV., by way of reversing the acts of his predecessor, gave it to the Domus Dei at Southampton, whence it returned again, on the fall of the House of York, to Eton. Finally it rested, at the Reformation, with Queen's College, Oxford, under the claim of having belonged to the Domus Dei, which was granted to that College by Edward III. at the time when it was founded by his queen and her chaplain. Thus the Lancastrian Tudors confirmed a Yorkist gift. The livings of Pamber and Monks' Sherborne, now united, as well as the living of Bramley, are still in the patronage of the College, forming one link in a chain which binds together 800 years of history.[1]

The point which is really the most interesting in William Brocas' uneventful life cannot be dealt with in this place. It lies in the

rather antechapel, of The Vyne, which forms a part of Lord Sandys' erection, and which was so much belauded by Horace Walpole, represents a possession of two generations. All this is abundantly confirmed by entries in Waynflete's *Register*. The chapel of the older house of The Vyne was licensed by Bishop Waynflete in 1449 for the marriage of 'any of the children of William Brocas' in 'his manor of the Vyne,' which suggests that William lived there in preference to Beaurepaire. In 1456 and 1463 a similar license is granted not for the Vyne chapel, but that of Beaurepaire. The Vyne was evidently now assigned to Johanna's son, Bernard Brocas of Bromley, and the head of the Brocas family moved back to the old family seat. In 1453 William Brocas is called 'lord of the manor of The Vyne.' In 1460 and 1485 his son Bernard was holding it.—F. J. B.

[1] Dugdale's *Baronage; Topographer*, 1789, &c.

details of his sensible proceedings with regard to the family estates, and some notice of it will be found amongst the numerous deeds of his date; but the methods by which the consequences of attainder could be anticipated and evaded in the troubled times of the later Middle Ages receive some illustration from the case in hand, and may detain us for a moment, while a glance at the agency by which the clemency of Henry IV. would seem to have been drawn forth, will group the half-ruined family before us as they start on their now less prominent, but still honourable, career.

The whole system of 'Uses and Trusts,' which forms so large a part of the old Law Treatises, and, in modernised forms, lies at the basis of the present tenure of landed property, was developed out of its rudimentary stages at the very period with which we have been, and are here, concerned. This was brought about by the agency of the ecclesiastical lawyers, amidst the increasing difficulties of the age in relation to ecclesiastical property. The Brocas knights seem to have had a large group of clerics in their service, from Sir John Singelton, 'attorney general'[1] to the first Sir Bernard in his earlier days, down to Sir John Chitterne, Parliamentary 'Receiver of Petitions for Gascony.' This last functionary was the confidential agent by whose advice and through whose agency Sir Bernard, as well as his son and his two grandsons, managed the family affairs; and, as far as we can see, he never betrayed his trust. We might hazard the conjecture that his Receivership had not been unconnected with the family influence of his patrons, either in its original acquisition or the exercise of the office. The Gascon family and their lawyer would be a natural channel for Gascon communications.

The method of placing an estate in trust at this date was, as the lawyers phrase it, to make a grant to the trustee 'without consideration,' i.e. to make an absolute gift of the estate to the trustee without payment or conditions of any kind. This the Court of the Chancellor protected for the grantor, and reckoned to be really his in equity, the use to himself being presumed. At the same time it was the 'legal estate' of the trustee, and so escaped forfeiture. With this clever system of evasion kings struggled in vain. Clergy and laity, nobles, knights, and lawyers found it extremely convenient; and if it had not been that the Crown was itself lord of so vast a number of estates over which it had special claims, the feudal weapon of escheat and forfeiture would have been absolutely valueless as a means of retaining subjects in their allegiance. It has been said that we may attribute something of the desperate and sanguinary character of the Wars of the Roses to the feeling that the certainty of receiving

[1] He is thus styled in Deed 153*a* (1361), where he is also called 'Parson of Quainton Mallet.' Quainton was the property of Sir Bernard's brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Mussenden.

no quarter could alone deter the obstinate rebel, whose estates were practically, whichever side he might take, secure.

In this way the Denton and Northamptonshire estates of the attainted knight, and the Mastership of the Buckhounds, had been saved. But the cleverness of the arrangement by which he was found at his death to be only a leaseholder under the trustees for a large part of his estates is perhaps the most noticeable fact. His widow was thus enabled to obtain possession of these the moment she received the grant of her late husband's 'goods and chattels'— for a leasehold fell under the latter designation. This grace the king granted her only a few days after the forfeiture (Feb. 10, 1400), as well as her legal dower in all the forfeited lands,[1] and these estates she held till the lease was run out in 1406, when Chitterne passes them in fee, by a deed of Release, to her sons William and Bernard.[2]

Thus the king only received the escheat and forfeiture of a portion of the knight's estates, viz. the manors of North Fareham, Broxhead, Peperharowe (with the Guildford estates), Bromley in Dorset, Clewer-Brocas, Didworth, and the small estates in Buntingbury and Winkfield. These were regranted to William of Denton on Oct. 24, 1400:[3] but not till they had suffered in a palpable manner, as we are enabled to trace in the case of Bromley. We do indeed find

[1] See Inq. p.m. on Dame Johanna Brocas, June 30, 7 Hen. VI. The process by which the second Sir Bernard acquired a lease in his own lands is set forth in the Inq. p.m. 1 Hen. IV.: 'Bernard Brocas, Knt., father of the said Bernard, by Fine 7 Ric. II. granted the manors of Beaurepere and Bradle, and 4 mesuages &c. &c. in Froille, Basyng, Eldestock, Suthwyk, Basingstock, Husseborne, and Stratfield Mortimer, which are held of the King in chief, to Master Arnaldus Brocas, John Chytterne, and Peter Golde, clerks, and others, and to the heirs of the same Peter Golde for ever. Peter afterwards released to Arnald Brocas and the others all his claims. Arnald and the others, except John Chytterne, are dead: and John Chytterne after their death granted the same by his Charter, in 19 Ric. II., to Ralph de Lenham and John Shirlonde; who in the same year granted them to William [of Wykeham], Bishop of Winchester, John, Bishop of Salisbury, Roger Walden, clerk, John Chytterne, clerk, John Marnham, and others. Afterwards, by a deed of July 2, 20 Ric. II., Walden, Chytterne, and Marnham demised to farm [i.e. let] to the said Bernard Brocas, now deceased, the manors of Bradle and Styvyngton, and the said lands &c. in Basing &c. with other lands &c. in other counties.'

[2] *Close Roll*, 7 Hen. IV. m. 29[d] (Feb. 13, 1406).

[3] *Patent Rolls*, 2 Hen. IV. pt. i. m. 19. In 13 Hen. IV. the Escheators for Hants report that William Brocas has in the county the manors of North Fareham and Beaurepaire, lands and rents in Steventon, Broxhead, and Froyle, at an annual value of 44*l.* (Inq. to assess Lay Subsidies: Southampton, $\frac{13}{66}$). 'How much he has in other counties we know not.' In 14 Hen. VI. writs are issued by Order of Council requesting loans—'une notable somme de monoye pur y mettre brief conclusion a noz guerres.' William Brocas is assessed at 40*l.*, which is the sum at which the average country gentleman is assessed, as well as the smaller towns, e.g. Dover, Wells, Stamford, Derby, Newark, Nottingham, Barnstaple, Hereford, Colchester (*Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, vol. iv.) Never was there a more useless loan. At his death the Escheators credit him with eight manors, 'Pycards, Wykeley, Hunter's Manor, Styvyngton, Bewrepaire, North Farham, Broxhede, and Didworth,' besides estates at Basingstoke, Cookham, New Windsor, Winkfield, and Buntingbury. (Inq. p.m. 34 Hen. VI.) This is a defective list.

William Brocas acting in the very first year of his attainder as if he were lord of Beaurepaire (which it is not easy to understand), but he was only known technically as 'William of Denton' till the date of the pardon, that being the chief estate of the Vavasours of Denton, protected by the trust to Sir Brian Stapelton and others, from whom he received his revenues. Perhaps it was on account of this temporary position that he had a seal made on which was engraved a cock, the crest of Vavasour,[1] which, however, we only find on one deed (74), out of those that have survived, dated July 1402; but this being subsequent to his restoration, and never again found, would only show that he used it as a second seal. The above title has led to the fable of his being a grandson of the divorced Agnes; but it is shown elsewhere that this lady was not the mother of his father, Sir Bernard Brocas.[2]

The close connection of the Brocas family with the Court for three generations is quite sufficient to account for the clemency displayed, both to Sir Bernard's widow and his family, by Henry IV. The young men had been familiar enough, no doubt, to the king's sons as well as to himself, and as soon as he was firmly seated on the throne, within a year, all traces of the attainder are graciously obliterated. Some of William of Denton's Yorkshire estates were held of the Percy family. We may be sure that he at least gave no countenance to the rebellion of Hotspur and his father. It is even possible he may have taken an active part against them.

But we naturally look about for any agency which would account for the sudden promptitude of Henry's act, before that insurrection. The widow, we may take it for granted, threw herself at Henry's feet; but there were also two sons of Sir John Brocas by his second marriage with Isabella, afterwards wife of Sir John Lylling, who were likely enough to have been useful at the crisis. These, unknown to the pedigrees, are revealed by the history of the estates,[3] by a contemporary public record,[4] and by a deed recently brought to light by the Historical Manuscripts Commission.[5] John, seemingly the eldest,

[1] William Brocas' official seal was that of his ancestors and successors. *Brocas and Roches quarterly.* See a fine engraving of the seal he used as Sheriff of Hampshire, in 1416, taken from a drawing by Mr. F. J. Baigent, in the *Herald and Genealogist*, vol. v. pp. 196–198, with some account of it. William Brocas used the Moor's Head crest in 1406.

[2] See book vi. chap. iv.

[3] *Ibid.* chaps. ii. and iii.

[4] *Gascon Rolls*, 6 Hen. IV. (July 6).

[5] Note on the two Sons of Sir John Brocas by his second Marriage.—The estate of Polyngfold, in Surrey, supplies our chief information about this John Brocas and about the earlier part of Oliver's life. In a settlement of the manor, in 1568, found by the Hist. MSS. Commissioners, amongst the archives of St. Paul's Cathedral (see book vi. chap. iii.), John Brocas, son of Sir John Brocas, is named first in remainder, after the first Sir Bernard and his wife; and the endorsement states that he died, as also Ralph, Sir Bernard's son (next in remainder after John), without issue. After an interval

was receiving an annual pension from the Crown in 1405, which shows he had been in the service of the Court for several years, and this, we have reason to think, was the service of the Lancastrian princes rather than that of Richard. Oliver was deeply attached to the family of Beaurepaire, and, living to old age, formed a link between four of its generations. His deeds show an unselfish loyalty to the young heads of the House, and we may well reckon him as a chief adviser and friend throughout their period of trouble and recovery. His life spanned the two periods of national glory, the intervening period of national collapse, and a great part of the final failure of the Lancastrian House, of which, till relieved by his last summons, he must have been a sad and weary witness.

Another indirect evidence of William Brocas' loyalty to the new dynasty is afforded by the twenty years' lease which he makes of his Guildford property to his cousin, Thomas Brocas of Compton, in 1403. In that year Thomas, after an interval of several years, was again elected M.P. for Guildford, which was a royal borough, and the member for which would no doubt be a pronounced Lancastrian—scarcely the person to whom William would have committed the arduous task of repairing the losses incurred by the recent forfeiture of those estates, unless they shared each other's political sympathies. The only other mark we have of the difficulties he experienced in gathering up the fragments of his tattered property is his treatment by a neighbouring virago, Joan Kenne, who takes the opportunity of his distress to visit on him all the wrongs which she asserted that his grandfather had inflicted upon her. In forming his park she held that old Sir Bernard had wrongfully taken portions of her land, and, what was worse, had never given her the gown which had been promised her by way of compensation. On this paper is endorsed: 'whereof ys

of twenty-seven years, at old Sir Bernard's death, we find Oliver in possession of Polyngfold, the transfer of the manor to him from his brother John having been practically effected in 1373, when the mother of the two boys, along with her husband, Sir John Lylling, grants her dower in the manor of 'Clewer-Brocas' to Sir Bernard, for the maintenance of her son Oliver. Some other provision, of which we do not hear, having been made for John, Oliver now becomes, as said above, identified with the Beaurepaire family, to whom his mother had entrusted him; and, in parting with Polyngfold to the second Sir Bernard Brocas, in 1397, he is evidently acting in friendly concert with him, while at the same moment the nephew assists in planting his uncle at Cranes-place, close to Beaurepaire. There he remains to the end of his life, acquiring property at Bramley, Pamber, and Tadley, all of which finds its way eventually into the Beaurepaire estate. He married Beatrice Tyrwhitt, who survived him, and by her had a daughter, Johanna, who married Lawrence Stonard, and who again had an only daughter, Johanna. It is a pity that we have no monument or brass of Oliver; but we have his seal, the Brocas lion plain. In the general confusion attending the early part of the Brocas pedigree we need not be surprised at finding this Oliver taken for his elder half-brother, Sir Oliver; who again has been more or less confused with Oliver de Bordeaux. The Tyrwhitts were probably cadets of the Lincolnshire House, but their names are not found in existing pedigrees of that family.

maad an ende by W. Brocas heyre of Bernard Brocas Chr to ye same Johanna Kenney.' Her quit-claim bears witness to that fact; but we may fairly guess why the claim, unacknowledged by the two knights, was thus pressed upon the esquire. William was in no condition to go to law.

The death of Dame Johanna Brocas, in 1429, requires a passing notice. She would seem, after her husband's execution, to have retired to Haliborne, of which she was lady by inheritance from her father, Gilbert, and where no doubt she had a residence. To this she carried her second son, Bernard, leaving her eldest son and his wife Sibilla in possession of Beaurepaire. Haliborne (now Holybourn), rather more than a mile distant from Alton, is, like Alton itself, divided by a brook; so that in the Brocas deeds we have Alton Estbrook and Alton Westbrook, as well as Haliborne Estbrook and Haliborne Westbrook. The title of Haliborne she kept till her death, and thus, though the manor was settled on Bernard, he is never called 'Bernard of Haliborne,' but in his earlier days 'Brocas of Southampton;' later on, 'of Bradley;' later still, 'of Alton;' and finally, 'Bernard Brocas of Horton.' The latter title, assumed on the settlement of the family at Horton Hall, the centre of the Bucks estates (which seem to have been settled on him by his grandfather), remained the designation of the junior branch of the family till his descendant in the fifth generation merged it by marriage in the title of Beaurepaire. Dame Johanna received the rents of these estates, as well as those of her eldest son, being the chattels of her attainted husband, from Chitterne and the other trustees, who had granted the latter a lease of them for eight years.[1]

The most perfect harmony is shown by the deeds to have existed between the mother and the sons, each of whom, again, works along with the other harmoniously to the last. The terms of her will have an eloquence of their own. She makes these sons her joint executors and residuary legatees, leaving William 'a gilt cup painted with clouds,' 'and a gold necklace with two hands in the same, one enclosed in the other, and also her blessing, so that he be friend and benefactor to her soul, and to the souls of her late husband and his father.' To Bernard she leaves 'a gilt cup, painted with a vine and eagle at the

[1] Bernard, in 1404, repays to Chitterne a sum which he had borrowed, under Statute Staple, on the security of these estates and those of his mother settled upon him (see book vi. chap. iv.) This loan was probably raised in connection with his early marriage to a certain Johanna, of whom we learn from two deeds that she had been his wife, '*que fuit uxor Bernardi filii Bernardi Brocas, militis*,' and that she was alive after his son by a second wife had grown up. She must, then, have been divorced, and a dispensation for a second marriage been obtained; for the sons of that marriage are legitimate. The existence of this lady was unknown to the pedigree. William, the elder brother, had assigned to her lands at Guildford out of his own patrimony, and thus evidenced, what we gather from many other indications, the perfect harmony between the brothers.

bottom, a pair of coral beads, and her blessing.' To Joan Rameseye, her daughter, she leaves 'her best girdle of silk, harnessed with silver, and gilt, and her blessing;' to Katherine de la Mar, her second daughter, her next best girdle, '*zonam meliorem*.' Independently of the forfeiture and its consequences, we might guess that this division of the family estates into two portions may have operated against the continuance of the rank of knighthood in either branch; nor were the Brocas chiefs likely to be desirous of prominence at this period. As simple esquires, however, their offices, marriages, and estates prove them to have been in the same social position as knights. They were the 'meultz vauez [vaillants] du pais,' according to the phraseology of the fourteenth century, the 'notablez esquiers, gentils hommes de nativitee, come soient ablez destre chevalers' of the fifteenth.

The death of Dame Johanna Brocas was the occasion of a family settlement, which again confirms what has been said above, and bears upon the double marriage with the daughters of the House of Sandes.

William Brocas had some years previously married his second wife, Johanna Sandes. His chief estate, Beaurepaire, had been placed in trust with John Golafre and William Warbelton. He now, jointly with Johanna, receives it from them, settled in tail male, with remainder to his brother Bernard in tail male, with remainder to his own right heirs. As trustees or witnesses, all the chief relatives of the family are gathered round the family lawyer on this occasion —Golafre and Warbelton, Sir Walter Sandes, John Uvedale, and Robert Dyneley, as well as their nearest friends, Sir Stephen Popham and Peter Coudray; and we can hardly doubt that this contingent interest of Bernard in Beaurepaire was granted in connection with his marriage to Johanna's sister Emmeline, widow of —— Grewend. The Vyne had certainly been settled on Johanna Sandes, and Chedyngton, in Bucks, was certainly settled on Emmeline Brocas. This contingent succession to Beaurepaire would seem to be thrown into the bargain, and Alton to have passed from the Sandes family to Bernard, who thus, and his second son after him,[1] becomes 'of Alton.'

Dame Johanna's death also set free the Yorkshire estates, which William Brocas showed his sense in selling to the Vavasours of Weston, a junior branch of the Vavasours of Denton. They were too far off to be a convenient property. The date at which William

[1] The disappearance of Alton from the list of Sandes properties in the escheats of this period affords a presumption to the above effect. As we have scarcely any deeds of the Alton and Horton branch we cannot obtain absolute certainty; but the title 'of Alton' is found officially annexed to the name of William, the second son of this Bernard and Emmeline Brocas, and disappears again from the family altogether at his death, *s.p.*, which looks as if the mother's estate had been settled upon him for life. (Inq. p.m. 2 Ric. III. No. 21.)

'made over his estate in Denton by deed of feoffment unto Sir William Gascoigne, John Thwaites, and others, from whom John Vavasour of Weston did recover the same,' is uncertain; and the Vavasour deeds of that period have been lost;[1] but the manors of Denton and Wolston [Wolsington] are found in Johanna's possession at her death, as well as lands in Askwith; and in 1453 the manors of Wolston and Askwith are released by an act of quit-claim, in William Brocas' life-time, by his eldest son.[2] Between the two dates all the rest had been conveyed away; and thus, at the end of about a century, the inheritance of Agnes Vavasour, with the one exception of Wickley, in Northamptonshire, had returned to her kinsmen. The Brocas tenure has long been entirely forgotten in these parts, and, except for a casual passage in Whitaker's 'Loidis and Elmete,' it would scarcely now be recognised that any predecessors of the famous Fairfax family of Denton had ever existed at that place. Where any such notice is to be found, as in the Parker MSS., it is mixed up with the fable of Sir Bernard Brocas being the son of Agnes. Still less would anyone discover, from the study of even antiquarian books, that the now busy town of Otley ever called the owners of Beaurepaire its lords (under the Archbishops of York). It is hard in the present day to descry, under other names, any traces of the Vavasour blood on the lovely banks of the Wharfe; but the only Vavasour deeds in the Brocas chest remind us of a name which has not passed away at its original seat, the ancient house of Middleton, of Myddelton;[3] and the notice they contain of Isabel de Clifford, the great lady of that house, carries us at once into the midst of the noble Craven family of Clifford, several generations before it produced the familiar subject of history and romance, the 'Shepherd-lord.'[4]

The dealings of William Brocas with two others of his ancestral properties, Bradley, and Bromley, in Dorset, betoken not only good sense but right feeling. They will, however, be better noticed in reference to the political questions concerning York and Lancaster, which should be taken as a whole. It only remains to say, as already hinted, that the family owed a great debt to this first Esquire of Beaurepaire, whose life forms a sort of introduction to their later history, for his skilful handling and improvement of their property.[5]

[1] The kindness of the Wyvill family, who now possess the Vavasour property at Denton, should here be acknowledged by the writer. They have, at his request, made a strict search for the ancient Vavasour deeds, but they cannot be found. Nor can any trace of them be found in the Weston branch, which, indeed, must have parted with them many centuries ago.

[2] See book vi. chap iv.

[3] According to a paper in the Harleian MSS. (245, fol. 22), Johanna, daughter of Sir Thomas de Midelton, married Bernard, [the supposed] son of Agnes Vavasour and Sir Bernard Brocas.

[4] See book vi. chap iv.

[5] William Brocas' position must have been well assured as early as 1413-14; for in that year he obtains permission to inclose a public road in Sherborne and Bramley parishes,

Towards the close of his long headship we find him, as we might expect, a trustee and executor of his neighbours' wills, a Royal Commissioner for assessing Subsidies, and associated in business transactions with the chief men of both Hampshire and Dorset. He died on April 29, 1456. His will[1] is that of a man of substance. He leaves all his silver, gold, and gilt plate to his eldest son, and 100 marks to each of his unmarried daughters if they marry as he desires; or, after his death, as William Warbelton, William, his son and heir, and Bernard, his son, shall approve. If not, the 100 marks of the offender shall be distributed for the good of his soul. He provides also with that view for the saying of 1,000 masses. Besides the legacy, each daughter is to have four marks a year for three or four years '*pro sustentacione et exhibucione*,' by which time it was, perhaps, supposed that a husband should provide the pin-money. This bequest suggests that the daughters were young, and therefore the children of Johanna Sandes.

To the cathedral church of St. Swithin [Winchester], the 'church of St. Andrew de Shirborn' [the parish church of Sherborne St. John], and Bramley church, he leaves small sums; but, if we read his will rightly, he is not to be buried at any of them. For that purpose he selects the 'Chapel of the Holy Apostle of the church of Shirborn.' This has been supposed to be a chapel of Sherborne Abbey;[2] but it is most probable that he referred to one of the chapels of the Priory church of Sherborne Monachorum, close at hand. No memorial of him has survived the Dissolution.

The fact that William's eldest son gives a release for the Yorkshire estates of the family in 1453, while the will was made in 1454, seems to show that the father was not managing his own affairs for the last years of his life. That was the terrible moment when the disorders and disasters of Henry's reign were about to culminate in civil war, and men had to take sides. Indeed, they must have been drifting into one side or the other for some time. William was in his eighth decade, and was not at all likely to have Yorkist leanings; but we shall see decided indications that this was not the case with several members of his family, whose sympathies were all on that side, and probably their acts. His eldest son gives less indication of

which led from Sherborne to Silchester, through the middle of his park at Beaurepaire (Calend. Inq. ad. q.d. 1 Hen. V. No. 22). This road has never been satisfactorily identified. The condition on which permission was given was that Brocas should make a new road of the same length and breadth from the gate of John Sadeler to Doresbrugge and to Fysshewermede, and thence beyond Westland to Rede Lane. The year of Brocas' first election to Parliament is the same as the above. In 1416 he was Sheriff. It is evident that the death of Henry IV. removed difficulties in the way of his recognition in the county. Henry V. made a point of burying in oblivion the family quarrel with Richard II. and those who took arms in his favour.

[1] In Somerset House. See also Inq. p.m. 34 Hen. VI.

[2] Hutchins' *Dorset*.

his politics, and seems to have kept out of the struggle as much as possible; so that the general result was, as we shall see, better than might have been expected. But the visions of the old man whose wisdom had brought the family through the crisis of the attainder, and kept it together in its fresh formation, could not have been cheering. There must have been ominous signs of its falling to pieces; and as he vainly attempted to pierce the mists of the future he fell back on the ideas of his time, and provided 1,000 masses for the good of his soul. That should at least be safe. If his daughters proved unruly, the sums forfeited by them should make it safer still.[1]

[1] Isabel, one of the above daughters, was married in Beaurepaire chapel about the time of her father's death, to John Stokys. The licence was obtained for this purpose on Jan. 4, 1456. (Manning and Bray's *Surrey*.)

CHAPTER II.

THE BROCAS FAMILIES OF BEAUREPAIRE AND HORTON DURING THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

Leaving for a moment the senior branch of the family, or rather that part of it which inherited Beaurepaire and nearly all the estates of the first esquire, we must, for a moment, fix our attention upon the Horton branch of the family, on Bernard Brocas, of Bromley and The Vyne, and upon Sibilla Rithe of Alton, daughter or granddaughter of the attainted knight; for all of these may be reckoned as Yorkists. After that the fortunes of both branches can be brought up in a few words to the reign of Henry VII., leaving the remaining children of the knight to be briefly introduced and dismissed in a note.

In the course of the three generations following upon that of the attainted Sir Bernard Brocas there were no less than four successive heads of the Horton branch named Bernard—a father, son, and two grandsons—a source of much confusion. We can assign with some precision the politics of the two who lived during the critical part of the struggle between York and Lancaster. The first of the four died soon after the family settlement, mentioned in the last chapter, was made; and beyond the harmonious action with his elder brother and mother, already noticed, there is no mark of character by which we can identify him. The second died in 1459, and as he filled the office of Sheriff of Hampshire in 1457, we may fairly enrol him amongst the ranks of the Lancastrians. The above year was one of most confused politics, being that of the armed truce, when the ill-fated Henry was earnestly attempting the hopeless task of reconciling irreconcilable factions; but he must still have kept in his hands the almost vital office of the Sovereign, the pricking of the Sheriffs, and could hardly have selected an adherent of his rival. Bernard would have been brought up in the midst of the friendly relations with the Lancastrian Court established by the House of Beaurepaire, and the King would have felt assured of his loyalty. At this crisis he would turn to the family which had evinced its attachment to the Crown through so many vicissitudes, though it was under his own grandfather that it had been, for a brief space, attainted.

Not so, however, with his son, and the son may have influenced his aunt, for they act together, and exactly alike, in 1461. With them we must associate Richard Brocas, who is Sibilla Rithe's executor and trustee, and his cousin Bernard of Bromley and The Vyne, of whom presently. The manner in which the facts come before us is not only decisive, but suggestive of very strong attachment to the Yorkist cause. It was the cause of the young, and of the more independent characters. They may also have felt more keenly than their fathers the loss of position inflicted by the Lancastrian attainder, and have hailed the advent of retribution.

Bernard Brocas (2) died at the very crisis of the war (December 20, 1459), having already made over all his estates in Bucks to Bernard his son.[1] A year and a half later, on July 26, 1461,[2] this Bernard places the Hampshire estates which he had inherited, viz. his 'manor of Halyburne, Estbroke, and Westbroke,' and various properties in Alton, Isington, Estworldham, Froyle, and Benstead, in the hands of the following trustees: 'Richard Nevyle, Earl of Warwick, John Nevyle, Lord Mountagew,' and others, including his own brother-in-law, John Malter, who was also one of his trustees for the Bucks and Herts estates. Just previously,[3] on June 28, Sibilla Rithe, widow of 'Edward Rithe of Alton, gentleman,' had placed her lands in 'Alton Estbroke and Westbroke, Anste, and Haliborne,' in trust with the same Richard Neville and with George Neville, 'Bishop of Exeter and Chancellor of England' [afterwards Archbishop of York], along with her nephew, Bernard Brocas of Horton, and Richard her brother.

One cannot but attach importance to the date of these deeds. That of Sibilla was dated the very day of Edward IV.'s coronation;[4] Bernard's very shortly afterwards. They must have taken some time to prepare. It is clear that not a moment had been lost, since the tide turned in favour of the youthful king, in placing the king-maker and his two brothers on these trusts. The Lancastrians had been shattered to pieces at Towton on March 29.

However much of this haste we may attribute to the keen desire of these people to save their lands in the anticipated revolution, it can hardly be supposed that, at this supreme moment, the mighty victor of Towton and his only less powerful brothers would have consented to accept these trusts unless some member of the family had taken the Yorkist side in the tremendous struggle which had been raging for the previous six years. It is to this third Bernard Brocas that the above circumstances point; and that Lancastrian

[1] Inq. p. m. 39 Hen. VI. '*Nullum tenuit in Co. Buck.*'

[2] *Close Roll*, 1 Ed. IV. m. 12[d]. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] The regnal years date back from Edward's Installation at Westminster, on March 4, 1461.

vengeance never overtook the House of Brocas of Horton we may attribute to the fact that he died only two years after creating those trusts. His two brothers had died previously. Nothing is more probable, though we have no proof, than that they fell in the cause of York. The headship of the House, again vacant, came, in 1463, to the half-brother, yet another Bernard (third of this House), the son of Emmeline, who was not quite of age, and had been too young to take a part in the war. Thus, by the time the Yorkists had in their turn passed away, all memory of the Brocases as active members of the Yorkist faction had, fortunately for them, passed away, too.

If the Horton branch of Brocas no longer conspicuously wore the White Rose, the junior branch of Beaurepaire, now settled at The Vyne, was quite ready to avow its principles. William of Denton's son by Johanna Sandes, Bernard, the only one of that name in the Beaurepaire House during this century, had been planted at Bromley, in Dorset, and on his mother's death inherited from her The Vyne. His father had annexed to the former place certain estates in the neighbouring parish of Netherbury, called Ferlegh and Kyngeslond, and thus made it a property more fit for the residence of Johanna's only son. Few of the family deeds give us more of the history of the family than those connected with this little manor of Bromley, to which it will be seen that we are indebted for some knowledge of the relations between the De Roches and De Caunes in the fourteenth century, and in the fifteenth for the effects of Sir Bernard Brocas' attainder. It was held of the Abbot of Sherborne. A series of deeds now discover William Brocas settling this manor upon his son Bernard and Philippa his wife, jointly—no doubt upon their marriage; and we have Bernard's first Court Roll as lord of the manor in 1453. It eventually returned to the head of the family at Beaurepaire, and from them it passed away in the reign of Elizabeth. With it passed away all local traditions of its ancient owners. Though but a small manor, it once boasted a chapel, and no doubt a manor house. It is nowadays called Brimley, and is nothing but a small farm in the parish of Stoke Abbot, situated upon a hill a little more than a mile from that village.

Whether it was Philippa who carried her husband off to the Yorkists, or whether the young man simply followed his relatives of Horton and Alton, we have no means of judging, for we cannot even ascertain Philippa's surname. We may presume that the arms on her husband's monument are hers. These are the chevron between three cinquefoils familiar as the arms of Chichele, but they are common, in different tinctures (not blazoned in this case), to sixty-five different families. At any rate, in 1467, Bernard places his Dorsetshire estates in trust with the famous Lord Hastings, now at the height of his power, his brother, Ralph Hastings, and others. We

cannot attach the same importance to this trust as in the previous cases, for Edward had long been seated on the throne; but no Lancastrian could at that time have made the trust. Possibly the Northamptonshire estates, with which the Hastings brothers had been enriched by Edward, may have brought them into contact with the owners of Little Weldon and the Buckhounds; possibly the widow of Lord Beauville, whom Lord Hastings married, and whose first husband is found signing a Brocas deed concerning Bromley in 1448 (the year before he became a peer), may have been the channel. There is, in short, just the intimacy with the several leaders of the successful House which convinces us that there is more behind; but there is no ground for further speculation. It might indeed be thought that the Shrievalty of William Brocas (2) afforded some ground for suspicion, even as regarded the Lancastrian principles of the lords of Beaurepaire; but it is slender enough. The circumstances are these.

William Brocas (2) had married Agnes Bekingham, widow of John Dauberichecourt, as early as 1440 or thereabouts, and had been residing upon her property at Strathfieldsaye and Stratfield Mortimer so long before his father's death that he had become the representative of her estates and those of the Brocases in Berkshire, more than of those in Hants. For this, or for some other reason, he departed from the traditions of his family so far as to become, in 1459, Sheriff of Berks and Oxon, instead of Hants, under the style of 'William Brocas of Cookham,' the two former counties being always united at this period in the Shrievalty. This selection is the more remarkable since William had been representing his father at Beaurepaire for some years, and had succeeded him in 1456. At a moment when the struggle between York and Lancaster was at its full height of fury, it was to be expected that some traces of the times might be found in the career of the Sheriff. It is only wonderful that the following incident stands alone. A gentleman named Richard Savage, 'late of London,' had, on February 16, 1459, been confined on suspicion of felony in Oxford Castle, and on May 11, while under Brocas' charge, had made his escape without having been tried at the King's Court. A Commission appointed to examine into the case reports that it was 'against the Sheriff's will' that the prisoner (and another named Hugh Deveron) had thus escaped.[1]

We can hardly suppose that there was anything in this transaction which could be pleaded in William's favour by his Yorkist relatives. Was it in consequence of the merits of these latter that the people who had been so far leaders of men as to be Sheriffs of three counties under Henry VI., during the most critical period of the Civil War, came out of the conflict without suffering like so many of

[1] Inq. ad. q.d. 37 Hen. VI. No. 9.

their neighbours? It was not till 1464 that Edward IV. felt himself strong enough to reward his friends and punish his enemies by the general resumption of royal grants, and the exception of the former from the operation. Amongst the list of exemptions stands, along with the names of Margaret, Countess of Salop, and John Shute, 'Yeoman of our Crown,' that of William Brocas.

Another paper in the Brocas chest may be taken to indicate that, from whatever cause, the family found it best to submit patiently to an arbitrary act of the Yorkist King, and it may have had something to do with the 'exemption;' but the land in question had been no portion of any grant. On the contrary, it was most assuredly a personal inheritance descended from the old Rector of St. Nicholas', Guildford. This paper shows that Edward IV. had improved his park at that place by inclosing within its boundaries some of the Brocas lands. It is itself in the form of a draft of a proposed order for the sum of 60*l.*, the residue of a sum of 100*l.* which had been promised in compensation for the land, but which had never been paid. The document is undated. There is nothing to show whether payment was ever made, but the presumption is to the contrary.

The reader has now all the facts before him on a matter of extremely trifling importance, except so far as it is suggestive on the point of the general condition of things in England. It is not likely that any fresh light will be obtained, and the judgment of one person on a review of the whole is as good as that of another. To the writer of these pages it seems as if the family pursued much the same course as was common enough at various periods of civil war in England, Scotland, and elsewhere. Warned by the narrow escape of their estates in the year 1400, and officially mixed up with the acts of the later Lancastrians, the heads of the family preserved their Lancastrian allegiance, while those who had less to lose—the heir at Horton, carrying some older relatives with him, and the young second son of Beaurepaire, at Bromley and The Vyne—followed, along with the great bulk of the middle classes, the more popular policy. Whether these younger branches were engaged on the Yorkist side in any active way must be mere matter of conjecture; but, as said above, it is likely enough that they were. The heads of the House, however, must have shown considerable skill as sheriffs not to have definitely injured their position on either side. In short, the family emerge from this most terrible of all the national conflicts of England very much as they entered upon the period. The Masters of the Buckhounds hunt, we must suppose, with the monarchs of both Houses, and must have accepted the inevitable very much in the same spirit as the great mass of the English people, who, above all questions of dynasty, set the one great demand for a strong Government and an orderly realm.

It is tempting to regard the especially military character of the

monument of Bernard Brocas, of Bromley and The Vyne, as evidence of his having taken a military part on the side which his trust deeds show that he had adopted; but no such evidence is reckoned admissible in the case of 'armigeri,' whose insignia simply display their rank as such. Nor, perhaps, ought we to attach any importance to the '*arma relinquens*' of the inscription, though we can see that in 1488, whatever feat might have been performed against the Lancastrians, it would have been the height of folly to allude to it, except in the vaguest words. The enigmatical character of the verses might, on the other hand, well have been selected for the express purpose of covering this central enigma, which would have been well understood by contemporaries. Here are the lines:

> Pondere marmoreo tenebroso subtus in antro
> Bernard' Brocas jacet armiger arma relinquens.
> Humanum multum fuerat reddunt decoratum
> Mores dapsilitas illum amplectendaque honestas.
> Occubuit Maii terna . . . . denaque luce
> Anno sed Domini centenis multiplicatis
> Bis septenario septenarius duodeno
> Quatuor his addo numerum tibi perficiendo.

Let the reader attempt to solve the enigma before he is told the year which they represent as that of Bernard's death. How the day of the month was represented in the missing words may further exercise his ingenuity. Some others of the words are not now to be found on the monument; they are here restored from the copy in 'Church Notes,'[1] K.S., College of Arms, quoted by 'C. E. L.' (Charles E. Long). If the reader finds himself obliged to give up the solution, he may be glad to have the following explanation. He is directed to multiply the '*septenarius*,' or seven-year-old man, by 200 [*bis centenis*], which gives 1400, adding to that the number of years represented by '*septenario duodeno*,' viz. 84, and finally, adding 4 to the units—the total being 1488, in which year, on May 20, Bernard Brocas died.[2]

The figure on the brass, given on the opposite page, tells its own story. The Sandes' quartering, along with Brocas and Roches, is the sole monumental trace now left of the ancient relationship. This Bernard has been lost till now to family history, though he is mentioned in his father's will, and placed by him in a position of trust (but not as executor). That will, however, had not been consulted; and when Mr. Long published his account of the Brocas monuments he was reduced to the shift of supposing the figure to represent

[1] Nichols' *Collectanea Topographica*, vol. viii. p. 392 (1843).

[2] Inq. p.m. 4 Hen. VII. No. 41; taken at Bridport, Dorset, October 29, 1488. John Brocas, of Beaurepaire, is declared to be his heir, without mention of Philippa, on whom, however, the estate had been jointly settled with her husband for life.

Monumental Brass of Bernard Brocas, of Bromley and The Vyne, in the Brocas Chapel, Sherborne St. John Church, ob. 1488

From a rubbing by Miss Chute

Bernard Brocas of Horton, whose mother, he was aware, was Emmeline Sandes. It was not then known that William Brocas of Beaurepaire had married Emmeline's sister, and obtained The Vyne with her in marriage.

The credit of this elaborate and very uncommon sort of monumental brass—an interesting evidence of the period when the Brocases held The Vyne—must be given to Philippa, who also, jointly with her husband, presented to the church an altar-cloth, which was still in use as late as 1686, having for two centuries defied not only the ravages of time but of the Reformation. The pair were evidently devoted to their parish church, and it was high time that their memory should be resuscitated. Philippa's widowhood can be traced in the Bromley deeds, and reveals the difficulties experienced by those who, on Henry VIII.'s accession, held by a Yorkist deed. These will be found in their place.[1] Instead of keeping the life estate in Bromley which had been settled upon her, she is fain to accept an annual rent of it from John Brocas, lord of Beaurepaire, who recovers the manor. She dates from 'Sherborne Cowdray,' which was probably a synonym for 'The Vyne,' but dies before 1492–3; for William Sandys, by his will of that year, charges his debts on his 'personal property at Andover and The Vyne.' Bernard and Philippa having no children, the last-named estate reverted to the Sandys family, as Bromley did to the House of Beaurepaire. It was the son of this William Sandys who built the Tudor mansion and made it the chief seat of the family. It retains the same general features, but has been much altered since the days when kings and queens in succession resided in state under its spacious roof.

We recur to Bernard of Horton's elder brother, William (2) of Beaurepaire, who, with his son and grandson, John and William (3), will not detain us long. Of the four esquires who, one after the other, succeeded the attainted knight, this William (2) is the only one who is not intimately bound up with the family place. We have seen his earlier life connected with the Berkshire estates; his later life was spent in London and at Peperharowe. He may have found the near neighbourhood of The Vyne and its Yorkist occupants, Bernard (who was only his half-brother) and Philippa, distasteful to him. His son John may have been committed to sympathies of the same sort. If so, he was magnanimous in giving up Beaurepaire (and the Brocas estate in Basingstoke) to this John when he himself married his second wife, Margaret, in 1470. That there was this second wife, unknown to the pedigrees, is ascertained by the settlement upon her of the manors of Broxhead and Clewer-Brocas, which had been previously settled by his father on William's first wife.[2] Margaret must have died soon afterwards, for the trustees of Peperharowe convey that manor and

[1] Book vi. chap. ii. sect. 1. [2] *Ibid.*

advowson to the lord of Beaurepaire and his third wife, Johanna, on October 22, 1471, with remainder to his son John and his heirs, remainder over to his daughter Agatha.

This third wife, Johanna Adderley, or Hatherle, was widow of the Lord Mayor of London, a Lord Mayor who ought to be remembered. Holding that office in 1442, he it was who performed two excellent services for the city, first by providing a better supply of water, and, secondly, a new burial-ground for its inhabitants. Johanna was heiress of an estate in Essex, but seems to have outlived all her relatives, for none are mentioned in her will, which has already been printed. She does not, however, forget 'Johanna Brocas, my god-daughter,' to whom she leaves her 'best girdill.'[1] She died at her dower house at Peperharowe soon after her husband; and a faithful copy of her monumental brass, still existing in that church, is here given. The artist was, perhaps, too faithful; at any rate he does not seem to have flattered her.

Whatever may have been her personal attractions, this marriage was evidently the occasion of William's final removal from Beaurepaire and settlement in London, where he died in 1484.[2] The escheator reports that he held no property in London. He lived, we may fairly guess, in the house of his wife, the Lord Mayor's widow; and we may be sure, if we judge by the pious nature of the inscription on her own memorial, that she did not neglect to put up a handsome monument to William Brocas in the Lady Chapel of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, where he was buried. It is not surprising that no trace of it remains, for of all the ecclesiastical wrecks of the Reformation which are not in absolute ruins, this noble London church, only second in size and grandeur to old St. Paul's, is perhaps the saddest spectacle. The visitor gropes his way to the remaining portion of the old building, still used as a parish church, through a graveyard which was once the nave, and finds the service held in the ancient choir, with fine Norman and Transition arches and pillars. The aisles, long ago destroyed, are occupied by the sites of schools, one on each side; and the Lady Chapel has been turned into a fringe manufactory, a portion of which overhangs the Holy Table.[3] It is vain to look for monuments in the midst of such desecration.

[1] *Proceedings of the Surrey Archæological Society*, vol. vii. p. 34.

[2] Elizabeth, a daughter of William Brocas, was married to Richard Moore, of Burghfield, in Bucks, son of Roger Moore, of that place. They had no male heirs, but two daughters, the eldest of whom, Isabella, was married to John Doyley, of Grenland, Bucks; the younger, Elizabeth, to Sir John Williams, father of Lord Williams of Thame (*Visitations of Oxfordshire*). We must assign the date of this marriage to the year 1463, in which a license was obtained for the marriage of a member of the Brocas family. (See note in the preceding chapter of this book.)

[3] The Rev. W. Panckridge, the vicar of this parish, has been for some time collecting funds for a restoration. The manufactory has already been bought up, and the Lady

Monumental Brass of Johanna, third Wife of William Brocas (2), in Peperharowe Church, ob. 1487

From a rubbing by the Rev. J. Comford

Monumental Brass of John Brocas in the Brocas Chapel, Sherborne St. John Church, ob. 1492

From a rubbing by Miss Chute

William (2) was only indirectly commemorated in the family chapel by a monumental brass, which represents his son, John Brocas, kneeling in armour at a desk before the figure of the Holy Trinity, after a design which became common in the fifteenth century. At each corner of the slab is a shield bearing Brocas and Roches quarterly (only two of which are represented in the accompanying drawing). The inscription is as follows:

Orate pro anima Johannis Brocas armigeri quondam filii et heredis Willielmi Brocas armigeri qui quidem Willielmus decessit Londonie XXII die Aprilis anno regni Ricardi Tertii primo et sepultus est in ecclesia Hospitalis S^ti^ Bartolomei in Smythefield in Capella Beate Marie et predictus Johannes obiit X° die Maii Anno Domini 1492 anno regni Regis Henrici septimo quorum animabus propicietur Deus.

This is evidently what John himself ordered and arranged. But we have the curious fact of a second brass placed in memory of the same person, and in the same place.[1] This bears evidence of the widow's hand. She would obey her husband's orders, but had no idea of her husband and his father monopolising the prayers of posterity. These should be requested also for his wives and children. Accordingly, the husband duly appears between his two successive wives, and, fortunately for family history, the whole of the five sons and the daughter of Anne Langford are marshalled under her, while her own two sons and three daughters appear under Anne Rogers' own figure. The inscription has been for a long time mutilated, but enough remains to explain the rest. It runs thus, with the contractions expanded:

. . . . ielmi Brocas armigeri et Anne uxoris ejus fi . . Edwardi . . . . Johannis Rogers armigeri quorum animabus propicietur Deus. Amen.

The first words had been, 'Orate pro animabus Johannis filii Willielmi.' The words after 'ejus' must have represented the first wife, daughter of Edward Langford, and those before 'Johannis,' the second wife.[2]

Chapel is to be the first portion taken in hand. The opportunity is here afforded to London millionaires for executing one of the grandest works open to the public of to-day. It is far from being a matter of ecclesiological sentiment. A squalid population surrounds the ruined fane, crying aloud to be lifted up above their miserable environments by some such noble generosity.

[1] In the rearrangement of the brasses which has lately been effected, the first brass of John Brocas has been, for want of space, suffered to remain in the wall, where it was fixed by the late Mrs. Brocas. The brass of Raulin and Margaret Brocas has also been left in the wall.

[2] Note on the Eleven Children of John Brocas of Beaurepaire.—Of John Brocas' five sons by Anne Langford, we know the names of three, William, Edward, and John (of whom presently), perhaps also of a fourth, George, as he would answer to the George Brocas who was one of Henry VIII.'s 'serjeants' at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. (Brewer's *Cal. of State Papers*, vol. iii. 244.) The daughter, Margaret, was married to William Langford, no doubt a cousin. Of the five children of Anne Rogers, the two sons died young. The three daughters, co-heirs of their mother, are found at

John's domestic career had been governed by his first marriage. Anne was the daughter of Edward Langford, a gentleman of the neighbourhood, who often witnesses Brocas deeds; and it was to make a home for her in his father's lifetime that he obtained a lease of Cranes from his cousins the Stonards. Perhaps it was on his second marriage that his father made over to him Beaurepaire and the Basingstoke houses. The Inquest speaks of its having been done by William 'long before his death.'[1] The second wife was daughter and heiress of John Rogers, of Frefolk, who belonged to a county family of some importance, but her husband did not long enjoy the estates, which soon after his death were broken up.[2]

Of John Brocas we know little beyond these domestic affairs. He died comparatively young, having shown vigour in his proceedings, right or wrong, in the matter of the Bromley estate, and a surprising audacity in the case of the Mastership of the Buckhounds, which cannot be altogether explained. The successive lords of Beaurepaire evidently stood well with Edward IV.,[3] and if his father had died during that king's reign, John, we can hardly doubt, would have rendered fealty and homage to him, as in duty bound, on taking up his office. But his father dying in 1484, a few months after Richard III. had murdered the little king and his brother, and perhaps what Brocas felt more, Lord Hastings, the friend of the family, it seems as if this was more than he could bear. He does not attend Court; we may well believe that he would not. At any rate, that he omitted to do fealty and homage to the murderer is certain; for Richard,

Anne's death each married to a second husband. Richard Copley and Michael Denys, of Pucklechurch, Gloucestershire, were the successive husbands of Margery Brocas, the eldest daughter; Christopher Morgan and — Waffer, of Anne, the second; and Nicholas Samborne and William Yong, of Elizabeth, the third. The descendants of Margery Brocas by Michael Denys settled in the Isle of Wight and perpetuated the line, but, by a remarkable fatality, male heirs were so often denied to them that the inheritance passed by females on five different occasions. In 1829 the descendants of John Brocas and Anne Rogers were represented by two Isle of Wight ladies, named White, living at Wotton. Anne, the mother, was herself married again to — Saint Marten, as we find from the Inq. p.m. of April 24, 9 Hen. VIII. (See also Berry's *Hants Genealogies.*) She died on February 6, 1517, seised of the manor and advowson of Steventon, which she had in satisfaction of dower (and which now reverted to Beaurepaire), as well as of 'divers other lands in the county of Southampton; but what they are the jurors know not.' This was the Frefolk estate to which her daughters succeeded.

[1] Inq. p.m. 1 Ric. III. No. 23.

[2] See book vi. chap. ii. part ii. John seems to have been slack in claiming the rights of his second wife, the heiress of Frefolk; for the manor of Athelington, Co. Dorset, which came to her and her sister, as co-heirs of Christopher Rogers, was placed in custody of Sir William and Emma Hody 'till Anne Brocas made her just suit and livery out of the king's hand.' (*Mat. for the Hist. of Hen. VII., R.S.* May 21. 3 Hen. VII.)

[3] The appointment of Henry Brocas to be Chaplain of the Royal Manor of Eltham, by Edward IV. in the twenty-first year of his reign, may be taken as one evidence of the fact amongst others. This was confirmed by Henry VII. in 1486. We have no means of identifying this Henry. He could not have been a son of John's, but was no doubt one of the clan. (*Materials for the Hist. of Hen. VII., R.S.* vol. ii. Feb. 20, 1486.)

SECOND MONUMENTAL BRASS OF JOHN BROCAS; HIS WIVES, ANNE LANGFORD ON DEXTER, ANNE ROGERS ON SINISTER, SIDE, WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE CHILDREN: OB. 1492

From a rubbing by Miss Chute

after an inquisition, 'seized the Manor of Little Weldon into his own hands;' yet we find that, in spite of this decisive measure, Brocas retained his hold of it. Richard did not live long enough to punish him. If he had, it could not but have gone hard with the contumacious Master of the Buckhounds.

To John Brocas, Henry VII. must therefore have been a deliverer; yet the remarkable fact confronts us that he neglected to set himself right even with the new king. Henry had been on the throne more than two years when he causes another inquiry to be made, through which the above facts are elicited; but not only so: 'though the said manor, through the death of the said William Brocas, was taken into the said late king's hands, . . . and still remains in the hands of the present king, the said John, without due license, presentation, or livery, . . . has held the said manor with its appurtenances, . . . from the aforesaid William, and *still holds it*,' &c. A writ is now issued to the Sheriff of Northampton 'to summons the aforesaid John to appear before the king in the Chancery on the morrow of St. Martin next to come, to show reason why he should not answer to the king for the issues and profits of the said manor from the time of the said William's death, &c., and render homage and fealty to the king in respect of the premises.'[1] What can be more characteristic of the business-like monarch? John Brocas might have shown a very proper spirit in bearding Richard III. That was one thing. He pronounces no opinion upon it. But that a private gentleman should act as if he were himself king, and neglect the first duty of a tenant *in capite*, when there was no longer any excuse for it, was intolerable. It would be a fatal precedent if he were not 'brought to book,' and might justify any number of Lambert Simnels and future Perkin Warbecks.

We have conclusive evidence that Brocas discovered that he could no longer play with this question, in the fact that he retained his manor and office, passing them on to his successor; and that we do not even hear of any difficulties about the salary. This again was what we might expect in the renewed order of the realm; but we may make a fair guess that the Master of the Buckhounds had not only to pay up arrears, but to make a palpable contribution to Henry's exchequer by way of fine.

The career of John's eldest son, William (3) of Beaurepaire, is even less eventful than his father's. He must have been fully of age when his father died in 1492; but as his daughters were both married between 1511 and 1513, he must have himself married young. If we may judge by the confidence reposed in his wife as shown by her husband's will, he did well in selecting her from the ancient, knightly

[1] *Close Rolls*. Cl. 54. d.: quoted in *Materials for the History of the Reign of Henry VII. R.S.* pp. 201, 313, &c.

stock of the Griffyns of Braybrook, in Northamptonshire. That will, and his sale of the Windsor estates, exhaust our knowledge of William Brocas (3).

The sale of the above estates requires a passing notice. They include, besides the reversion of 'the manor of Brocas, otherwise called Clewer,' on the death of Margaret Langford, the manors of Didworth and Buntingbury, and all the Brocas estates in Clewer, New and Old Windsor, Cookham, Bray, and Winkfield.[1] The purchaser was Sir Reynolds [Reginald] Bray, who paid for his bargain 220*l.* One property alone was excepted from the sale—the advowson of the Brocas chantry in Clewer church—'since it was an advowson in gros, and not appendant to any of the premises.' Without more information on the limits of these properties it is vain to speculate upon the smallness of the above sum. It may be an unhandsome surmise, but the suspicion arises of a forced sale and a cunning purchaser. Sir Reginald had already been placed on a Brocas trust; he is one of Henry's officials and courtiers; he had already accumulated wealth, and would have ready money at hand. William Brocas may have had urgent reasons for obtaining cash.[2]

The final destination of the wealth which Bray was thus acquiring has a reflex interest on our subject. Margery, his niece and heiress, marrying Sir William, afterwards Lord, Sandys, carried it into the family of The Vyne; and the mansion, already twice mentioned, was one fruit of it. Thus the tables were turned. The Brocases, a hundred years before, had carried off The Vyne from the Sandes family in marriage; the Sandys family now, by another marriage, carry off a portion of the Brocas inheritance, and build a new 'Vyne.'

[1] See book vi. chap. i.

[2] NOTE ON EDWARD AND JOHN BROCAS, BROTHERS OF WILLIAM BROCAS (3).—For this sale of the ancient estates which had been so carefully pieced together by Sir John Brocas, under Edward II. and Edward III., snatched with such difficulty from the grasp of the Crown, so convenient for dowers and settlements, and so inviable from their proximity to the Court where the Master of the Buckhounds had to make stated appearances, there may have been a sufficient reason which the career of Edward Brocas, William's next brother, suggests. The feudal system worked very irregularly for younger sons. They were left to make their own way, or take their chance from aunts or other relatives. Primogeniture was the necessary accompaniment of a system which rested the military strength of the country on land, and it was held to be a collateral advantage that the younger brothers were thus, as a matter of course, driven to the pursuit of professions or trades. In this case there must have been some germs of discontent, perhaps only suspected by their eldest brother, on the part of Edward and John Brocas, as early as 1499, for in this very deed of sale it is covenanted that there shall be no disturbance from them. And Edward may have already begun his career of indebtedness, of which we find evidence in 1513, for in that year (see *Process of Scire facias, Easter*, 4 & 5 Hen. VIII.) the second husband of the widow of a creditor brings an action against Edward for 300*l.*, still remaining unpaid, of an old debt. The sale of the Windsor estates may have helped to support the credit of the family. When, in 1506, William makes his will, he leaves Edward and John 40*l.* apiece, on condition that 'they be lovinge and kinde unto my sayd wife, and suffer her to occupye suche lands as I have bequethed her duringe her life

With the death of William Brocas (3) in 1506, without male heirs, we come to a natural break in our narrative. His heiress carries the inheritance into another family. For two generations the Pexsalls, father and son, are lords of Beaurepaire. Then again there is a failure of males. And now, some fifty years after William Brocas' death, the heiress of Pexsall and Brocas is married to the male heir of the Brocas branch at Horton, and the breach is repaired. But it is repaired in one sense only. A great change was taking place everywhere, and it is only too plainly visible in the case before us. With the Pexsalls begins the genuine Tudor history of the family, characterised by the introduction of a greater luxury and magnificence, which, by easy steps, led to the gradual decay of the old country habits of the fifteenth century. This again paved the way for the expensive vices and spendthrift recklessness which are only too characteristic of what we find very generally prevalent in the later years of Elizabeth and the early Stuart reigns. That is succeeded by the collapse of the family in the crash of the Great Rebellion. In short, with the seventh Brocas, lord of Beaurepaire, not only occurs a break in the family history, but a well-marked and distinct period comes to an end.

Some illustration of these remarks is afforded by the solemn character of William's will. He is to be buried on the north side of the chancel, in Sherborne St. John church, 'which was of my auncestor's foundation.' Mary his wife is to have immediate possession of the

without interruption.' That Edward was far from construing this condition too literally is shown by the lawsuit which he unsuccessfully instituted against his niece Edith and her husband for the Mastership of the Buckhounds. This member of the family died unmarried, but he left an illegitimate daughter, Mary, to whom his brother William left ten marks 'towards her marriage.' We catch one more glimpse of him before he dies. Archbishop Warham leaves him in his will (1530) a feather bed, some bed furniture, and coverlets, which looks as if his irregular habits had reduced him to the rank of a menial servant in Warham's household. We shall see presently that the Archbishop's nephew obtained in marriage the sister of the niece with whom Edward Brocas had waged legal war. It was but right that the decayed gentleman should pick up in his old age a few of the crumbs which fell from the Archiepiscopal table. (Wills from Doctors' Commons, Camden Society.)

John, the youngest brother of the three, did no discredit to the family. The name of his wife is not known, but his daughter and sole heir, Edith, married a gentleman of Bedfordshire, George Brydiman of Tingrave), useful to the family in later years. In 1511 John is found on the Commission of Array for Hampshire, along with John Audeley, the guardian of the Brocas heiresses. His grandson, Edmund Brydiman, married Margaret, daughter of Sir Walter Waller, of Groombridge, Kent, and he again left a sole daughter and heir, Mary, who married John Cade, son and heir of Sir William Cade, of King's Langley, Herts. The other grandson, Charles, married Mary, d. of — Giles of — in Co. Huntingdon. The Brydiman arms were quarterly of 8: (1) arg. a cross sable five fusils ermine—for Brydiman: (2) Brocas: (3) Roches: (4) gules, 6 ragged staves arg. 3, 2, 1, for ——: (5) arg. a cross between 4 mullets pierced gules, for Banbury: (6) or, a fesse gules between 3 muscles az. for Scovill: (7) arg. a fesse sable between 3 bulls' heads ga. horned or, for Bedlmant: 8 ——. (*Visitations of Bedfordshire*, A.D. 1566, 1582, and 1634: Harleian Society, 1884.)

manors of Beaurepaire, Wickley, and Little Weldon, together with all his estates in Sherborne, Basing, Pamber, Tadley, Bromley [Bramley], Stratfield Mortimer, East Tisted, Clynham, Sherfield, Strathfieldsaye, Hoke (near Basingstoke), the estate in Basingstoke called Venables [Viables], and Okeley: also, when his trustees have paid his creditors and legacies to his brothers out of the revenues, she is to take possession of North Farcham and all the other estates for life. Mary is to 'cause a trentall of masses with dirige overnyght to be doon at my moneth's mynd for my soule, my fadir's soule, my moder's soule, and for hir fadir's soule, hir moder's soule, and all Christen soules, &c., and five tapers and twelve torches to barn during the seyd dirige and trentall.' Further, that she 'cause every yere yerely at my yere's mynde a trentall of masses with dirige overnyght to be doon during hir lyfe for the soules abovesaid.' She is also to pay all such legacies as his father had bequeathed to certain churches, and to possess all advowsons of churches, chantries, and free chapels belonging to his estates, and to 'dispouse for my soule and the soules abovesaid at my yere's mynde XX^s. in pens to the poure foolks of the parish of Shirborne, and to others as she thinketh best for the welth of my soule, and so every yere yerely during hir lyfe.' The said wife is to 'ordeyne a stone within a yere to laye over me.' Four clergymen are amongst the witnesses of the will—Sir William Partcton, vicar of Sherborne St. John, Sir Robert Fawley, rector of Steventon, Sir Roger Sandeforth, chaplayn of Bramley, and Sir Alexander —— [illegible], 'chaplayn of a chantry of —— Wyn . . .' Mary is sole executrix. The supervisors of the will are John Kyngesmyll [of Basingstoke], one of the King's Justices of the Common Pleas, Nicholas Gryffyn, knight [his wife's brother], and Guy Palmes, 'Serjeaunt att the Law.' The interests of his children were thus left entirely in the hands of the wife, perhaps under the hope that they might escape being treated as king's wards—a vain hope in the days of Empson and Dudley.[1]

So not inappropriately, with piety (as then understood), justice, forethought, and dignity, ends the mediæval history of the Brocas family in the elder branch. Two years later we are summoned to witness the very similar will of Benedict Brocas, a kinsman who had lived and died a London citizen. But his branch, that of Compton in Surrey, will require separate treatment. We may conclude this chapter with a still briefer sketch of the Horton branch, coming down to the date when they were preparing to take up the lead which had come to an end with the child-coheiresses of William Brocas. The similar will of Bernard of Horton, in 1502, will fitly close our review.

[1] Three weeks before William Brocas died he came to an agreement, after long dispute, with the Warden, brothers, and sisters of the Hospital of St. Julian, or God's House (Southampton), as to certain rents at East Sherborne and Steventon, very much in favour of the fraternity. (From a MS. belonging to Queen's College, Oxford, kindly furnished by the Rev. J. Magrath, Provost.)

Monumental Brass of William Brocas (3) in the Brocas Chapel, Sherborne St. John Church, ob. 1506

From a rubbing by Miss Chute

We have hitherto noticed the Brocases of Horton in their capacity of Yorkist adherents. A few words on their properties and marriages will be sufficient to place the family before us, and a few references to documents, accessible to searchers at the Record Office, must take the place of the deeds which enable us to obtain a considerable insight into the affairs of Beaurepaire. Scarcely anything of that sort is available for the Horton branch.

Their estates were divided into two main groups. Those of Hampshire included, as said above, the two Haliborne and property in various villages circling round Alton,[1] where Sibilla Brocas found a husband in Edward Rithe, and where, much later, the family acquired property at the Dissolution from the monks of Hide Abbey. The estates in Bucks are, in the deed of October 4, 1461, dated at Horton, described as the manors of Horton and Chedyngdon, and estates in Slapton, Whaddon, Crofton, Woketon, Dagenhale [Dagnall], Tyscote, Betlowe, Aldewyl, Marseworth, Ivyngho, Aston-Clinton, Pychelysthorn, Wyngrave and Wegunton. Belches, a farm in Royston,[2] which completed the group, lay in Hertfordshire. These include all but one of the original properties acquired by Sir Bernard Brocas from John de Chedyngdon in 1368,[3] an acquisition apparently connected with his sister Isabel's settlement at Great Missenden; the others had been subsequently added. They can all be traced under some varieties of spelling at the present day. The centre of them was the manor of Horton, in the parish of Edlesborough; and so many are in that immediate neighbourhood that the projecting portion of Bucks, which juts out like a peninsula into the counties of Bedfordshire and Herts, was dotted all over with Brocas estates. As the designation of the family is not changed from 'Alton' to 'Horton' till the time of the grandson of the attainted knight, it would seem that it was not till then that the Hampshire properties fell into a secondary place, and gradually disappeared from the roll of this branch. Not a trace or tradition of the family lingers in those neighbourhoods, nor in the pages of county histories. At Horton there had been a manor house long before Sir Bernard bought the property; for we find that in 1325, John de Chedyngdon had a license to establish an oratory there; but since the Brocases lived at Horton Hall for more than a century, they probably now rebuilt it. A modern farmhouse and ancient barn,

[1] See the Trust deed, *Close Roll*, 1 Ed. IV. m. 12[d]. This deed, making Warwick the King-maker and others trustees, is dated at Haliborne, July 26, 1461. The estate in Froyle was probably part of that acquired by Sir John Brocas, the manor remaining in the House of Beaurepaire. At least, it is found there in the next century, before the junction of the two branches of Brocas.

[2] *Close Roll*, 1 Ed. IV. m. 12[d]; cf. *Close Roll*, 7 Ed. IV. m. 1[d].

[3] *Close Roll*, 42 & 46 Ed. III. m. 19[d]. The deeds are dated at Horton (1368 and 1372). The services of bond tenants as well as free are granted with the lands and tenements.

still in existence, retain the name and perpetuate the site; for the ancient moat, still full of water, marks it visibly, and the drawbridge was only destroyed within the memory of living people. The chapel attached to the old manor house disappeared long ago. Edlesborough church was the chief place of burial of the House, and once perhaps contained their monuments. It is a remarkably fine church; but it has been searched in vain, as well as the neighbouring churches of Cheddington and Ivinghoe, for Brocas memorials.[1] Down to quite recent times there was one exception, viz. a coat of arms in the north window of the north chancel of Edlesborough, where the Brocas arms were impaled with those of Rufford. The lady cannot be traced with any certainty; but a Robert Rufford was one of the family trustees in 1461. This memorial has now disappeared with the rest.

The elder of the two Bernards who succeeded the Sheriff of Hampshire, and who has come before us as a pronounced Yorkist, did not live long after the accession of the monarch to whom he had pledged his faith. The strain on men who took part in this furious war, if, indeed, as we have supposed, he was concerned in it, would account of itself for this brief tenure of his patrimony. Two of his brothers had died before him, but the husband of his sister Agnes, John Malter, 'merchant' of London, seems to have been the useful man of the family. He and Thomas Fetherston, 'armiger,' and also citizen and wine-merchant of London, do the actual work of the trusteeships, the ornamental and political part of which was assigned to the Yorkist chiefs. The escheators must have been wrong in assigning so early an age as 'eleven years and upwards' to the brother of this Bernard, when he succeeds to the estates in 1464.[2] He must have been considerably 'upwards,' or the trustees could not have made over to him and a new body of trustees the Bucks estates in 1466. This youth now represents the Brocases of Horton, and the subsequent history of the branch, though in the absence of documents little beyond dry bones, becomes at least more articulate. Emmeline, his mother, was alive in 1466, and the reversion of the manor of Cheddington which she enjoyed passes in that year from the trustee to her son.[3] We know about the marriage of this son with a Bedfordshire heiress, and we have his will in 1502.

The marriage with Ann Morell extended the Brocas position in the east of Bucks as far as Dunstable in Bedfordshire, where the heiress had a house. Her estates, extending just over the borders of Bucks, adjoined the Horton group. They included Stanbridge manor, the

[1] The registers of Edlesborough and Cheddington afford some little information as to the family. The last has been kindly examined for the writer by the Rev. F. B. Harvey, rector: the first is amongst the Cole MSS. in the British Museum.

[2] Inq. p.m. 3 Ed. IV. No. 3.

[3] *Close Roll*, 7 Ed. IV. m. 1[d].

principal one of three which claimed the name, and estates in Houghton Regis, Whipsnade, Egginton, and Totternhoe, the last of which is famous for its strong 'castle,' on the brow of a hill about two miles from Dunstable, the most remarkable earthwork in Bedfordshire. Thus the landed property of the Horton branch was considerable; and the absence of monuments can only be explained by the entire removal of the family consequent on the junction of the two lines of Brocas. Daughters and younger sons were, indeed, left to perpetuate their memory by monuments in adjacent counties; but the chiefs at Horton Hall had disappeared, and with them the jealous care of family memorials which continuous residence tends to insure. It is only in quite modern times that any general interest in English antiquities for their own sake has exhibited itself.

The will of Bernard Brocas (3), dated July 21, 1502, is chiefly notable for his desire to be buried in Edlesborough church, near the Crucifix, for the bequest of eight marks for the celebration of his anniversary in Horton Hall chapel, and the numerous legacies to various churches, including his 'mother church of Lincoln,' St. Paul's in London, and St. Edward's, Westminster. An ornament of the value of 40*s.* is left to the church of Caldewell Priory. His wife is the first of three executors, the others being Master John Cutte, and Thomas Pygot, of Whaddon.

This chapter must not close without a notice of William Brocas, younger brother of Bernard (3), for it is of him that the legend of the French family of De Brocas is told. According to that legend he was brought to South France by his father, became an officer of Charles VII.'s Guards, and, by his marriage with a lady unknown, the progenitor of the De Brocas House of Casteljaloux, whose pedigree dates back to a certain Guillaume de Brocas of the end of the fifteenth century. Without impugning the descent of this French House from a Guillaume de Brocas of that century, a few words will be sufficient to show that this particular legend is erroneous. It so happens that we have a peculiarly full Inquisition on the widow of this William, in 1484.[1] Her name was Agnes, sister of Bartholomew Willesden, and after William Brocas' death she had been married to Robert atte More, a member of the family which we find much associated with their neighbours of Beaurepaire. The chief object of the escheators is to trace the descent of the manor of Bradley, which Agnes held for life in right of William, her first husband. It will be remembered that Bradley had formed one of the designations of Bernard Brocas, second son of the attainted knight. That manor had been made over to him in fee (as we find from this inquest) by his elder brother—perhaps, though we do not know the date, on his marriage with Emmeline Sandes—and had been settled

[1] Inq. p.m. Agnes atte More, 2 Ric. III. No. 21.

by him on his second son 'William of Alton' ('son and heir,' meaning probably co-heir in a general sense with his elder brother Bernard) in fee tail. William had then settled it on himself and Agnes his wife, with remainder, if they had no children, to William Brocas (2) of Beaurepaire in fee, who, in 1484, was just dead, and whose son John the escheators report to be the rightful owner. To him it came, thus returning to the old family stock from whence it had been parted off; while of Alton we hear no more after William's death.

Hence we see that William Brocas of Alton and Bradley dies childless, and his widow retains till her death the manor which had been settled upon her for life. It is absolutely impossible that he could be the same person of whom the only historical fact known is that he received leave of absence from his French commanding officer in 1395, and who is believed to be the father of a certain Arnauld de Brocas, whose successive French marriages in 1517 and 1528 are attested.[1] The reflections which occur in consequence of this failure to connect the distinguished House of Casteljaloux with that of Beaurepaire, except as members of a clan to which they both originally belonged, will require a separate chapter. It only remains to say that no other William Brocas of this period has been found as yet in the process of research (besides, of course, William of Beaurepaire, whose career we know), except a Benedictine monk of Winchester Cathedral. He received the Orders of the Church between 1479 and 1483; and as his name does not occur in a list of cathedral monks of December 1486, must have died previously to that date.[2] We have no means of placing him in the pedigree.

NOTE ON THE BROCASES OF HOLBOURN, SOMERSETSHIRE, AND DEVON, AND ON THE DAUGHTERS OF THE SECOND SIR BERNARD BROCAS.

Of the other sons of the attainted knight, younger than William and Bernard, and their sisters, as they do not inherit land, it is not easy to recover the history. The last alone, Gilbert, founded a family. They may thus be treated in a short note. Of Thomas we know nothing. Of Richard we have heard as the trustee of his sister, Sibilla Rithe, of Alton. To him and John Danyell, clerk, she makes over her personal property that they may pay her debts. The property of Sibilla's late husband was so much intermixed with that of her mother that between them they shared with the monks of Hyde Abbey pretty nearly the whole neighbourhood of Alton; but as it does not appear from the trust deed what became of her estates, no doubt they went to her husband's relatives. Other members of the family, besides those whose names have reached us in family documents, were

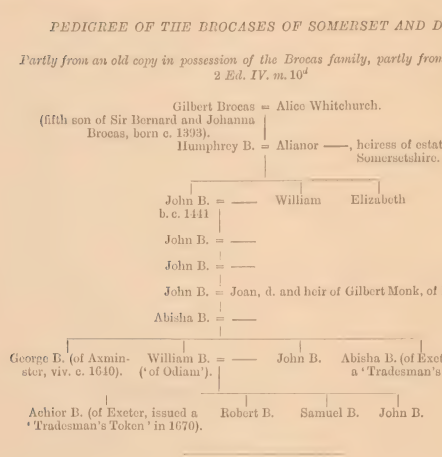
[1] See a French document containing the Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into Titles of Nobility, dated Dec. 30, 1717.

[2] F. J. B.

probably quartered on these lands of Alton and Holibourn. Thus in the next generation we hear of a 'Thomas Brocas, of Haliborne,' who was admitted to the priesthood in Winchester Cathedral in 1473, 'by the title of ten marks of his own patrimony.'—(F. J. B.) Gilbert is once mentioned in the family deeds—when his brother, of Beaurepaire, makes over to him in 1424, by a regular instrument, the right to appoint a chaplain *pro hac vice* to the Brocas Chantry at Clewer. He marries Alice Whitchurch, and their son, Humphrey, becomes by marriage with a Somersetshire heiress an esquire of that county. By this lady (Alianor) Humphrey Brocas has a son, John, who, in 1462, is old enough to receive from his trustee the 'manor of Purygge,' with lands at that place, as well as at Glastonbury, Pilton, and Dulcote (near Wells). These estates he settles on his brother and sister. (Close Roll, 2 Ed. IV. m. 10d.) The accompanying pedigree brings the family to Axminster in the seventeenth century, and is confirmed by the discovery of tradesmen's 'tokens,' issued at Exeter in that century by Abisha and Achior Brocas; showing that the younger branch of the family had by that time merged in the commercial class, while their Christian names denote that they had accepted at least the outward signs of Puritanism. About this time also, 1662, one John Brocas, of Axminster, became famous in legal history. While ringing the church bells he was caught by the bell-rope and strangled. The bell was claimed by the Crown as 'deodand.' In the Court of Queen's Bench, before which the case finally came, the judges being equally divided on the question, nothing was done. On a later and similar occasion Chief Justice Holt decided against the claim upon a bell. (Rex *v.* Churchwardens of Axminster; 1 Lavinz Rep. 136. Reg. *v.* Wheeler, 6 Mod. Rep. 187.) The daughters of Sir Bernard and Johanna have been casually mentioned in the text, and very little more can be said about them. If one of them was married into the Shelley family, we may suppose that she died before her mother, as she is not mentioned in Johanna's will. The husband of Katharine De la Mare was Robert, son of Sir Thomas De la Mare, of Aldermaston, Berks, to whom she was married on January 1, 1398, by license, in Beaurepaire Chapel. (Manning and Bray's 'Surrey,' from Wykeham's 'Register.') The manor had passed to them from the Achards, c. 1358, and went with Elizabeth De la Mare to the Forsters, c. 1500. (Lysons' 'Berks.') Thus the De la Mare family were near neighbours to Beaurepaire; and in 1387 we find Sir Thomas De la Mare signing two of the Brocas deeds. The celebrated Speaker of the House of Commons in Edward III.'s reign was, no doubt, one of the family. Their arms were az. two bars dauncettee or. Joan Ramseye, or Romseye, would seem to have been the wife of Sir Thomas de Romseye, who served in the campaigns of Henry V. and was one of a distinguished family, taking their name from that ancient town, whence sheriffs of Hampshire had been more than once selected. Joanna, the daughter of Sir Thomas de Romseye, was married to Thomas Payn. (Woodward and Wilks' 'History of Hampshire.')

PEDIGREE OF THE BROCASES OF SOMERSET AND DEVON.

Partly from an old copy in possession of the Brocas family, partly from Close Roll, 2 Ed. IV. m. 10d



NOTE ON THE BROCASES OF COMPTON IN SURREY.

Materials for an accurate account of the portion of the Brocas family which was established at Compton, near Guildford, by Arnald Brocas, do not exist, nor is it likely that anything more will be recovered. This family, also, will therefore best be treated in a Note, with an *approximate* pedigree.

Though exclusively a Surrey branch, it would be misleading to designate them by the name of the county, since the elder branch obtained several Surrey properties before the junior branch took root, and retained them long after the latter, as far as we know, ceased to be connected with their county estates. The manors of Polyngfold, Peperharowe, and Picards, with the lands in Guildford, Artington, Shalford, and the Hundred of Godalming, were Beaurepaire property down to the time of the Pexsall-Brocases, and none of these estates ever passed, except by way of lease, to any of the descendants of Arnald Brocas. Some of them had come through Sir John Brocas, some through his brother, the Rector; but both brothers worked in common to strengthen the elder and representative branch of Windsor, Surrey, and Hampshire. Arnald, their nephew, looked to his own immediate descendants at Compton. Though much and confidentially employed by his uncles, he could hardly have done otherwise.

It has been necessary to notice the two successive Rectors of St. Nicholas', Guildford, in connection with the careers of Sir John Brocas and his sons. We found the accomplished Master Bernard employed from 1321 to 1368 in a

variety of services in Aquitaine under Edward III. and especially in the organisation of the province when it became a Principality in 1362. To his nephews, Sir Bernard and Arnald, who accompanied him, he was no doubt a sort of tutor in administrative office, just as he was their guide and chief manager in the business arising out of the estates acquired by the family. We have seen him placing out money, which may have belonged to himself, his brother, or his nephew, in the purchase of Beaurepaire and the surrounding estates, and we find him employing both Arnald and Simon Brocas on the trusts which were required for the protection and transmission of the various properties. Like his brother John at Windsor, he begins with small purchases at Ertyndon [Artington], the village near Guildford, and like him his dealings with land take a wider range as he becomes more prosperous. Like him, he must have obtained royal permission to deal with all affairs of property as if he were English-born, for there are no signs of his being an 'alien' as to such matters; but, on the other hand, we have positive evidence of his belonging, at least technically, to the class, since his name is found in Episcopal Registers of 1340 and 1343 amongst those of aliens holding benefices in the diocese of Winchester.—(F. J. B.) That we have, in the deeds which have come down to us, by no means a full account of these transactions is evident, not only by an inspection of those concerning the estates which descended from him, but by other records, such as the Inquisition of the year 1356, which reports circumstances unknown to the deeds. Again, as early as 1338, he held lands in Kympton and Shottesden, of which we have no other record; and in 1346 he was called on to contribute towards the Aid required at the knighting of the Black Prince for the lands he held in the Hundred of Andover, of which we have no particulars. He seems to have held these estates in trust.

That Master Bernard and his brother John paved the way for the establishment of Arnald Brocas in Surrey by their long tenure of the chief offices at royal Guildford, and their position at the Courts of England and Gascony, is obvious enough. We have seen Arnald placed by Master Bernard in the Rectory of Ash, near Guildford; and we cannot refuse to associate the uncle with the nephew in the matrimonial alliance made by the young Arnald several years before he took orders in 1362. This mode of speaking is based on the identification by Manning and Bray of Arnald Brocas, Rector of St. Nicholas', Guildford, King's Clerk of the Works, and Chamberlain of the Exchequer, with the Arnald Brocas who married Alice Sydney. Those excellent county historians make no doubt of the identity; nor is there any sufficient reason for doubting it. It is, of course, possible that some other member of the clan may have appeared on the scene, of the same name and date, and with the same interest made in his favour by the old Rector, so as to establish him thus early in a position from whence he might marry the sister of William Sydney; but the only ground for so violent a supposition would be that Arnald Brocas, the Rector, appears before us as early as 1362 as a cleric, and the clergy were celibate. The case, however, may well have been exceptional. It has been seen that Arnald's career witnesses to the secular character of his early training and subsequent employment, and suggests that his clerical profession was more or less adopted for convenience in reference to State services and rewards, a not

unusual circumstance in times when the clergy were still, as they had been for centuries, the leaders and governors of so many portions of the State administration which were afterwards exclusively in the hands of laymen. His marriage, if his wife had already died, would be no insuperable bar where royal interest intervened. Further, the age of Thomas Brocas exactly corresponds with the date of such an early marriage of the father; he stands alone in his generation, as if he were an only son, and his position at Compton is just what we might expect in the case of a son of Arnald (who was Rector of Ash, Wonpheldon, and St. Nicholas', Guildford, in succession), and a nephew of the new lord of Loseley. The inferences are irresistible, and in the absence of actual proof, which would naturally be wanting in such a case, must, it is here submitted, be accepted till disproved.

Arnald's career has been sufficiently noticed elsewhere. In this Note it will be best to confine ourselves to the indications supplied by his tomb in St. Nicholas' Church, Guildford, of the important position to which he had attained, and the appreciation of that position by his family. Two accounts of it, each by a distinguished antiquary, at different periods, are in existence; but no sketch of it has ever been previously exhibited which might enable the reader to judge for himself. Aubrey's account need not be quoted. He made some rough and very hasty notes as to the arms, which were printed as they stood in his 'Surrey,' and are not intelligible without a proper heraldic description; nor indeed very easily when we have that aid, for one error in them is a palpable misprint. Manning and Bray, in 1804, describe it thus, avoiding any notice of the arms, as 'defaced:' 'In the northern aisle, at the east end, is a raised monument with the *effigies* of a priest habited in scarlet, and a dog at his feet, with the following inscription on a brass plate in the upper edge: *Hic jacet Arnaldus Brocas Bacalari[us] utriusque Juris Canonicus Lincoln' et Wellens' et quondam rector istius loci qui obiit in vigilia assumptionis Beate Marie an. Dom. millesimo CCC. nonagesimo quinto.*'

The church has been rebuilt twice since this last description was given. On the first rebuilding, in 1836, in which Mr. Molyneux More, of Loseley House, seems to have taken the principal part, a handsome mortuary chapel was erected for the reception of the fine monuments of the Mores; and into this 'Loseley Chapel' was removed, along with them, Arnald Brocas' 'remarkable altar-tomb,' as Murray's 'Hants and Surrey' called it in 1858. The relation of the De Brocas to the De Dools and the Sydneys, and through them, as far as the property was concerned, to the present squires of Loseley, was thus very properly recognised. But much more than this was done. The monument was most carefully restored; the arms, which were in former descriptions said to be 'defaced,' were brought out once more into relief, and the general agreement with Aubrey's notes shows that it was accurately done. The portion of the brass lettering of the inscription which, after the word 'Marie,' had been lost or injured, was also now replaced by painted letters in the same style. The scarlet colouring of the robe of the Bachelor of Laws was not renewed, but is still clearly visible, and not one more touch was administered than was necessary. Even the dog's head, worn shapeless by age, was left unrestored; nor were any liberties taken with the handsome features of his sleeping master's

face. All this gives us confidence in the re-cutting of the arms, which would be of no use to our researches unless accurate. Let us see what they indicate. It will be seen that the first, third, and fifth shields contain the Brocas lion; the second and fourth the arms of Brocas of Beaurepaire. To take the latter first, the Beaurepaire arms, with a through label of three points on both coats, Brocas and Roches, prove that the monument was erected between 1395 and 1400, when William Brocas of Denton, as eldest son of his father, would carry those arms, while the Beaurepaire arms then carried by the second Sir Bernard Brocas occupy the fourth place. The central place is filled by the arms of Arnald himself, the Brocas lion in a plain bordure, which are the same that we find in his own seal. The fifth place is given to the simple arms of the De Brocas family, the lion plain; while the dexter place is occupied by the arms of some member of the clan who had already distinguished his branch by the bordure engrailed. The bordures are marks of difference, not of illegitimacy, as became more common in later times.

We thus learn that the Rector was a member of the Brocas family, closely allied with the Beaurepaire branch which had become the heads of the House in England, and whose arms support his own on either side; and that he had also formed a distinct House of his own, as shown by the plain bordure. This would correspond with the relationship which has been here attributed to him; nor could it be expected that the family of the Rector, celibate by profession since taking Orders, would impale the Sydney arms with his on a monument of this distinctly ecclesiastical character. It would be interesting to know what arms were used by the Compton Brocases, but they do not appear either on monuments or seals. The seal of Oliver Brocas, half-brother to the elder Sir Bernard, exhibits the Brocas lion plain, and as he was at this time a person of some importance, the fifth place may have been in honour of him, if not intended for the general symbol of the clan. The engrailed bordure of the lion in the dexter place might refer to the Kentish House of Brocas, formed by Sir Oliver and his son, which had now passed away, if, as is not improbable, that House had differenced its coat by way of distinction; but it is quite as likely that these were the arms of some branch of the French House, which was held in high respect by the English. Sir John had carried to England with him only the simple lion, for though we have nothing but a fragment of one of his seals to prove the fact, his son Oliver's seal is of itself sufficient proof. Light would no doubt have been thrown upon these minor points if there had been any arms emblazoned on the shields which ornament Sir Bernard's tomb in Westminster Abbey.

Having done due honour to one who was evidently regarded, like his cousin Sir Bernard, as a leader of his generation, and whose monument bears a striking resemblance to that in Westminster Abbey, erected at the same time, we shall not be detained long by his descendants.

Thomas Brocas, 'of the parish of Compton, Surrey,' is here, then, accepted as the son of Arnald Brocas, the Rector of Guildford and King's officer, by Alice Sydney. He is found engaged in 1388 in a dispute as to Hampshire property, in which Sir Bernard Brocas acts as a sort of umpire (*see* book vi. chap. ii. part ii.); is Member of Parliament for Guildford

in 1389, 1394, and 1403; and in the latter year becomes tenant of the Guildford property of the Brocases of Beaurepaire for twenty years (*ibid.*) That he was established thus early at Compton, and in a leading position, was probably due to the early death of his mother, which has itself been taken as probable on other grounds, and to her family having obtained possession of Loseley apparently in connection with the trusteeship of his father, in whose parish of St. Nicholas it was, and is still, included. Compton is adjacent to Loseley, and there we find Thomas Brocas settled some time before his father's death; there also his descendants remained for several generations.

The link between Thomas and another Arnald Brocas of Compton is supplied by the notice of John Brocas in the books of New College, who came up from Winchester, and was registered as a scholar under the designation 'of Compton, Surrey,' in 1397, became a Fellow in 1399, and vacated his Fellowship in 1402 (information from Dr. Sewell, Warden of New College). It is not so easy to find a place in the pedigree for another member of the family, Edward Brocas, a little senior to John, whose early career was almost exactly the same. He was entered at Winchester and New Colleges as 'of Southampton' county in the year 1395—'*Edwardus Brokays de com. Suth^n Winton diocesis admissus ante ingressum primum hujus Collegii recessit X die Octobris XIX Ric. II.*' (F. J. B.) Thus we see that he was one of the first of Wykeham's scholars, gathered together under masters before the College was ready to receive them. In the same year he is entered as a scholar of New College, but vacates his scholarship, for reasons not known, in the next year (information from Dr. Sewell). It is possible that there was some object in entering him under the county in which his relatives were leading people; and it is highly probable that he was really of Compton, Surrey, and an elder brother of John. We know of no one of the Beaurepaire branch who could have been his father, and it is not at all likely that Wykeham would have placed an illegitimate son amongst his first chosen band. It might, indeed, have been expected that some member of the family would receive the name of their royal patrons; but, except this youth whom we cannot identify, we have no Edward Brocas for several generations. No doubt the two youths enjoyed Wykeham's patronage in thus obtaining a place amongst his earliest scholars; for who more likely to do so than the relatives of his old friends of Windsor, Beaurepaire, and Guildford? Of them we hear nothing more; but the age of the second Arnald Brocas would fit in perfectly well with affiliation from John. This Arnald, again, like Edward and John Brocas, received his education at Winchester College. His notice of entry runs thus: '*Arnoldus Brokays de Compton Winton. dioces. admissus est mense Augusti 6 Hen. V.* (1418).' (F. J. B.) Of him we have two further notices. In 1431 he is found seised of the manor of Broadbridge in Sussex ('Castles of West Sussex,' by D. Cary-Elwes, p. 228), which, perhaps, came with his wife; and in 1441 he is Member of Parliament for the county of Surrey. The period of civil war is probably one factor in the obscurity which attends this line; but it ought to be possible to discover something more than this of the last of the many Arnald Brocases who appear in these pages. His dates and residence would fit in with the supposition that he was father of Benedict

Brocas; and we can now proceed to read the pedigree by the more certain light afforded in the Surrey County History.

Benedict is known by a deed in which he is found 'seised of Estbury' (a manor cut out of the larger one of Compton) in 1473–4 (Manning and Bray's 'Surrey'), and by a handsome monument in Compton Church to the memory of himself and his wife Cecilia, which once existed, and perhaps still exists, but cannot now be identified. The inscription was lost before 1800, which precludes us from connecting the loss with the 'restoration' of this interesting old church, an operation during which, as a rule, so little attention was in past times paid to these matters. Aubrey, in the previous century, reported the inscription (in his 'Surrey'), but made a note to the effect that the clerk produced 'a leathern scutcheon which *he thinks* came from this gravestone, bearing two lions couchant with a crescent for distinction.' The clerk only 'thought,' and no doubt wrongly; but Aubrey was not always on his guard.

We have also some light as to Benedict's descendants. The county historians have identified his children, Thomas, 'the last male heir of Brocas of Compton,' and Richard 'of Compton,' each of whom had one child only, a daughter, each of which daughters married, and of whom the son of one married the daughter of the other. Thus the Compton Brocases end in the Lushers of Shoelands in Puttenham, a family of some importance in Tudor times. Sir Nicholas Lusher is found there in 1594. A branch lived at Haslemere, and another at Thursley; and one of the family held Oxenford, near Peperharowe (Loseley MSS.)

From what point in this pedigree the London Brocases branched out we cannot tell, but the interesting will of Benedict Brocas in 1511, mentioning his brother Richard and his son John, would lead us to deduce him in the second or third generation from either the above John Brocas or his son Arnald. The recurrence of the name Benedict affords a strong presumption. The Compton estate being only large enough for the elder branch, it would seem that the junior settled in London and took to trade.

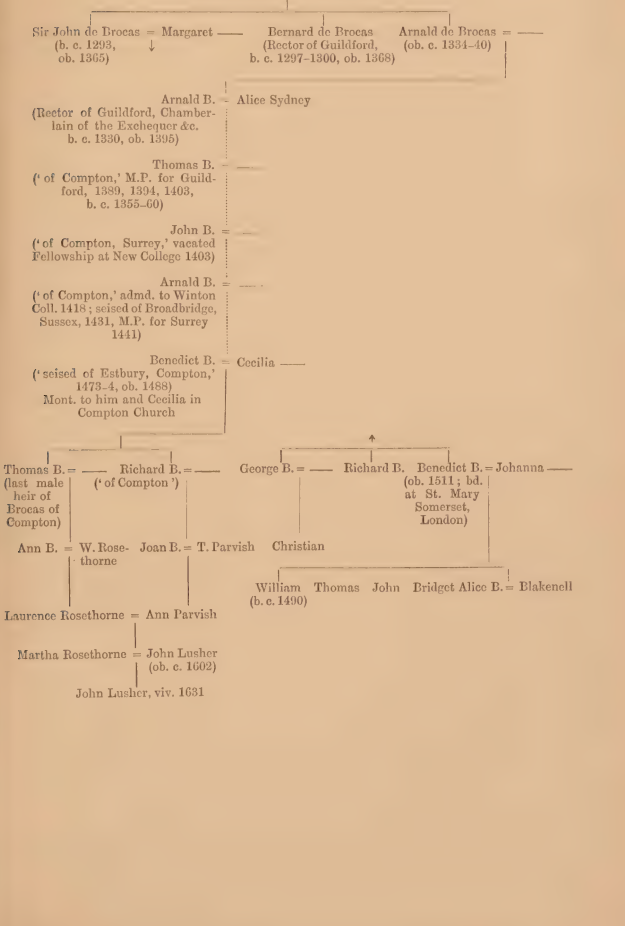
Benedict Brocas, of London, grew rich during the prosperous reign of Henry VII. His will introduces us to a little world of citizen life. In 1511, when he died, his eldest son, William, was only just of age, and one of his daughters is married. He is mindful of a whole troop of near relations, wife, children, brothers, as well as servants, as also of his niece Christian, daughter of his brother George, who is to have 20 marks, 'so that she devoutly pray for my soule.' His body is to be buried on the south side of the new chapel in St. Mary Somerset, in London, 'nere unto the wyndowe there which I newe caused to be made, if I happen to dye in London.' . . . 'Ten torches and four tapers to breme about my herse,' as well on the day of the funeral as on the day of 'my moneth's mynd,' 'to be holden in the hands of xx poure men,' and 'x^s^' to the High Aulter for forgotten tythes,' &c.; with similar gifts for 'forgotten tythes' to the High Aulter of All Hallowes in Tottenham, and the church of Our Lady of Aldermary, London. He leaves 10*l.* to each of his sons, as well as to his daughter 'Brygett, on condition she be ruled and maryd by the advice and counsel of my executors.' Amongst other legacies he leaves to George Brocas, his brother, his 'gowne of blake, furred with foynes, and a doblet of blake saten of his were;' to his

brother Richard his 'blake gowne furred with blake bowgie, and his doblet of tawny saten;' to Robert Blakenell, his son-in-law, 'his blake gowne furred with couze, and his doblet of violet saten;' to 'Edward Courtman, of Tottenham, yeoman,' his 'gowne of medley furred with cat;' 'to every one of three Brethrede founded in the parish church of St. Mary Somerset, vi^{s} viii^{d}.' His executors are to 'kepe and performe on the day on which he dies a yerely anniversary, or obit by note, for his soul, his wife's soul, and all Christian souls'—to be provided out of lands in Tottenham, which are to be sold, as well as his tenement called the 'Bell,' in Long Lane end without Aldersgate. In that church was to be seen the inscription, 'Pray for the soul of Bennet Brocas, gentleman, who dyed the 11th of Feuvrier, A.D. 1511. Cujus anime prop' Deus. Amen.' (Maitland's 'Hist. of London,' p. 459.)

We have no means of tracing this good man's family any further, and have no grounds for connecting another London citizen of the name at a much later date, with his stock. In 1716, Richard Brocas, of All Saints' parish, Bread Street, son of the Rev. Richard Brocas, of Corhampton, Hants, married Phœbe Heneage, of St. Andrew's, Holborn. This gentleman, belonging to the Grocers' Company, we identify with Sir Richard Brocas, Lord Mayor of London in 1730. Before that great functionary Dr. John Middleton preaches, on Restoration Day, a strongly monarchical and High Church sermon of the Queen Anne Tory type, which he dedicates to his lordship, in full confidence that he shares the preacher's principles. (See copy in Bodleian Library.) When Sir Richard dies (Nov. 7, 1737) he is described as a 'gentleman of strict integrity,' and Dame Phœbe, his widow, receives an annuity of 100*l.* from the Court of Aldermen, her husband having 'expended most part of his fortune in support of the honour and dignity of this City in discharge of the great offices of Lord Mayor and Sheriff of this City, and had many losses in trade.' (Extract from City Records, procured by the kindness of Mr. J. W. Watson.)

It is impossible that this Lord Mayor could be one of the Brocas Huguenot refugees (of whom there is a separate notice in Book V.), for they could not by that time have established such a position in London; nor does the name 'Richard' occur amongst them. In the absence of proof we may make an almost certain guess that the Rev. Richard Brocas was the son of Richard Brocas, sixth son of Thomas Brocas of Beaurepaire, and of Elizabeth, Richard's wife. This Richard, surviving the Restoration, was much concerned, along with his brother Oliver, in settling the family estates, and seems to have recovered the Broxhead property for his life. He was living at St. Andrew's, Holborn, in 1663, and his wife signs a receipt for a payment in 1679 from Sir William and Lady Gardiner. The Corhampton clergyman, who died in 1695 (inf. from the Rev. H. R. Fleming), may well have been their son, and the Lord Mayor, who seems to have died *s.p.*, their grandson.

APPROXIMATE PEDIGREE OF BROCAS OF COMPTON, SURREY.



BOOK IV.

THE CHIEFS OF THE FAMILY IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

CHAPTER I.

THE PEXSALLS OF BEAUREPAIRE AND THE CONTEMPORARY BROCASES OF HORTON.

When William Brocas (3) was making his last will, in which he desires to be buried in the chapel of 'my auncestor's foundation,' it must have been painful to him to reflect that the family whose past history he so much valued was about to be represented by two little girls; nor was it consolatory to remember that, being king's wards, they might be at the mercy of the all-grasping Henry VII. He did his best to remedy this ever-recurring evil of the feudal system by leaving all his estates to the wife whom he could trust, and, as he could not trust his own next brother, Edward, appointing her brother an overseer of his will. He was, as a tenant *in capite*, not free to act as his kinsman, John Brocas of Horton, acted a dozen years later. Leaving behind him an only son just two years old, this John sold the infant's wardship and marriage to Richard Ruthall, of Moulshoe in Bucks, for 100*l.*, in order that when he grew to man's estate he might marry one of Ruthall's daughters,[1] which, as a matter of fact, he did. The youthful coheiresses of Beaurepaire were not treated with anything like so much consideration. The Ruthalls were landed proprietors in the neighbourhood, of considerable position, and no doubt friends of the Brocas family. The wardship and marriage of the two little girls were sold to four persons, who, to the best of our knowledge, were absolute strangers—John Audeley, Sir John Audeley of Norfolk, Thomas Cobham, and Anthony Wingfield. In April 1510 these four

[1] Inq. p.m. 10 Hen. VIII. No. 64.

names are found in a list of debtors to the king for 'ward of Brocas,'[1] which they must have bought of Empson and Dudley in the later years of Henry VII. But on August 27 of that year there appears a fresh entry. The 'wardship of Anne and Edith, daughters and heirs of William Brocas,' is granted to the first person on the previous list, John Audeley.[2] It is evident that the other names—all of well-known people—had been added to his by way of security for payment of the money, and that he has now made his own terms. We naturally inquire, who was this John Audeley?

We may safely consider him a member of the well-known family of that name, whose interest had found him a place at Court, and thus put him in the way of picking up good things, such as these wardships. In 1516 he is on the list of 'Esquires extraordinary' to the king.[3] His connection with Hampshire seems to begin and end with the 'wardship of Brocas,' for his name has not been found in connection with that family at any previous time, nor, as far as we know, with any other in the county. While guardian, he and Mary, his wife, make a lease of Beaurepaire property,[4] and for the three succeeding years he appears on the Commissions of Array for the county;[5] but when the wards are married he disappears from the scene. He may be traced for the rest of his life in petty services to great people, not seldom quarrelling with others of the same sort as himself, each jostling the other in the struggle for existence. In the present day we should designate this person as an 'adventurer.' The year after he and Mary, his wife, made the grant above mentioned, he receives an annuity from the king for himself and a new wife, Elizabeth.[6]

And who bought the 'marriages' from John Audeley?—for, of course, it was a matter of buying and selling, and we should like to know the sums which he put into his pocket; but here we have no record. A certain Ralph Pexsall married Edith, the youngest child, and not long afterwards a certain George Warham married Anne, the eldest. As they drop upon us from the clouds we must put together all the traces we can find of these gentlemen, for the character and position of the former of them coloured the whole subsequent history of the family.

When her father died, Edith was, according to one Inquisition, eleven, according to another, ten, and to a third, eight years old. In 1512, therefore, when Pexsall married her, she must have been either seventeen, sixteen, or fourteen. Female wardship in knight-service ceased at sixteen, and, as Warham married the elder sister in the same year, we must take the lowest estimate of the girl's age as

[1] *Cal. of State Papers*, Brewer, vol. i.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. part i.
[3] *Cal. of State Papers, ut supra*, vol. i.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Book vi. chap. ii. part ii.
[6] *Ibid.*

nearest the mark. Edith may have been about fifteen when, on July 16, 1512, she received permission to enter on the family property, with her husband and sister. On that day license is granted to 'Anne, Ralph Pexsall, and Edith his wife, daughters and heirs of William, Brocas, to enter upon the manor of Weldon, Northamptonshire, and on the office of keeping the King's Buckhounds held by the said William.'[1]

On Michaelmas Day, 1512, as we ascertain from a copy amongst the Brocas papers of a joint petition to the Crown for arrears of salary from the two husbands and their wives, George Warham was already the husband of Anne Brocas. On December 16, 1514, he was a widower. In a record of 'Livery' of that date we find the following: 'For Ralph Pexsall and Edith his wife,—Livery:—the said Edith being sister and heir of Anne, late wife of George Warham, daughters and heirs of William, son of John Brocas, of the manor of Parva Weldon, called Hunter's Manor, Northampton, and the purparty of the said Anne, of the manor and other premises in Weldon, of the office of Keeper of the King's Buckhounds and the profits thereof; and of all possessions held to the use of the said Anne and Edith, and their heirs.'[2] Thus Anne lived only two years after marriage. She bore her husband no children. Edith lived till 1517, dying at about the age of twenty, as her sister had at about the age of eighteen. She bore her husband two children, the second of whom, Richard, perpetuated the family.

These early deaths, this rapid ebbing away of the old blood of Brocas of Beaurepaire, might of course have happened in the natural course of things; but it is peculiarly melancholy when taken in connection with the tender age of these girls, and their marriage to persons who had, as far as we can judge, no claim to aspire to their hands beyond the money and the interest which they were able to use with the guardian who had bought his right to dispose of them.

The only notice we find of Ralph Pexsall previous to the marriage is in a paper, amongst the Brocas deeds, which professes to be an extract from the Court Roll of the manor of North Farcham, dated September 1506.[3] Here he appears, two months after the death of William Brocas (3), as tenant of a messuage, a half-virgate of land, and two crofts in that manor. This was not the manor house, and could only have been some small tenement corresponding with the holding. Nothing can be discovered about his family, but he is styled 'Armiger' at and after his marriage; and, though we can trace persons of some position who were probably his brothers, it has not yet been found possible to identify them with any property in any county. We

[1] *Lit. Pat.* 4 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 27.
[2] *Ibid.* 6 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 21.
[3] The Court Roll itself is not in the Brocas chest.

could gather nothing, therefore, from the above notice beyond the fact that, soon after the death of the last male head of the Brocas family, an obscure gentleman is found living on a humble property in one of the estates which had passed under the guardianship of the king in his Court of Chancery. It is in that Court, however, that we shall find the key.

From 1502 to 1515 Archbishop Warham was Chancellor of England, and in the latter year was succeeded by Wolsey, who held it till 1529. George Warham was nephew of the first, Ralph Pexsall an 'old servant,' in 1528, of the second. In 1522 we find Pexsall Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, and it is reasonable to suppose that he did not leap to that office all at once. The 'old servant' had been there long before, long before Wolsey came there—we can hardly doubt, in the time of Warham; for, as early as 1512, we not only have to account for his success in obtaining the Brocas 'marriage,' but for some very powerful interest which helped him over no ordinary difficulty, and we connect George Warham with the same interest, though it was applied first in the case of Pexsall. The difficulty to be surmounted was this. The Mastership of the Buckhounds, though it had been transmitted through females in early times, had been limited to male heirs by the Parliament of 27 Henry VI. Some one or other, by a mere stroke of the pen, now opened the office again to females, for Ralph Pexsall and George Warham inherit by right of their wives. There were plenty of people to object. Edward Brocas, the elder uncle of the co-heirs, went so far as to invoke the aid of the law in his own favour, as nearest male heir; but all objections are overruled. The king, though learning already to be the clever man of business he became, was too young to have had much to do with the matter. We rather look to Warham or Wolsey. The latter was already rising rapidly to power, and Warham's nephew was more or less directly concerned in the arrangement.

There is a suggestive endorsement upon the grant of the Brocas wardship to John Audeley in 1510, viz. 'George Warham, Brocas.' As it may have been written at a later date than the grant, we must not attach too much importance to it; but, supposing that it was written at the time, it must have been by some clerk who knew, two years previously to the marriage, that Audeley had already disposed of his elder ward to Warham. Could it be George himself, and was he a clerk in the Court of Chancery? Nothing is more likely; for there can be little doubt that he was the archbishop's nephew, the son of the owner of Oakley or Malshanger, the same who (according to Mr. Steinman) became afterwards Sir George Warham. The good archbishop has never been cleared from a charge of a somewhat too great regard for the welfare of his relatives; nor can we altogether blame him if he was instrumental in arranging this profitable alliance.

Their family was indeed a new one in Hampshire,[1] but they had a fine house not very far from Steventon, one of the Brocas estates.

The affair, in short, might have turned out worse for the young co-heiresses; but we may sum up the above proceedings with the remark that Audeley, Pexsall, and Warham were either Government officials, or persons connected with the Government, who made use, after the custom of the times, of the sort of opportunity which was frequently occurring to enrich themselves by royal wardships, thus dipping their hands into the pockets of private families with which they had no connection, in the manner so touchingly described in the reign of Elizabeth by Sir Thomas Smith,[2] one of the sufferers. The system became wholly intolerable under the Stuarts.

We must now track, by the dim lights we possess, the career of the new head of the House of Brocas, first quoting his own account of the way in which the connection was brought about, as we find it inscribed on the brass which he placed, we know not at what date, in the Brocas chapel at Sherborne St. John. On this brass William, his father-in-law, is depicted in armour, kneeling, with a label issuing from his mouth inscribed, 'O blessed Trinite, have mercy upon me.' Underneath we read as follows:

Pray for y^e^ soule of William Brocas of Beaurepaire, Esquire, buryed in this chappell, whiche decessyde the vii daye of July y^e^ xxi yere of the reign of King Henry the VII., having to his heyres two daughters, v. Anne and Edith, which Anne was marryd and dyed without issue, and the said Edith toke to husband Rauf Pexsall, Esquire, which Rauf and Edith had issue two sonnes, John Pexsall decessed, and Richard Pexsall ycte leyving, soole heyre to the said Edith, which Rauff caused ys remembraunce to be made at his coste, whose soule Jesu pardon.

In what sense Edith 'toke to husband' Rauff Pexsall must be interpreted in the light of the preceding narrative. He did not long remain a widower, for in 1520 he became Sheriff of Devon, and,

[1] 'It has,' says Mr. Steinman, 'been always stated by the biographers of Archbishop Warham that he was descended of an ancient family; but, as the pedigrees inserted by its members in the various Heraldic Visitations have in no one single instance been carried higher than his father, we may safely esteem that assertion to be unfounded' (*Collectanea Topographica* &c. vol. iii. p. 7). The absence of the name from county offices, as well as from the signatures of Brocas deeds, confirms the statement. What portion of the Brocas lands this George Warham carried off cannot now be ascertained; but, a century later, 'Mr. Warham's house' finds a place on the plan of Beaurepaire. This house, on the border of the park, must have had something to do with the husband of Anne Brocas, for we never hear of the family again; and it is probable that it would not have retained the title, or been occupied by some descendant, whichever it was, unless some portion of the estate had come to the Warhams. It remains to observe that George is not mentioned in the archbishop's will. William, another nephew, is mentioned; and this last was probably the person commissioned by Queen Mary, along with Sir Richard Wallop, to report on Sir Richard Pexsall's case (book vi. chap. i.)

[2] *Commonwealth of England.*

as he possessed no land of his own in that county, could only have qualified for the office by the estate he held in right of his second wife, Joan Fulford. She was the widow of William Fulford, late head of the great Devon family of that name, and co-heiress of John Bonville of Combe Raleigh. As she was probably a 'king's widow,' the same interest which had already given one 'marriage' would be available for another. Till John Fulford, Joan's son, afterwards Sir John Fulford, came of age, Pexsall represented his estates; and a 'servant' of Wolsey's in such a position was a natural person to apply for, and obtain, a county office, which in ordinary cases would not fall to the lot of one who had no Devon property in his own right. It does not appear that he had any children by Joan Fulford; nor by his third wife, Ann, daughter of Richard Fitzwilliam, of Laughton, in Yorkshire, and brother to Sir E. Fitzwilliam of Aldworth.[1] We can now understand how it is that we never hear of Pexsall in Devon during the later part of his career, nor, indeed, in any other county but Hampshire. It is in the latter county that he had become a landed proprietor; there he becomes, in 1532, sheriff and magistrate, probably also a member of Parliament,[2] and there is his sole monument.

These high county offices and distinguished marriages seem to have been by no means inconsistent with a humble post in the Chancellor's Court, for we have seen that it was not till 1522[3] that Pexsall is advanced, as a reward for official service, to the office of 'Clerk of the Crown in Chancery,' with a salary of 20*l.* a year, which was eked out, however, by fees. Thus in 1525 'Master Pexsall' has a fee of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for making out some patents of nobility,[4] and he had a little previously picked up a corrody (or pension) in Thetford monastery. In 1528 he aspires to, but fails to obtain, the high office of Under Treasurer of England, just vacated by the death of Sir William Compton, and invokes the help of his neighbour, Lord Sandys, Henry's Chamberlain. That nobleman presses it on Wolsey in an interesting letter, on the ground of Pexsall being an 'old servant' of the cardinal, and excuses his importunity on the strength of the 'old saying, "Where a man best loveth, there he dare be boldest."'[5] The footing of the great minister was not, however, firm enough at this moment to allow him to lift his follower any higher. The next year he is disgraced. Previous to that disgrace Pexsall had been one of the nine hundred persons who attended the cardinal on his splendid embassy to France; for the quasi-king must have the king's officials in his train.[6] It may be hoped that it was painful to the Clerk of the Crown to be officially present, as we find he was, when his old patron, now falling headlong from his dizzy height, appeared

[1] Harleian Misc. Hants Vis. 1544.

[2] Most of the Returns of Henry VIII.'s Parliaments are lost.

[3] *Cal. of State Papers*, vol. iii. part ii. [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.* vol. iv. part i. *Ibid.*

before the enraged and disappointed despot with the surrender of the Great Seal. On November 24 of that year the dying statesman just reaches Leicester Abbey alive, and, murmuring 'Father Abbot, I am come hither to lay my bones amongst you,' is received by that abbot into his arms with all sympathy and affection. His name was Richard Pexsall. This we may well believe to be Ralph's brother, though on the slender ground that their careers commenced together, and that Ralph's son was called Richard. It is at least probable, and their names are spelt exactly alike.[1] Holding his office from 1509 to 1533, the abbot succumbed to royal pressure without much resistance, and resigned at the latter date upon a pension. He had been no heedless observer of Henry's temper. If the two men were brothers, it is interesting to find the patron of one dying in the arms of the other; and, indeed, it is probable that Wolsey was the patron of both. There is no mention of this tie in the touching account of the last hours of Wolsey given by Cavendish, but it is quite possible that the broken heart may have made a last effort to retain its powers till the roof of one could be reached whom in happier times the dying man had called a friend and client. The circumstances of the case rather argue for the idea of an old friendship. The fallen and harassed favourite was not the safest person in the world for an abbot of that date to receive with every outward mark of affectionate respect.

Whoever else suffered by the fall of the minister, Ralph Pexsall, at any rate, if we may judge by the visit paid to Beaurepaire by Henry VIII. in 1531, was not one of them. In August of that year we find the following entry in the 'Privy Purse Expenses:' 'Item; the v. daye; Paid to the keeper of Baroper Park in rewarde, vis. viiid. Item; the vi. daye; Paid to a servant of Pexall in rewarde at Baroper Park, xxs.'[2] This, by the way, is the commonest form of the name of the place in the Tudor times, and later. The original form had come to be reckoned un-English, and we have it in

[1] Nichols, the celebrated historian of Leicestershire, could find no other clue to the abbot's family than that of Ralph Pexsall's name, and accordingly gives the Brocas pedigree in connection with Ralph's marriage to Edith of Beaurepaire (copying it, with its legends, from Le Neve) as the nearest approach to any account of the abbot. The earliest notice yet found of the name is in 1488 (*Materials for the Reign of Henry VII.*), when the death of Master Thomas Pexsall, a Fellow of King's Hall, Cambridge, releases a Fellow's room for the use of Lawrence Streone, one of the children of the king's chapel, who is 'greatly desirous to exercise his study and lernyng within the said Universitie for thencrease of vertue and cunnyng.' In the register of Bishop William Smith, of Lincoln, we find Master Thomas Pexsall, A.M., holding the Northamptonshire living of Ufford, on June 19, 1503; and there is another Fellow of King's Hall, Cambridge, of the same name, at about this date.

These isolated notices betoken a family of gentlemen whose origin we ought to be able to trace, but it has not yet been done. It may be here mentioned that the 's' came, after the time of Sir Richard Pexsall, to be dropped out of the name. The form 'Pecksall' is certainly corrupt, though it is found on the monument of Sir Richard.

[2] *Extracts &c.* by N. H. Nicholas, 1827.

numerous corrupt forms, such as Baraper, and Burroper. We should be glad to know the manner in which the owner received his sovereign. The wife of Ralph Pexsall—we do not know which of the two last—comes before us in the Princess Mary's 'Privy Purse Expenses' in 1537: 'Item; to Maistres Pexhall servaunte, iiis. iiiid. Item; given to Mr. Pexhall servaunte bringing partridges to my Lady's Grace, viiid.'[1] These visits must have eased the clerkly lord of Beaurepaire of some of the money he made by his office and marriages. But he had still some to spare.

Only two documents in the Brocas chest speak to us of the 'Clerk of the Crown.' On October 4, 1529, acting under the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Treasurer, Pexsall issued an official notice declaring what ports were prohibited from exporting grain and victuals, and what were allowed to export tin and lead. The original has been preserved among the Brocas papers, and is valuable both as bearing the almost unique signature of the third Duke of Norfolk, and as showing which were the chief English ports of that day. The two lists of ports are almost identical; and as the places are so different from what would have been expected at the present day, the names may be worth quoting. They are these: 'London, Bristoll, Brigewater, Boston, Novum Castellum super Tynam, Kyngston super Hull, Lenc Regis, Berwicke, Portesmouth, Southampton, Pole and Weymouth, Plymouth and Fowey, Exeter and Dartmouth, Quinque Portus.'

One deed alone of Ralph survives, a lease of Peperharowe, which is noticeable for the careful reservation of 'all maner of principall and hed fysshe taken from the waters there;' but, though the estates show so few marks of his hand, he repaid the honour of being 'toke to husband' by the young Edith by adding to them in a substantial way. In 1532 he acquired a fine property in Middlesex, of which the manor of Swacliff, or Swakeley, was the chief and central portion.[2] It only remains to notice the monument placed in Sherborne St. John church by Sir Richard Pexsall to the memory of his father and mother. It is a rather pompous sarcophagus, dividing the Brocas chapel from the church, on which lie the effigies of Ralph and Edith, life-size. He is in armour. The mutilated hands of both figures are raised in front, and each pair once carried a heart.

[1] *Extracts* &c. by Madden.

[2] This manor, with lands in Uxbridge, Great and Little Hillesden [Hillingdon], Hersies, Coppid Hall, Pynchester and Henham, all of which can still be identified, Pexsall obtained from Henry Bourchier, second and last Earl of Essex, whose daughter was his sole heir, and to whose family it had come on the attainder of Sir Richard Charlton in 1486. The manor house, superseded in 1688 by the present one, must have been a place of some pretensions, as Bernard Brocas gave up his ancestral place, Horton Hall, to make it the residence of his family. It was there that Sir Pexall Brocas was brought up: and the registers of the neighbouring church at Ickenham contain some information about that branch from 1574 to 1592. No Pexsalls are found on the register.

Every resource of heraldry is lavished on this monument, combining the coats of Brocas and Roches with that of Pexsall, a cross engrailed flory sable between four Cornish choughs proper. The inscription, like the monument, is not in the highest taste, but not worse perhaps than many others of the same sort:

Conditur hoc tumulo Radulphus nomine Pexsall
Armiger et simul hic conjugis ossa jacent
Edithe heredis nuper et pulcherrime prolis
Gulielmi armigeri Brocas Beaurepaire.

The year of Ralph's death is not known, but his son acts independently as early as 1542.[1] Thus he passes away, as he came, in obscurity. He introduces into the family a new element, that of the Court official, in some respects a revival of the old familiarity with the Court, but in a different sphere. The three Anglo-Gascon knights were personal friends and companions, in war and peace, of three monarchs. The Pexsall service savoured of the office and inkhorn. But when everyone who could secure a place was growing rich, when, under the general confusion of ideas, the old principles of life and action were undergoing a change and the new ones only slowly becoming practical, it was well for the Brocases that their estates fell into respectable hands. Certainly, from whatever cause, the son of Ralph and Edith raises the outward position of the family to a more considerable height than it had attained since the head of Sir Bernard Brocas fell at the feet of Henry IV.'s executioner.

Sir Richard Pexsall's career is more easily traceable by family papers than his father's, whose politic hand is plainly discernible in the son's marriage, as a young man, to the Lady Elinor Paulet. The pliable Marquis of Winchester had not, however, at that period risen to his full height, though he was fast rising, and had just been made a peer (1539). He had twice, as plain William Paulet, taken his turn as Sheriff of Hampshire, before Ralph held the office, and his father and grandfather are frequently found as witnesses to Brocas deeds. Elinor was the youngest of his four daughters. Margaret, the next above her in age, by her marriage with Richard Waller, of Oldstoke, supplies us with an instance of the typical bitterness of family feuds. This may be disposed of at once.

Amongst the oldest estates brought by Mary de Roches to Sir Bernard Brocas was a piece of land called Brocas-mede, in Oldstoke (or Stoke Charity). This had been leased in 1505 by William Brocas (3) to

[1] In Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, under 'Peperharrow,' the presentation of a priest to the benefice in 1548 is said to be by Ralph Pexsall. This is quite inconsistent with Richard Pexsall's position, as shown by the deeds and by public documents. No satisfactory method of adjusting this difference has yet presented itself.

the Abbot and Convent of Hide for twenty-one years.[1] What had happened between this date and 1542 we know not, but Richard Waller conceived he had some claim on the land, which he proceeded to enforce by the most violent methods, destroying the hay and doing damage to the amount of 10*l*. Pexsall sued him in the Court of King's Bench, and obtained nearly the whole of the damages. Waller obstinately persists, but at the end of a year both parties submit to arbitration at the hands of Sir William Paulet, Lord St. John (their common father-in-law), and Edward Griffin, probably a cousin of the Brocases. The award is unreservedly in Pexsall's favour. The Wallers did indeed obtain the land at last, but they had to pay for it. Nineteen years later Sir Richard sells it for 100*l*. to William Waller, of the new generation.

This transaction tells in favour of Richard Pexsall, but the circumstances are suspiciously against him with respect to another lawsuit, of which we do not know the conclusion. It is in the first year of Mary's reign, and he is now a knight. Exercising what he believes to be his right in the Peperharowe estate, he ejects a tenant holding 'at will' in copyhold. The man resists on the ground that, though a tenant at will, he is a tenant in fee. The new tenant put in by the landlord uses violence, and the other can obtain no redress. He seems to have been hardly treated, and brings an action against the knight, who, when summoned before the Court of Chancery, pleads illness. A writ of inquiry is then issued in the name of the Queen, '*in terra ecclesie Ang. et Hib. supremum caput*,' to Sir Oliver Wallop and William Wareham, to take the deposition of the sick man and report to the Court.

Of this affair we hear no more, but when we do hear once again of Peperharowe, in the reign of Elizabeth, it is, curiously enough, the scene of still more outrageous violence—this time, perhaps by way of retribution, exercised against the knight and his tenants. Amongst the Loseley MSS. is the following letter:

To my lovinge coossen, Willyam More, Esquire, yeve this at Lowseley.

Right worshipfull coossen: I pray you think no unkyndnes in me that I had not seen yow yesterdaye according to my provyso. I have at this present such lasty busyness that I could not conveuyently come to yow at this tyme accordinge to your last communycation, as touching the vexinge and unquietinge of my poer tenants here by Bedon and his sonne [and] frends. Yow shall understande that they ceasse not to trouble them in such a wrongfull sort as the like about me hath not bene sene. For they violently entered into my manor, and there walketh with swords and bucklers, braggінge, sclaunderinge, and threatnynge both me and my tenaunts, and without any colour of right kepeth cesayn [seisin] of the landes belonginge to the parsonage, and taketh up the fences of the same,

[1] See book vi. chap. ii. part i. sect. ii.

and hath mayntayned an action against my tenaunts above by a pretensal appeale which was never the late parson's consent. The like example I think was never heretofore seen. And yesterdaye the said Bedon and Vynes, and one Hall, mysused the bearer hereof, some of them calling him vyllayn, some threatnynge hym, and the said Bedon hymself threatnynge hym that he would cause hym to weare fetters of iron, and putteth hym in such feare that he dare not abide uppon his [illegible]; wherefore I beseche yow here the complaynt of this poore man, and for justice sake pytie this extreme handlyng, wherby yow shall cause them to pray for yow, and wee also to be at your comandment, as knowing our lorde, to whom I remember yow. And thus with my hartie comendations unto yow, and my coossen your bedfellow, I bid yow most hartely well to fare.

From my house at Peperharowe this Tuesday morninge the xii Maye, 1562.

Your lovinge coossen,

Richard Pexsall.[1]

These vehement conflicts for what he believed to be his just rights exhibit the first heir of the united blood of Pexsall and Brocas as a resolute man, by no means disposed to allow his property to slip away from him. A fair specimen of the Tudor gentleman, he had been trained by his father in official habits, and at the opening of Queen Mary's reign held a place in her Household. How much earlier he had been taken up by the Court we do not know. We naturally desire to follow the course of such a man through the fluctuations of the Reformation, of which he saw the commencement and completion. The father, we may safely believe, followed the Henrician changes, much like the great mass of officials of that day; and as the son is found, in 1546, possessed of a portion of the property of Hyde Abbey, we may be sure that Ralph had, by some means or other, acquired it at the Dissolution. In August of the year named, Richard is found exchanging with 'the King's Majestie' this estate at Alton for another of about the same value. No reason is assigned. It is described as the manor of Alton Estbrook, in the county of Southampton, with lands, tenements, &c. which were 'late parcel of the possesshone of the late monastery of Hide,' and which, it may

[1] More's aid was invoked as the magistrate of the district. Some account of this active member of a family whose official position for several generations made Loseley Place the depository of such a valuable mass of letters and official documents, will be found in Kempe's 'Loseley MSS.' and the Seventh Report of the *Historical Manuscripts Commission*. He seems to have done his duty in sending at once for this Mr. Richard Bedon [or Bydon]; but there is a letter from that terrible personage amongst the collection, in which he excuses himself from attendance on the ground that he has just bought some land in Shackleford. Later letters show him to such great disadvantage that the presumption lies wholly in favour of Pexsall as to the justice of his complaint to More. The cousinly relationship here spoken of was between Pexsall and More's 'bedfellow,' as we find from Pexal Brocas' letters in the same collection, written when More had married again; for it is George More, the son of the first wife, whom he calls his kinsman. The lady was the daughter and co-heiress of Ralph Daniel, Esq., of Swaffham, Norfolk; but we can gain no further light as to the Pexsall family from this quarter.

be added, had been theirs before the Conquest. Richard now receives in exchange 'the scite, circuite, and precincte of the late prioric of Bradenstocke, in the co. of Wiltshire, with divers landes and tenements in Clacke in the said countie . . . and with certene cottages without landes in Clacke, amounting to the yearlie value of xxxiiis., lately belonging to the said monastery.'[1]

Whatever we may think as to the acquisition of such property, all antiquaries must be grateful to the Pexsalls for preserving what they now acquired. The beautiful wooden roof of the priory church will be found engraved in Parker's 'Rickman's Architecture.'[2] The estate remained in the family for about a century. Were the misfortunes of the House of Brocas due to the curse of the monks? No doubt it was so reckoned by the superstition of the succeeding age; but the burning of a Protestant, though imperfectly performed, ought surely to right the balance. It is quite possible that Mary and her advisers gratified a sense of poetical justice in making the proprietor of Bradenstoke Priory the executioner of Thomas Bembridge.

Before describing that horrible scene, we must observe that Pexsall betrayed the true Henrician spirit in appointing, this very year when he exchanged Alton for Bradenstoke, a chaplain to the Brocas chantry at Clewer, and this although the last chaplain had been ejected at the Dissolution (claiming a pension of 4*l.*), and though the Act for the Suppression of Chantries had passed in 1545.[3] He takes care, however, to nominate the private chaplain of the Bishop of Sarum, doubtless for a good reason: and his nominee was already Rector of Clewer. It was the last presentation recorded, or probably made. So merged the old into the new.

Pexsall would seem to have been knighted in the last year of Edward VI., which shows that he must have stood well with Northumberland's faction, as we might expect from the position held by the Marquis of Winchester; and it is equally evident that he stood well with Mary, since in her Letters Patent of May 23, 1554, granting his claim to the Mastership of the Royal Buckhounds and salary, she speaks of 'the good, true, and faithful service which her beloved serjeant [serviens] had before that time rendered her in many ways' [multipliciter]. We thus see that, as one of her Household, he had obtained her confidence, and no doubt signalised his loyalty at the

[1] *Harleian MSS.* 4316, p. 73, and 7389, p. 35. We learn from Dugdale's *Monasticon* that this property was valued, at the Dissolution in 1539, at 24*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.* At that time there were thirteen monks in the Priory. It was founded by Walter d'Evreux in 1139, but latterly the king was accounted patron and founder in right of the Duchy of Lancaster.

[2] P. 181.

[3] See Particulars for Grants, 35 Hen. VIII.: 'Possessions of the late Monastery of Southwick.' The stipend of the Clewer Chaplain was paid out of the rent of Hanyngton Manor, granted by Sir Bernard Brocas to Southwick Priory.

critical moment of Wyatt's insurrection, which had then only been recently crushed. His ruling motive had evidently been all along loyalty to the Tudor House. He had been brought up in it from childhood. It was the policy of his father and of his wife's father. We may well suspect that his leanings were to the old faith, but that did not prevent him from serving the office of Sheriff of Hampshire under Edward in 1551, and Elizabeth in 1566, as he did under Mary in 1558. Whether he had to punish Romanists under Protector Somerset, we know not; he certainly had to accept Mary's cruel policy, but, as we shall see, not altogether in her spirit. Like Winchester, Lord High Treasurer to all three of these Sovereigns in turn, he was prepared to perform his duties with apparent indifference to the part he might be called upon to take.

The victim of Mary and her advisers, on July 19, 1558, was a gentleman of good means in the diocese of Winchester, who had shown his zeal in opposing a Papist, and was brought up before White, Bishop of Winchester. His answers to certain questions are given by Foxe, who proceeds thus, the spelling being modernised:

He was condemned, and after brought to the place of martyrdom by the Sheriff, called Sir Richard Pecksal; where he, standing at the stake, began to untie his points and to prepare himself. Then he gave his gown to the keeper, being belike his fee. His jerkin was laid on with gold lace, fair and brave, which he gave to Sir Richard Pecksal, the High Sheriff. His cap of velvet he took off from his head and threw it away, saying, 'Ketch that ketch may!' Then lifting his mind to the Lord, he made his prayers. That done, being now fastened to the stake, Dr. Seaton willed him to recant, and he should have his pardon; unto whom he said, 'Away, Babylonian, away!' Then when they saw he would not yield, they bade the tormentors set on fire; and yet he was nothing like covered with faggots. First, the fire took away a piece of his beard, whereat he nothing shrank at all. Then it came on the other side, and took his legs; and the nether stockings of his hose being leather made the fire to pierce the sharper, so that the intolerable heat thereof made him to cry, 'I recant!' And suddenly therewith he thrust the fire from him; and having two or three of his friends by that wished his life, they stept to the fire, and holpe to take it from him also, who for their labour were sent to prison. The Sheriff also, of his own authority, took him from the stake, and sent him to prison again; for which he was sent unto the Fleet, and there lay a certain time. But before he was taken from the stake the said Seaton wrote articles to have him to subscribe unto them. . . . He subscribed to them on a man's back. That being done, he had his gown given to him again, and so was led to prison. Being in prison he . . . recanted those words he had spoke, unto which he had subscribed; for he was grieved that ever he did subscribe unto them. Whereupon, expressing his conscience, he was the same day seven-night after burnt indeed, where the vile tormentors did rather broil him than burn him. The Lord give his enemies repentance![1]

[1] Foxe's *Martyrs, sub anno.*

The entry in the Council Book of August 1, 1558, confirms Foxe's statement. 'The Queen thought it very strange that he [the Sheriff] had delayed the execution of the sentence against one Bembridge, condemned of heresy, because he had recanted, requiring him to execute it out of hand, and if he still continued in the Catholic faith, which he outwardly pretended, he was to suffer divines to have access to him, that he might die God's servant; and as soon as the Sheriff had burned him he was to come to the Council and answer for his presumption in delaying it so long.'[1] On this Burnet remarks: 'So that it now appeared that it was not so much the conversion of those they called "heretics" as their destruction that the Bishops desired.'[2]

It was something to have braved the anger of the fanatical Queen, and to have been rewarded for his merciful act by tasting the sweets of a Tudor prison; but though both Foxe and Burnet have given Pexsall's name, this interesting incident seems to have been hitherto consigned to oblivion in family records.

Do we read in the death of Lady Elinor Pexsall, within a few weeks of this transaction (September 26, 1558), another of the numerous instances recorded at this period of the wear and tear to which persons were subjected by the terrible conflict of political duty and religious conviction? Such a trial and such a danger as that to which Sir Richard was exposed may well have brought an anxious wife to the grave. Two months later the wretched Queen followed her. This was one of the last of the terrible series of murders in the name of religion which have made her memory and that of her counsellors infamous.

As to the Brocas estates, while there is evidence of the care taken of them by both Ralph and Richard Pexsall, the son does not seem to have added to the stock as the father had done. On the other hand, we distinguish his tenure by the large sums of money spent on building or rebuilding the family mansions, and by the sacrifice of three of the oldest estates, apparently for this purpose. Bromley, Dorset, disappears under his headship; so also, as we have seen, does the estate at Stoke Charity; so also the manor of Wickley, in Northamptonshire, which was sold to Sir Edward Montagu in 1543–4. Sir Richard had drunk of the Elizabethan wells, and was no bad type of that wealthy and creative age. Towards the end of his life he applies himself to raise up yet one more of those beautiful Tudor mansions which still remain, with our Norman and Plantagenet cathedrals, the chief glory of England. The old Brocas manor-houses were all coming to an end. Beaurepaire was perhaps the best of them. Judging from the sketch of it in the plan of 1613—which should not, however, be relied upon too much, since The Vyne, a very fine place at that time, makes but a poor appearance—the chief mansion of the family was not by

[1] Quoted in Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 365 (edition of 1681).
[2] *Ibid.*

Steventon Manor House, built early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Sir Richard Pexsall

From a recent photograph

any means a house of the first rank, and indeed little beyond a comfortable old-fashioned manor-house. Sir Richard preferred to rebuild Steventon, which had hitherto been the second or third of the family seats, and to make it the first, leaving Beaurepaire as a dower-house. Such, indeed, it became for two generations, when it must have suffered, during the Great Rebellion, no slight injury. It was often deserted during the subsequent century, and finally demolished and rebuilt, as we now find it, in the reign of George II. or early in the reign of George III.[1]

The site of Steventon might well be preferred to that of Beaurepaire. It was on a rising ground, with an extended view, and there was no occasion for a defensive moat. Sir Richard intended to erect here a grand house, of which he only lived to build one wing, leaving the work to be completed by his widow, but she evidently did nothing of the sort. Though, however, unfinished, it became, as he intended, the chief seat of the family for some years, which during that time styled themselves 'of Steventon.'[2]

It is by no means unlikely that Sir Richard or his father also rebuilt Roche Court, which is certainly, as we now find it, not the ancient building of the De Roches; but it is quite possible that the old hall occupied the site of the Tudor portion, which was now built into the ancient 'solarium,' the latter remaining substantially to the present day as it was in the most ancient times, but a good deal 'Tudorised,' if we may use the word. This is the portion facing east, with the northern gable. We now hear of it pretty frequently as a dower-house, and one of Sir Richard's daughters, Margaret Cotton, died there in 1581.

The Lady Elinor Paulet brought her husband no sons, but four daughters. The second wife, Eleanor Cotgrave, of a Cheshire family, brought him no children at all. This lady plays an important part in the family history. We need only mention here that she buried Sir Richard in Westminster Abbey, but how that came to pass does not appear. The authorities, however, recognising his descent from Sir Bernard Brocas, allowed his monument to be placed close to that of Sir Bernard in St. Edmund's Chapel, and it is still in such good preservation that it need not be described nor the inscription quoted.

[1] Gough and other writers have fixed the date of the modern Beaurepaire to about the middle of the last century. The present description on the back of Sir Bernard Brocas' monument was 'put up,' says Gough (*Sepulchral Monuments*, 1786), 'by Mr. Brocas of Hampshire, his lineal descendant, who pulled down his mansion at Beaurepaire.' See also the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1787, p. 683. The Mr. Brocas referred to died in 1777.

[2] To all English-speaking people Steventon must ever be venerable as the home of Jane Austen, whose father and brother were successively rectors of the parish. It was not her wont to draw romantic inspiration from the past; but if she had known the history with which those familiar localities had been connected, some stray allusions to it might have been expected in her classic works.

The marriages of the daughters will come before us in connection with their father's will, which offers some interesting points for consideration. They all took place before his death: that of the eldest daughter, Anne, with Bernard Brocas of Horton, at least ten years previously. According to a well-substantiated tradition, it was the result of a lawsuit instituted by Bernard's father, for the possession of the Mastership of the Buckhounds and others of the Beaurepaire properties. The two branches of the old family were thus united: but before we trace the miserable career of Sir Pexal Brocas, the fruit of this union, we must briefly sketch the history of his ancestors on the paternal side, from the time when we left a former Bernard Brocas of Horton buried in Eddlesborough Church, and noticed the ecclesiastical character of his will.

The Dunstable connection, formed through that Bernard's marriage with the Bedfordshire heiress, reproduced itself in the case of Anne Morell's eldest son, John Brocas, who found a wife in the same town. Her name also was Anne, daughter of William Marchall, 'of the place of the Black Friars,' and she bore her husband two children—Robert, whose wardship and marriage have been already noticed, and Mary, who married William Hawtrey, a gentleman of Bucks, whose place was called Chakers, or Chequers.[1] The second son of John and Anne Brocas is styled 'German Brocas of Dunstable,' of whom we hear no more. He no doubt carried off a portion of his mother's inheritance, for as to that, also, we have no information, or very little, in subsequent generations.

The trustees of the young Robert Brocas who was destined from birth for Robert Ruthall's daughter, were Sir Thomas Bryan and Sir Robert Brudenell; and as the mother and grandmother of the infant both survived his young father, he at least grew up under his natural protectors, and became a person of more importance than his predecessors at Horton. We have no means of accurately tracing the rise of his position in the county of Bucks, but he certainly made a considerable advance on the old condition of the family, sharing in the growing prosperity of the rural districts, perhaps by the inclosure of uncultivated lands which was rapidly proceeding, perhaps by the agency of the Ruthalls of Moulshoe, one of whom, his wife's uncle, was Bishop of Durham and Secretary of State to Henry VIII. We thus find him rich enough to purchase the valuable manor of Little Brickhill[2] (so corrupted from the old form 'Brichelle'), with various

[1] Sir William Hawtrey, Knight, the issue of this marriage, was the last male of the family (see Berry's Genealogies, Bucks).

[2] 'Little Brickhill, Boreton, and Esington, and the Borough of Buckingham, and the markets, courtleets, goods of felons &c. thereto belonging, came to the Crown by the attainder of Edward, Duke of Buckingham, 13 Hen. VIII. The Inq. on William Carey, October 29, 1529, who had a grant of them (he was a brother of Anne Boleyn), shows that he died seized of them, and had a son Henry Carey, aged two years. This Henry

lands and tenements there, from Henry Carey, afterwards Lord Hunsdon, nephew of Anne Boleyn, who in that year obtained leave to alienc from Edward VI. This property was so considerable that Thomas Brocas sold it in 1631 to Alderman Abdy for 10,400*l*. It possessed, no doubt, a reasonably good house, situate about a mile and a half from the village; for Thomas's father, Sir Pexal Brocas, lived there and was styled 'of Little Brickhill.' No traces of it now remain, nor is the name of the family to be found in the register. About the same time (December 6, 1552) Robert purchased from the same Henry Carey a more interesting if less valuable property, viz. the manors of Buckingham, Bourton, and Esington, as well as the Borough of Buckingham, and the 'markets, courtleets, goods of felons &c. thereto belonging,' and at his death we also find him holding, not only an estate in Dagnall, but the manor. The purchase of Buckingham led to Robert's son, Bernard, becoming Member of Parliament for the borough in 1557, the year of his father's death. To him reverted all the manors which had at different times supplied the maintenance of the females of the family.

It may here be remarked as a curious coincidence that the same family should, at an interval of two centuries, have supplied the last link between mediæval and modern times for two ancient boroughs. The 'approved men' of Guildford succeeded Sir John Brocas as independent masters (under the king) of their own property in 1365; the Corporation of Buckingham, in 1572, succeeded Bernard Brocas of Horton in the ownership of their town.

This increased consideration in their county seems to have led to a resolution on the part of the Horton branch to prevent the Beaurepaire estates and Mastership of the Buckhounds from going out of the family with Sir Richard Pexsall's daughters. They must have watched with anxiety and distress, during the time of their growing prosperity, the disappearance of the family name at the family

sold them to Robert Brocas in 1553; and, at Robert Brocas' Inq., he, dying August 6, 1557, was found seized of Horton manor in Edlesborough, and Slapton, Chedington, Little Brickhill, Buckingham, and Boreton manors, and the Borough of Buckingham; Bernard, his son and heir, being twenty-one years old. [The Inq., it may be added, details the estates in Cheddington held by Robert, some portions of which were held of Martyn College, Oxford, and in Dagnall, Ivyngho, &c.] Bernard aliening his possessions, October 18, 1574, as I am informed, passed away his manor of Buckingham, together with tolls &c. of markets and fairs to the Corporation of Buckingham, by a lease made "for 999 years and yet for to come," as the words of the lease, as I am told, express; reserving to himself and his heirs only a quit-rent of 40*s*. out of it, payable by the Corporation of Bucks; which said rent being purchased by the ancient family of the Temples, lords of the adjacent parish of Stow-Langport, the same is now [1735] vested in Sir Richard Temple, Bart., created Viscount Cobham, and is accordingly held of him on the said payment by the Corporation under Brocas' grant, who died March 21, 1589, possessed only of Little Brickhill, as the Inq. sets forth.' (*History of Buckingham*, by Browne Willis, p. 27.) This was the ancestor of the present Dukes of Buckingham.

place, and regarded with an eye askance these new men, the Pexsalls, who had risen through official channels to the headship of a House which cherished so many proud recollections. There is no other reason to doubt the tradition that Sir Richard Pexsall was forced by a lawsuit for the Mastership and estates to marry his eldest daughter to the eldest son of Robert Brocas of Horton, and settle his estates on their issue, except that one cannot discover any grounds for such a suit.[1] In a previous generation Edward Brocas had been defeated in his claim as nearest male heir; what likelihood was there of success on a second and far less favourable occasion? The two branches had now been separated for many generations. Bernard Brocas was fifth in descent from the attainted knight, Anne Pexsall seventh. We have no grounds for speculation as to the influences which prevailed on Sir Richard to accept the compromise, but we may charitably hope, and indeed have some reason to believe, that there was nothing disagreeable in it to the parties chiefly concerned. Remembering the character and high position of the lady's grandfather, the old Marquis of Winchester, we are at no loss for a guess as to the quarter from whence the idea of a compromise would be supported, nor would Queen Elizabeth herself be above interposing with a timely word in such a delicate affair, occurring within the precincts of her Court.

The marriage between Bernard Brocas of Horton and Anne Pexsall must have taken place at least as early as 1562, probably a little earlier. It ushers in for the family the period of Queen Elizabeth and the Stuarts, by far the worst for its fortunes that it had yet witnessed. The union of the two branches appeared no doubt a very legitimate and desirable object to pursue—a goodly fruit to the eye. It turned out a bitter apple to the taste. If its promoters could have foreseen the disappointment, misery, and general collapse which were to spring out of this root, they would have hesitated. One cannot but also observe that the Horton branch, though not at the head of the House, or within the circle of the Court, was in a very satisfactory condition. To judge by the family alliances already contracted in the sixteenth century, they were in a fair way to transmit to their descendants a far superior position to that which they actually attained by the union of the kindred Houses in the reign of Elizabeth. This is, however, to be 'wise after the event.'

NOTE ON THE CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN OF ROBERT BROCAS OF HORTON.

Robert Brocas had by Dorothy Ruthall, besides Bernard, his heir, who married Anne Pexsall, a son and two daughters. William, the son, married Elizabeth Dexter, the heiress of Thedingworth, in Leicestershire, and Frances,

[1] See the note on deed 490 in book vi. Bernard Brocas of Horton was a 'Fellow' of the Inner Temple.

the only daughter who married, finds a husband in Sir John Bale, of Carlton Curlew, the head of a family of some importance in that county. She died at the age of eighty, almost living to see her descendant in the fourth generation, the loyal Sir John Bale, receive from Charles I. a baronetcy for his services.

The Thedingworth estate, possessed by William Brocas in right of his wife, and situated about nine miles from Lutterworth, included along with the manor certain abbey lands and impropriations. A further portion which did not come with the heiress was purchased in 1575; and the whole of the estate descended to the four co-heiresses who, at their mother's death in 1604, represented this junior line of the Horton branch. Three of these, Elizabeth, Mary, and Frances, have left behind them some tokens of personality.

Elizabeth Brocas became the wife of the famous Sir Robert Cotton, the most useful, if not the most celebrated, of all our English antiquaries. This remarkable man was of the ancient family settled at Conington in Huntingdonshire, being fifth in descent from Sir William Cotton, who fell at the second battle of St. Albans. A window in Thedingworth Church is mentioned by Nichols, in which the Cotton coat of thirty quarterings was to be seen, and amongst them the arms of Brocas and Roches, brought to Sir Robert, with the fourth part of Thedingworth manor, by Elizabeth Brocas. We may figure to ourselves this lady aiding her enthusiastic partner in forming his magnificent collection of books and manuscripts, which, soon after the death of their last male descendant, Sir John Cotton, in 1752, became the foundation of the British Museum.

Mary's pecuniary adventures find their place in public documents, and demand our sympathy. She was unmarried, and decidedly not young, when, in 1617, she embarked her fortune, after a credulous fashion not unknown to moderns, in a well-puffed speculation. It was a sum of 1,000*l.*, probably the price of her share of Thedingworth; and she was attracted by the promise of eight per cent. by way of dividends. The 'Muscovy Company' were the plausible tempters, who, as it turned out, paid no interest at all, and were far from thinking of returning the principal. In despair of redress, Mary Brocas appealed to the House of Lords, and her petition found such favour that she obtained an order for summary payment. The difficulty lay in translating words into deeds. The money was not forthcoming, and petitions from this poor lady go up to the House every session till 1628 with wonderful regularity. It is quite possible that she gained her point at last, for in 1632 she employed some of her money in a fresh venture. This was the purchase of lands in Bucks from John, Earl of Peterborough, without having first received permission from the Crown. In the same year she obtains a pardon for the offence from Charles I., for which we may be sure she had to pay, for the king was already in the midst of the difficulties, financial and other, which culminated in the Great Rebellion.

Frances Brocas, the third daughter, had matrimonial experiences enough to make up for Mary's deficiencies, and ended by leaving behind her the finest Brocas monuments, if we except those of Sir Bernard and Arnald Brocas erected in 1396, now in existence. Her first and second husbands, Thomas Leigh and Edward Heselrigge (of Arthingworth, in Northampton-

shire), died while she was still young enough to have seven children by her third husband, Francis Staresmore, of Frolesworth, near Lutterworth. (Ins. on Staresmore's tomb.) The second husband, as well as the son whom Frances had by him, came to an untimely end, the first being killed in the streets of London in 1604, the second in a duel fought in London in 1630. The Thedingworth estate, or rather three parts of it, had come to these Heselrigges, their share having been increased by purchase from old Mrs. Brocas, the widow of William, in 1604. They passed with Frances Heselrigge, heir to her father and brother, to Sir Walter Chetwynd of Ingestre, and finally came to the Warwickshire Newdigates. The well-known Sir Arthur Haselrig of the Civil War was of this family.

Frances' last husband, Staresmore, afforded a home for her mother as well as for herself. Thedingworth had been turned into money, and the lord of Frolesworth was a great personage on his own estate. No expense was spared in the handsome tombs which mark their place of burial close to the Holy Table. She erected the monument of her husband; and at her own death, in 1657, one of the same sort was erected in memory of her. Fine recumbent figures adorn them both: that of Frances, in her shroud, is still perfect, carved out of a single block of alabaster. The following is the inscription upon her tomb: 'To the pretious memory of Mrs. Frances Staresmore, wife of Francis Staresmore, Esq., lord of this manor of Frolesworth, one of y^e^ daught^rs^ and co-heirs of William Brocas of Theddingworth in y^e^ county of Leicest^r^ Esq.; who departed this life the second day of June in the yeare of our Lord God, 1657. This monument was erected 1658. To me to live is Christ, to dye is gain.' Frances also placed an incised slab with handsome brasses, to the memory of her mother, in the sacrarium. This has been much mutilated; but it still bears marks of the sumptuous attire of old Mrs. Brocas of Thedingworth, who died in 1621. In the upper corner was the Brocas lion in a shield, with the words 'Insignia Brocasiorum.' At the feet were, apparently, the figures of the four daughters, only two of which remain (Nichols' 'Leicestershire,' and notes kindly sent to the writer by the Rev. W. G. Southwell, Rector of Frolesworth, 1885).

Two of the three nieces of these ladies, daughters of Bernard Brocas, last lord of Horton, also married in the neighbourhood of the Bucks and Bedfordshire estates, and may be mentioned in this note along with their aunts. Frances, the eldest, was married at Ickenham, in 1578, to Thomas Cheyne (or Cheney), of Bramblehanger (or Bramingham), Sundon, and Hayes in Bedfordshire, whose family was a branch of the Cheynes of Chenies, Bucks, from whom also descended the Lords Cheyne of Toddington. The son of this marriage, Sir Thomas Cheyne, married a daughter of the third Lord St. John of Bletsoe. A very interesting relic of the family is still to be seen at Great Bramingham farmhouse, near Luton—once, no doubt, the manor-house, or part of it—in the shape of a lofty chimney-piece, beautifully carved and adorned with statuettes and coats-of-arms. The dexter coat is Cheyne (chequée or and azure a fesse gules fretty ermine) quartering the Brocas lion: the sinister is Pexsall quartering Brocas and Roches, and impaling Cheyne and others.

Anne, the second sister, married Henry, son and heir of Christopher

Percy, of Manston, near Sturminster, Dorset, of a family which had been settled there, and at Shaftesbury, for some generations.

Mercy, the third sister, became the wife of Dr. Edmund Brockett, apparently a cadet of the old family of Brocket Hall in Hertfordshire, who came to be very closely connected with the affairs of the Brocas family, he and his son being successively trustees of their property during their time of trouble, and the latter becoming, eventually, the means of settling the young Thomas Brocas at Beaurepaire. We can hardly doubt that Dr. Brockett who, in 1611, is designated 'of Luton, Beds,' is identical with the Edmund Brockett whom we find Rector of Graveley, Herts, in 1613, and who was deprived by the Long Parliament in 1645. (Cussans' 'Hist. of Hertfordshire.') So stiff a Royalist would hardly have been so loyal a fellow-worker with old Thomas Brocas on the Brocas Trust unless the latter had been an equally pronounced Cavalier.

CHAPTER II.

SIR PEXALL BROCAS.

In order to understand the career of the miserable man who filled the headship of the Brocas family from the time when he came of age in 1585 till 1630, we must ask a moment's attention to Sir Richard Pexsall's will, and the family complications which grew out of it. The atmosphere of domestic dissension in which the youth passed his early life forms some sort of excuse for his delinquencies, and we are bound to try to understand how it was that the House of Beaurepaire came to produce its first disreputable chief.

The *bête noir* of the family, and not without reason, was Sir Richard's second wife, Elinor, already mentioned. To her influence we cannot but attribute the curious fact that so experienced an official as her husband should make out a will on his death-bed in her favour, in which the obvious legal rights of his four daughters by his first wife were put aside, and his property divided between his widow and grandson, leaving three of the said daughters provided for by substantial, indeed, but inadequate legacies, and omitting his eldest daughter altogether. If we were merely guided by the pious affection exhibited in the inscription placed by this lady on her husband's monument, we might hesitate to pass so harsh a judgment; but when we find her in marked, but not unprecedented, contrast to these sentiments, almost immediately marrying a second husband, and as immediately acquiring property which effectually excluded her former husband's family from their ancient family seat for half a century, we dismiss our scruples.

Sir Richard dies in 1571. He leaves the whole of his property, including the estate which carried the Mastership of the Buckhounds, to Dame Elinor, his wife, for thirteen years—i.e. till his grandson, Pexall Brocas, comes of age. She is also to have half his goods and chattels, including jewels. Further, if she remains unmarried, she is to have for life his estates in Wilts, and the majority of his estates in Hampshire. As his sole executrix she is to raise money to pay certain legacies, besides the capital legacies of 500*l.* apiece to each of his three daughters—Margery, Elizabeth, and Barbara—excluding Anne, the eldest, wife of Bernard Brocas of Horton.

This pair, in whom the branches of Brocas were united, are not mentioned in the will except as the parents of two boys, each named Pexall Brocas, to the elder of whom is granted the reversion of Elinor's estate, in tail male, with remainder to the younger, remainder over to Bernard's heirs male, if any, remainder over to the heirs male of each of the testator's three daughters already named, in succession, and finally to his right heirs. The elder of the youths is to have the other half of his goods &c. as soon as he comes of age. 'My cousin Briddeman,' and William Rice, Esquires, to be overseers of the will.

Not only is the special interest of Bernard and Anne Brocas and of their three daughters overlooked in this will, but Bernard is very specifically warned that if he or any other 'through him, for him, or by his means, at any time hereafter, molest, sue, disturb, trouble, or implead Dame Elinor,' his whole family would be *ipso facto* disinherited, and that of the next sister, Barbara, would take their place. In short, as nothing more is done for the Horton branch than the testator had been obliged to do, apparently by some compact, we have in this will evident traces of some such lawsuit as tradition has reported. Not even was the Mastership of the Buckhounds left to the father of the lad who was to have it when he came of age. It had come to Sir Richard's own father through a female; his widow should hold it after his death. To that widow's second husband, Sir John Savage, it came in her right. Anything rather than that it should be held by the man who had forced him to give his eldest daughter in marriage to a Brocas.

The interference of the law in favour of the daughters upset in a very great degree these elaborate arrangements of Sir Richard and his second spouse. How could he have forgotten that 'tenants in chivalry' were not free to alienate more than two-thirds of their lands from their legal heirs? These were in the present case his four daughters by the Lady Elinor Paulet. And how could he suppose that three of them or their husbands, to say nothing of their grandfather, the old Marquis, would be satisfied with 500*l.* apiece, and his eldest daughter and her husband with nothing, when they were each of them entitled by law to one-twelfth of the whole estate from the moment of his death? We are not surprised then to read, in a subsequent recital, that 'Sir Richard's will became void for a third part, which descended among his four daughters and co-heirs.' We may well be surprised that such a will was ever made; and as it was only signed the day before the testator's death, we are left to guess that his wife had no small share in the transaction. But it is even more remarkable that in the Inquisition held six months after death, there is not the least hint that the testator had transgressed the law in omitting to assign the third part to his heirs. The heirs themselves were far from being

slow to take action. Three days after Sir Richard's death, John[1] and Elizabeth Jobson mortgage their twelfth of the estates.

Next year this same couple part with their share for seven years to Dame Elinor and her husband, Sir John Savage, for 1,300*l.*, and soon afterwards dispose of it to them in fee for 500*l.* more, thus raising the total sum to 1,800*l.*[2] If we reckon this sum at as much above the true value as the sum paid for another twelfth part at the same time was below it, we may take the value of the whole estate in the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign at about 20,000*l.*, which must be multiplied by a great deal more than the difference in the current value of money to enable us to compare it with the value of land in modern times.[3]

[1] John Jobson, of Monkwith, Essex, was son and heir of Sir Francis Jobson, knight.

[2] This sum was in excess of that given a little later, 1572-3, by Bernard and Anne Brocas to Anthony and Barbara Brydges, for their similar share of one-twelfth of the estate. The latter were contented to receive 200*l.* in hand, and security for 1,400*l.* Thus the Savages, eager to establish the young Edward Savage at Beaurepaire, gave considerably more than the sum which Barbara Brydges and her husband received. Anthony Brydges, of West Shefford, Berks, was son and heir of Sir Richard Brydges and Jane Spencer, daughter of Sir William Spencer, of Wormleighton, ancestor of the Dukes of Marlborough. His uncle, Sir Giles Brydges, was ancestor of the Dukes of Chandos. (See Collins' Peerage.)

[3] Note upon the value of the Brocas Estates.—The deed (122) of Nov. 30, 1572, from which the transaction in the text has been quoted, affords a useful list of the estates held, at the time of his death, by Sir Richard Pexsall. They may be thus analysed. There are sixteen manors in all, and estates of various kinds in fifty principal places, of which thirty-four are over and above the said sixteen manors. They can all be identified at the present day. The details are as follows:

Ten manors in Hampshire, viz. Beaurepaire, Cranes, Bradley, Steventon, North Fareham (or Roche Court), Broxhead, Chinham, Bullesden, Bentworth, and Froyle.

One manor in Northamptonshire, viz. Little Weldon and the Bailiship; and the Bailiwick of keeping the King's Buckhounds.

Two manors in Surrey, viz. Peperharowe and Picards.

Two manors in Wilts, viz. Bradenstoke and Clacke.

One manor in Middlesex, viz. Swacliffe [Swakeleys].

Three advowsons, viz. Steventon, Bradley, and Peperharowe. [That of North Fareham had lapsed and the tithes were impropriated.]

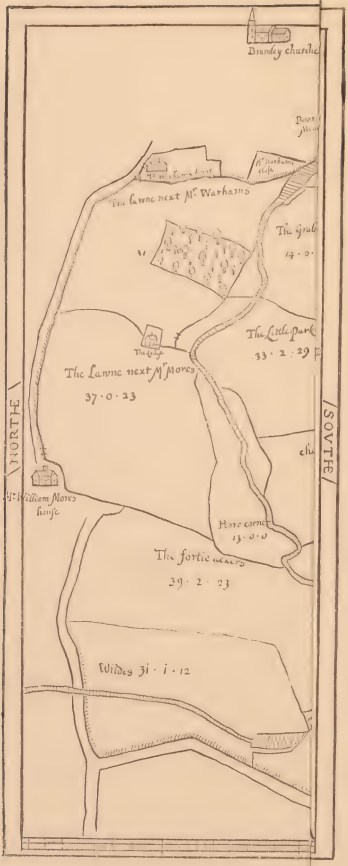
The lands and tenements are in five counties, viz. Beaurepaire, Bramley, Strathfieldsaye, Stratfield Mortimer, Stratfield Turgis, Basingstoke, Chinham, Tadley, Pamber, Sherfield, Sherborne Monachorum, Sherborne St. John, Sherborne Cowdray, Steventon, Odiham, Deane, Bradley, Alton, Froyle, Tisted, Broxhead, Newnham, Hedley, North Fareham, Tichfield, Quabbe [in Tichfield parish], Wickham, Boarhunt, Prowlingworth [the old Prallingworth, a large tithing in Tichfield parish], Bullesden [a farm near Beaurepaire], Bentworth, Hook, Oakley, Hale, 'and elsewhere'—these in *Hampshire.*

Little Weldon 'and elsewhere' in *Northamptonshire.*

Swacliffe [Swakeleys], Henham, Woxbridge [Uxbridge], Coppit Hall, Hercies, Pincester, Great and Little Hillesden, 'and elsewhere'—in *Middlesex.*

Peperharowe, Picards, Guildford, Artington, Farnham, 'and elsewhere'—in *Surrey.*

Bradenstoke and Clacke, in *Wilts.*


Drundey churche
The Lanne next Mr Warhams
The Grub
14 · 0 ·
The Little Parke
33 · 2 · 29
The Lanne next Mr Moores
37 · 0 · 23
NORTHE
SOVTHE
Mr William Moores howse
Hare carne
13 · 0 · 0
The fortie acres
39 · 2 · 23
Wildes 31 · 1 · 12

Dame Elinor, confronted with these obstacles in the way of realising her projects, not unnaturally looked about for a second husband, and being a Cheshire lady, knew where to find the right man. Sir John Savage, though a widower with ten children, was a Cheshire gentleman of an active, business-like temperament, well suited to match the enterprising widow. He was the eighth Sir John Savage, knight; ninth in descent from John Savage, who in the reign of Edward III. became in right of his wife, Margaret Danyers or Daniell,[1] lord of Clifton, a place finely situated at the junction of the rivers Mersey and Weaver. His ten children were borne him by Elizabeth Manners, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Rutland, and his career was signalised not only by the erection of the magnificent mansion he called—relinquishing the old name of Clifton—'Rock-savage,' but by serving his county seven times as sheriff, and his county town three times as mayor. Now, this county magnate was not content with establishing his family in such a position that they soon rose to the peerage by the titles of Lord Savage and Lord Rivers, but he must needs 'make a family' for his second son Edward, whom he destined to be lord of Beaurepaire. He was, indeed, so far successful that this son grew up in actual possession of that domain, and according to the authority from which the above facts are derived,[2] had a son who was styled 'Sir John Savage of Beaurepaire.' This title could indeed have been but a mere assumption; on the other hand, Edward Savage, on whom and his heirs Sir John Savage had settled the Beaurepaire estates, was certainly so far seised of them in 1613, that the plan of the property given in this volume was 'plotted at the charge of the "Worshipful Edward Savage, Esq.,"' no doubt with a view to its sale.[3]

Thus a wedge was driven very close up to the heart of the old Beaurepaire oak, but it was too tough to succumb yet.

The object of the speedy acquisition of the Jobson twelfth by the Savages was soon apparent; but it could not have been attained had the Jobsons been loyal to the Brocas cause, or perhaps not specially impecunious. It was a bold stroke to mortgage their legal portion even before the burial of the testator, who had illegally granted it and the rest to his widow. But when the Savages had once obtained a portion

[1] The Savages took their coat, a pale fusil sable, from this family of Danyers, or Daniell, who had been anciently seated at Bradley, in Appleton. It was changed by the Sir John Savage with whom we are here concerned, for six lions rampant quartering Daniell. The Daniells still continued and continue a flourishing family, though the heiress carried off their old place to the Savages.

[2] Sir Peter Leycester, quoted in Ormerod's *Cheshire*.

[3] This Edward married a niece of Dame Elinor by half-blood, if that term may be used of an illegitimate sister's child. The sister's name was Katharine, daughter of Dame Elinor's mother. Her child, Polyxena, was her daughter by 'William le Griz, of London, gentleman.'

of the estate, they lost no time in further securing the whole of it in fee and settling it on Edward Savage in fee. It was a race with Bernard and Anne Brocas, who were not so quickly aroused to the real bearings of the case, or were not able to pay so high a price as Dame Elinor's husband. It was not till a year or more later that they sold one of their Bucks estates, and bought in the twelfth belonging to Anthony and Barbara Brydges. This, with their own twelfth, placed at their command one-sixth of the whole estate, and gave them the ultimate advantage over Elinor; but neither she nor they were able to secure the remaining twelfth belonging to Oliver and Elizabeth Beckett, which did not indeed join the rest till 1633.[1] Thomas, the son of Sir Pexall Brocas, succeeded in that year in at last securing both it and the Jobson twelfth, which Edward Savage had sold between 1608 and 1618.[2] The union of the old Beaurepaire properties was not, however, accomplished till the former of these estates had in the course of sixty-two years been the subject of thirty-seven elaborate conveyances, and the latter of not much fewer. Indeed, there were no doubt many more, but these remain. Sir Pexall Brocas himself never enjoyed the whole of the property, but perhaps it was just as well he did not. It is quite clear that the lawyers were the people who reaped the greatest advantage from these transactions.

This summary narrative of facts concerning the division of the Brocas estates will enable us to pass some sort of judgment on the statement which represents the tradition of the family, as it reached them in the early part of last century, and as it was then formally recorded in the shape of an opening paragraph to their pedigree. After recounting the exploded story about the Norman origin of the Brocases, and the Sir Bernard who came over with the Conqueror, &c. &c., it goes on to say:

> . . . in whose progeny it prosperously continued till 21 Hen. VII. 1506 [omitting, curiously enough, the all-important incident of the forfeiture in 1400], when William Brocas, Esq., leaving only two daughters, Anne, that married but died without issue, and Edith, wife of Ralph Pexall, Esq., thereof ensued the decay of the surname in the direct line; yet from a younger branch who had their chief residence at Horton Hall in Co. Bucks, and were owners of that and many fair lordships in the said county, as the towns of Buckingham, Little Brickhill, Dagnall and Boreton, Dunstable in Co. Bedford, and Swacliff in Middlesex, with some others, there was preserved a succession of males; of whom Bernard Brocas, being the lineal heir, sued Sir Richard Pexall, Kn[t], the heir general, for Beaurepaire and sixteen mannors more in Co. Southampton, besides mannors in Wiltshire, Northamptonshire, &c.; and for ending all controversy, espoused Anne, the

[1] Oliver Becket was a barrister of the Middle Temple, and, taking the view of a lawyer, may have hoped that it would be more profitable to keep his share in his own hands.

[2] The value of this last share had so much diminished in the course of years, no doubt through the effect of the changes it had passed through, that it only fetched 500*l*.

eldest of his four daughters and coheirs, who (by will dated 9 Oct., 13 Eliz., 1571) having all bequeathed to her, happily brought the ancient seat and patrimony into the name again after it had been for sixty-five years possessed by that of Pexall; whose relict, Eleanor, taking to her second husband Sir John Savage Kn^t^ (as herein is manifest) his son encumbered the estate, being disobliged by Sir Pexall Brocas, Kn^t^ (who refused to marry the daughter) and put him to lawsuits, wherein he expended above 2,000*l.*; as also destroyed all the old deeds and writings of the elder race which fell into their hands; whereby, the great elaborate pedigree which derived them from their first original, being [also] unfortunately burnt at Sir William Gardiner's chambers at the Inner Temple, an. dom. 1666 (with whom it then remained on his lady's account), the means of gathering a further and more ample ascent being in some measure lost, this genealogie (though imperfect in the matches and junior children for a few generations) is all that with exceeding difficulty could be retrieved; which memorial is here inserted that it may the better appear of what dignity and estimation this family is justly to be reputed.

Some of the errors and doubtful points, more numerous even than the many parentheses, in this well-intended family statement have already become apparent. It shows the greatest possible ignorance as to the terms of Sir Richard Pexsall's will and the facts arising out of it, for the settlement was made upon the sons of Anne Brocas, not on herself; nor was it she, but her grandson, who reunited the estates. Further, being drawn up at Beaurepaire, after Sir William Gardiner had married the Beaurepaire heiress, and taken rightful possession of the chest from which the chief materials for this book have been derived, the writer of the paper was in ignorance as to the treasures which were still in existence, and accused Dame Elinor of more crimes than she committed. Nor have we any confirmation of the account, which is probable enough, of the destruction of 'the great elaborate pedigree' in the Great Fire of London. On the other hand, the account of the Savage lawsuits carries an air of great probability. If young Pexall Brocas refused to compromise matters by marriage with Edward Savage's daughter—she must have been very young—the lady had a great escape; but the resolute determination of Sir John and Lady Savage to establish the Savage family at Beaurepaire, and oust the Brocases for ever, was shown so immediately after their marriage that the more poetical motive which introduces into the affair a young lady and the *spretæ injuria formæ* is not at all required by the case.

The reader will have had quite enough of this subject. We need only further observe that some sort of *modus vivendi* must have been arrived at between the different persons interested within the first two or three years after Sir Richard Pexsall's death. The Savages had secured by their alertness the benefits of possession at Beaurepaire, and had the power to refuse to take any compensation for their twelfth of the estates. They held this in substitution for the life

estate which was forfeited by marriage, and they retained the right to two-thirds of the whole property till young Pexall Brocas came of age. Thus they were in command of the situation, and would seem to have been unmolested at the family seat for at least that period; while Bernard and Anne Brocas broke up from Horton, sold the manor and town of Buckingham, and established themselves at Swakeleys, where we find them, as shown by the register of Ickenham parish, resident from 1575 till about 1590. These valuable Middlesex estates had perhaps been assigned to them in lieu of some portion of their one-sixth of the whole. It would not be of much consequence, if it was in our power, to state the terms of these arrangements. We have only followed the outline of them up to this point in order to bring the young heir on the stage.

Sir Pexall Brocas was brought up with his father and mother, not in Bucks, not under the old country influences, but in Middlesex, at a new place near London, from whence he was sent to Gray's Inn, of which he became a member. We find him so designated just before he comes of age. He was, no doubt, early ruined by this London life, and it is not long before we come across traces of it. Indeed, we may see these in the Ickenham register itself. That register also, we may say by the way, supplies us with something of the history of the Horton Brocases. Dorothy Brocas, Bernard's mother, had migrated with him and his wife, and died at Ickenham in 1576. The second Pexall Brocas died in 1578. It had clearly been part of the compromise with Sir Richard Pexsall that the two boys should each bear his name, so that if one died the other might preserve it along with 'Brocas.'

When the heir came of age, Dame Elinor's legal claim on the Brocas estates was reduced to the twelfth which she and her husband had purchased; but she does not move from Beaurepaire. Pexall signs himself 'of Steventon,' and there he lived, or rather was supposed to live—for he really resided chiefly in London—till he passed it over to his son, and shifted his country quarters to Little Brickhill, making frequent visits also to Little Weldon for hunting. We know nothing about the 'lawsuits' of the tradition; but some of them would naturally arise out of this false position. Dame Elinor must have had some claim, unknown to us, by which she contrived to hold her own.

The young man's coming of age in 1584 is not made known to us through any quarrels with the Dame, but by the more satisfactory circumstances of his marriage. The lady was Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Sherley, of Wiston in Sussex, the head of an old and important family, boasting of a mansion which was one of the finest in England. The blood of old opponents was now to be united. Sir Hugh Sherley, Sir Thomas' ancestor, was killed at the battle of

Shrewsbury, fighting on the side of Henry IV., just three years after Sir Bernard Brocas was executed for his share in the conspiracy to dethrone him. It was, however, through the exploits of the three chivalrous brothers-in-law of Sir Pexall Brocas, Anthony, Robert, and Thomas Sherley, that the family became most celebrated.[1] Sir Thomas takes the young man in hand. The first service he does him is to act as his trustee, and along with Henry Giffard, to obtain from the sheriff seisin of the whole of the Hampshire estates. The next is to have him elected Member of Parliament for Steyning in Sussex, along with himself.[2] The marriage takes place in 1585, the bridegroom settling upon Margaret his estates at North Fareham in South, Bulsden-cum-Bentworth in North, Hampshire, and Bradenstoke with Clack in Wilts.

We might have expected from these notices, if our suspicions had not already been excited, to hear of a prosperous start in life on the part of the young head of the reunited branches of the old House. But in the very same year occurs a fact suggestive of a downward career, viz. the sale of the Surrey property to which he had just succeeded. Peperharowe and Picards now follow the Yorkshire, Berks, and Dorset estates. What did the bridegroom (who had already settled his land on his wife) want of some 10,000*l.*, reckoned at modern currency, at the very time of his marriage? Reading his career in the light of the character attached to him in the public records, it may be safely inferred that he was already over head and ears in debt, already on the high road to ruin, already affording a fair sample of the 'Rake's Progress.' The attempt of the knight of Sussex to save his son-in-law, early as it was in his married life, was too late; but it was of great use as a check on his dissipated habits. Sherley had only just secured the trusteeship in time. Perhaps the reason why we hear of no settlement made on Brocas with Margaret is that the father's part of the bargain was to pay off some of these debts. Margaret Sherley's history, if we only knew the details, must have been sad enough. Her pale and rather handsome face, and gentle eyes, tell their own story in the picture of Cornelius Janssen, one of the few treasures yet preserved in the family. The picture which has survived of her husband, by an unknown artist, also tells his story fairly well. It is that of a foppish debauchee, with long hair flowing over the monstrous collar of the period, elaborately

[1] By a slip in his interesting *Shirleiana*, Mr. Evelyn Shirley assigned a wrong name to the wife of Sir Pexall Brocas. He also spells 'Brocas,' 'Dorcas,' no doubt a misprint. It was in consequence of Sir Pexall's claim for 1,000*l.* out of Sir Thomas Sherley's estate, on his death in 1615, that Letters of Administration were granted to the younger Sir Thomas Sherley. Old Lady Sherley remembered her daughter Lady Brocas and her grandson Thomas affectionately in her will.

[2] Cartwright's *Sussex*. The absence of any name under 'Sherley' in the Return of M.P.'s made in 1878, by order of the House of Commons, is accounted for by 'Returns torn.' It was Pexall Brocas.

worked with the pattern of the Brocas lion alternating with the crest of the Moor's head and Oriental crown.

Another indication of the early date of Brocas' errors is to be found in three letters of his preserved amongst the Loseley MSS. They are not worth printing, but may be described as abject appeals to Sir William More, whom, like his grandfather, Pexsall, he addresses as 'kinsman,' to abstain from legal proceedings against him. Some 'assuerances' necessary to the completion of the sale of Picards manor, for which we must suppose he has received the money, were withheld in 1588, and not given even in 1591. At first he complains that More's attorney had been 'over sharp' with him; but in the later letters, his mother having just died, and he being in consequence bound 'in lawe to doe that as in honesty by your lovinge kindnes I was before bownd to doe,' he confesses the 'greate and curteouse forbeyrance' of his relative, and submits to his 'wel-liking,' if he may only be delivered from some 'restraint' in which his conduct has placed him—perhaps the four walls of a debtors' court.

Possibly Sir William More's kind but firm behaviour may have been of some temporary use, as we find Brocas, soon after his mother's death, making, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Shirley, a very proper settlement on his wife and her only child, Thomas (and his heirs male), of the whole of the property belonging or coming to him in the Beaurepaire estate, 'which in twenty years had been occupy'd or enjoy'd by Sir John Savage, Kn^t^, or Dame Elinour his wife.' Steventon and Bradenstoke are included in the settlement. As far as Beaurepaire and Roche Court (which had been previously settled on Margaret) were concerned, these settlements eventually proved their salvation amidst the general wreck in the Civil War. As the obnoxious action of the Savages in settling Beaurepaire on themselves and their heirs in fee are ignored in these proceedings, they were probably unknown. How long before this the infant Thomas, the only offspring of Sir Pexall's marriage, had been born, we know not;[1] but his birth and the deaths of Bernard and Anne Brocas, as well as that of Sir John Savage, would seem to have constituted a fresh departure. We might expect the 'turning over of a fresh leaf.'

Nevertheless it must have been in the years not long subsequent to this settlement that Pexall Brocas found himself within the grasp of a court of law, and his appearance in the High Commission Court at a later date reflects his career backwards for many years.

With regard to the first, we find two counts, riot and forgery, both having occurred in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

[1] Probably in September 1591, as we find him making entry upon the manor of Steventon, though his right was disputed by his father, at Michaelmas 1612. They seem afterwards to have settled the matter amicably. (Cotterell *v.* Brocas, and Tomson *v.* Brocas, Chancery B and A, before 1714.)

As to the riots, we may make a fair guess that they were connected with Essex's rising in 1601, especially as Lord Sandys, Brocas' neighbour at The Vyne, was one of the leading supporters of the petulant earl. We know from Camden that Essex had a following of some '300 gentlemen of good quality,' and that with very few exceptions they all experienced the queen's clemency. 'Those that had the best purses were fined, but very few paid their fines.' It would be well if we could make as good a guess as to the forgery; but there is nothing in the numerous papers of the time which have been preserved in the Brocas chest to throw any light upon it. It is evident that whatever King James's officers might think of the offence, those of Elizabeth considered it a very serious matter. All we know about the charges is gathered from the pardon granted by James on January 18, 1603–4, and thus docketed: 'A Pardon granted to Sir Pexall Brocas, Knight, for all riots and unlawful assemblies before the 20th of March last past [i.e. four days before Queen Elizabeth's death], and of forging and publishing a forged deed of perjury before that day, and of all forfeitures growing due by the same, and of all suits depending in any Courts in his Majesty's name, or in the name of the late Queen, concerning the same. Subscribed by Sir John Crooke.'[1] On April 27, 1604, there is a re-grant of the pardon.

It will be observed that the subject of this pardon was now a knight. He had been so for nearly a year. James I. was proclaimed on March 24, 1603; on May 7 he arrived in London; and on May 11, 'on the king's departure from the Charterhouse, where he was entertained by the Lord Thomas Howard, he made divers knights, one of whom was Sir Pexall Brockhurst of Hampshire.'[2] No less than eighty knights were made on this one occasion—some three or four hundred altogether at this period. Such a lavish bestowal of dignities by the king on his accession has been strongly condemned, and with justice. Camden speaks of this especial batch as 'promiscuously created.'[3] But it must be remembered that Elizabeth had been unduly chary of such promotions, and that there was a very unusual number of claims to be satisfied. James contrasts unfavourably with his wise predecessor on every point; but if we put ourselves in his place, and remember the English prejudice against the Scotch, it can hardly appear unnatural that he should somewhat overstrain his prerogative, and surround himself with those who would be bound to his side by marks of royal favour. We may be quite sure that Elizabeth would never have knighted Pexall Brocas. We may be equally sure that, like many greater people, he lost no time in letting James understand that he was his devoted servant. In short he was, in his degree, one of the minor factors in the intrigues which were woven around the whole

[1] *State Papers, Domestic*, James I.
[2] Nichols' *Progresses of James I.*
[3] Camden's *James I.*

question of the succession to the Crown, held in hand by the consummate skill of Sir Robert Cecil, and just enough known to the worn-out mind of the great queen to justify her instinctive caution, and darken the melancholy ending of her brilliant reign. These reflections are amply justified by the prompt appearance of the two pardons. The riots had been a political offence which now told in favour of the rioter, and carried off the forgery. The punishment which had been impending was not held to interfere with the claim to knighthood. Some powerful friend had explained away the whole affair, and these ample pardons set the new knight once more upon his legs.

We may here remark that Queen Elizabeth's visit to Beaurepaire in 1601 is by no means inconsistent with the view here taken of Pexall Brocas' position at her Court, or rather outside of her Court. Edward Savage was at that place, and he it was no doubt that received her in the old Brocas mansion. This visit was probably only a sort of call, and perhaps a meal, for it is not to be found in the chronicles of Elizabeth's Progresses, and is only discovered by an incidental entry in the Bramley Register, where the bellringers receive payment for ringing the church bells on the occasion of the queen's visit to 'Burraper.' She was then on her way from The Vyne, where she had been magnificently entertained. Tradition reports a great expenditure on the occasion at the rival house, but, if so, it is most improbable that it could have added to the discreditable expenses of the rightful lord of Beaurepaire.

The new knight was not the man to allow his supposed rights as Master of the Buckhounds to go by default. Two months after his promotion the Coronation of the King and Queen took place. Amongst the claims for places at the ceremony due to hereditary officers were those of Sir Pexall Brocas, 'as seised of Little Weldon, to be Master of the Buckhounds,' and of Sir Edward Dymock to be King's Champion. Both were left 'unexamined,' or, in other words, neither of them obtained the place he claimed.[1] The Champion was more fortunate on later occasions, the Master of the Buckhounds never. The unavailing attempts of the Lords Rockingham to assert the same claim, on the same ground of the tenure of Little Weldon by Grand Serjeantry, though it had been bought by them and was no longer an old hereditary tenure, will be found noticed in Book V. The High Stewards were no doubt perfectly right. If Sir Bernard Brocas found no place at the Coronation of Richard II., it was not likely that his successors would be able to establish it. The Championship rested on a better foundation, yet we see that on this occasion Dymock fared no better than Brocas. It certainly could not be said that the latter had suffered his inheritance of the Mastership to go by default, for he had entered

[1] *Calendar of State Papers*, 1603, M. A. E. Green.

upon the office and manor without license from the queen, three years after he came of age, and received a pardon for his trespass, but it was not till 1595 that his claims to the ancient salary of 50*l.* per annum from the Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex are recognised by Judge Fortescue after consultation with his brethren.[1]

That Sir Pexall's exclusion from this coveted distinction was not due to James' indifference to the sports of the field we may be sure. No monarch was less open to that charge. Thus we are not surprised to find, in the dearth of papers which bear upon the actual exercise of the office in the Middle Ages, that the one single public document which carries any such reference belongs to this king's reign. In 1605 (April 18) James issues an order to Sir Pexall Brocas 'to deliver to George Hume and Richard Wray the seven couple of hounds which he had from Silvester Dodsworth in Yorkshire.' A week afterwards Lord Treasurer Dorset writes to Sir Thomas Lake: 'Return by the bearer Sir Pexall Brocas' petitions to the king and myself, as it is thought fit to adopt another course in that business.'[2] Coming so soon after the order about the hounds, we may suspect these petitions to have referred to the ever-recurring question of the payment of the Master's salary. It may have been stopped while the causes for riot and perjury were in Court, and there may have been awkward questions of arrears. One would like to know what the other course was, for Pexall Brocas certainly received his salary both in 1593 and 1606.[3] At the same time, from the circumstances now to be narrated, we cannot but suspect that even James, with all his coarseness, found the character of the hereditary Master too bad to permit of public recognition, and was devising some other method of managing his buckhounds. Lord Montgomery, it will be remembered by readers of Clarendon's 'History of the Great Rebellion' (Book I.), had established himself with James as his prime hunting friend from an early date. Sir Pexall Brocas was evidently soon 'shelved' and suffered to become a mere titular officer.

It is very probable that more light may yet be gained upon these obscure points, but the two facts which enable us to form a true con-

[1] Copy of Pexall Brocas' Petition from 'The Remembrances of the Exchequer,' 1595.

[2] *Calendar of State Papers*, 1605, M. A. E. Green, April 18 and 27.

[3] Pipe Office Accounts. We find from the *Watson Papers* at Rockingham Castle that Sir Pexall was very well known at Little Weldon. The spots on his estate where he was accustomed to hunt are noted as forming precedents for the customs of the Forest, and his orders as to cutting down woods are quoted. No one else of the family left any mark behind him in those parts; but then he held the estate for nearly half a century, and was the last (practically) of the Brocas Masters. His son was absolutely the last, but he sold it to Sir Lewis Watson almost immediately after he came into possession. It will be seen from chapter v. that the Master of the Buckhounds was obliged to keep fifteen of these dogs for forty days at his own expense as one condition of receiving his salary. The 'seven couple' mentioned in the text might perhaps in some way be connected with this condition. In 1608 there is a notice of a petition from Sir Pexall to Lord Salisbury. (*Calendar, ut supra.*)

ception of the character of our irregular knight are on record and beyond dispute, and they have a bearing upon one another.

On January 1, 1609–10, Sir Pexall Brocas executes, with all due formality, the following, considering his circumstances and career, extraordinary deed. He levies a fine, thereby barring the entail he had previously created by settlement, by which he conveys to trustees the whole of his estate in North Fareham [or Roche Court], Steventon, Broxhead, Little Brickhill, Dagnall, and Little Weldon, including the Mastership of the Buckhounds, for the three following purposes: (1) to erect a tomb in his honour at Westminster Abbey, near that of Sir Richard Pexsall; (2) to 'found a Colledge at Oxford to be called Brocas Colledge;' and (3) limiting 'uses to several on changing their name to Brocas.' This must have been occasioned by some transitory compunction for the scandals of a debauched life; but that it was only transitory appears from the following passage in Stow's 'History of England,' a contemporary book, and which is to be found in several other places: 'On Sunday, October 24, 1613, Sir Peesall Brocas did open penance at Paul's Cross: he stoode in a white sheete, and held a stick in his hand, having been formerly convicted before the High Commissioners for secret and notorious adulteries with divers women.'

With regard to this sentence, it is right to observe that the notoriety and heinousness of Brocas' licentious conduct is one thing, the policy of the penance another. We must not form our judgment upon it either by the light reflected from Elizabeth's reign, or the rapid development of public opinion, which we witness in the reign of Charles I. The society of James I.'s reign was in an anomalous, not to say unmixed, condition. The restraints of the late queen's wise government had been removed; a great barrier had been swept away; and the immense increase in the national prosperity found a vent in a number of vicious channels hitherto blocked up. Side by side with gross and public license went an increased effort on the part of the Archbishops, Bancroft, Abbot, and Laud,[1] in succession, to deal with it in an open and summary manner. The king, flattered by the new doctrine of kings and bishops yoked together by Divine Right, supported their policy without considering the revolution which it must carry with it, as soon as ever public opinion began to express itself. Nor were the fruits of the alliance such as to commend themselves to right-thinking men. This was the very year when James, by the help of the bishops—Abbot nobly resisting—carried the monstrous cause of the vicious Lady Essex to a triumphant issue. On the other side

[1] Laud cites in 1631, as precedents for trial before the High Commission Court, the cases of several ladies of high birth who for various moral delinquencies had been 'committed in sequestration till their causes came to be heard;' and among them figures 'Jane Beckett, whose mother was Sir Pexall Brocas' aunt.' (*Calendar of State Papers*, 1629–1631, Bruce.) The notice must be taken in connection with the names of a certain Pexall and Mary Beckett, who are bountifully remembered in Sir Pexall's will.

of the street, so to speak, the fires still blazed for heresy. The year after Brocas did penance at Paul's Cross an Arian was burnt at Smithfield. It was this violent set of contrasts, these glaring anachronisms, which shocked the common sense of Englishmen, and had their full share in producing the struggle which was about to commence.

Sir Pexall Brocas' case must, however, have been a very flagrant one. It lives in the gossip of the age. There are traditions to be found in almost contemporary collections, placing the number of his illegitimate children at seventy, and even a hundred. If a later tradition is correct as to another matter, the penance could not have made a very useful impression either on himself or others. According to this account, the culprit was attended by 'thirty men in scarlet that waited upon him to the Lord Mayor, when he went to demand a dinner after doing penance.'

But the curious thing is that he should have been anxious to make a sort of compromise with his conscience, a few years previously, by sacrificing some of his best estates (including the Mastership of the Buckhounds, which, not being patronised at Court, he evidently no longer valued), and the interests of his only legitimate child, for the purposes above mentioned. One of the trustees, Dr. Brockett, Brocas' brother-in-law, was a clergyman. Was it his device to save something from the wreck which he could not but anticipate from the course in which his unprincipled relative was proceeding? But it cannot escape notice that the residue of the estate, after providing for the first two objects, was to go to the Brockett family, on condition that they should take the name of 'Brocas.' These are the persons referred to in the third clause.[1] There are marks of vanity, almost betraying a disordered mind, in these provisions; but the wisest thing

[1] Note on the proposed Brocas College at Oxford.—The provision made in the deed of January 1, 1610, for founding this College was as follows: the founder's trustees are to raise 4,000*l.* and obtain a license to buy a 'parcel of ground within the Universitie of Oxford, to be applied for and to a place to erecte and buylde a Colledge, howse, or schole of learneinge upon, and then to erecte and buylde a Colledge, howse, or schole of learneinge thereupon . . . and to purchase to them and their heires . . . a conveyniente and sufficiente proportion of grounde . . . for the settlinge, plantinge, and erectinge of a Colledge . . . for the conveyniente resceighte and habitation of twenty-four persones, with all howses, yards, courts, chambers, roomes, orchardes, gardens, kitchins, and offices necessarie, meete, and conveyniente for a howse to receyve soe many persones . . . which Colledge shall consist of a Presidente, Vice-Presidente, eight Fellowes, and twelve Schollors, a manciple and a sexton, and shalbe for ever called by the name of Brocas Colledge, and that the said Colledge, howse, and grounde for ever afterwards to be contynued for a Colledge.' The trustees and their heirs are then to apply the proceeds of the manors to these purposes, paying such stipends as he should appoint by his will. As the parties to this deed are, besides the trustees, such responsible persons as Sir Thomas Thinn, of Wilts, and Sir Richard Gyfford, of Hants, we must suppose the sum mentioned was not incommensurate with the scale of the proposal; but it scarcely appears so. Thus, for a second time, the provision which might have handed the Brocas name down to posterity came to nothing. The Reformation extinguished the lamps of the Brocas Chantries: the grand designs of Sir Pexall fell still-born.

we know of their author is that he revoked them when he came to make his will. His descendants at least cannot blame him for having thought twice before he deprived them of the wreck of their ancient inheritance; nor would it have been well that such a founder should have established a perpetual place in the commemoration of College benefactors. This was a little previous to the time when Pembroke College was founded. The idea was conceived on a larger scale, and as far as the design went, at a much greater sacrifice than was made by the Earl of Pembroke, who gave little but his name.

Whatever the motives of the would-be founder, we may be sure that he boasted not a little of his future college; and that it should make him the talk and jest of London was perhaps what he most valued. The incongruity of the penance would not much affect him, for that was no doubt a good joke. He exhibited his love of a jest as much as his vanity in retaining a professional jester, said to be the last case of the sort in any English private family. So much did he admire him that he had his picture taken, and it is still preserved, inscribed by a later generation with the words, 'Hodge, Jester to Sir Pexil Brocas of Beaurepaire.' It is the face of a rough, humorous fellow, something like an old-fashioned roadside innkeeper. Eight years after the death of Brocas, we find Edward Nicholas[1] writing to Sir John Pennington: 'Mrs. Bodley, a maid of honour, was married yesterday to Mr. Brockhurst [Robert Brocas], grandchild to old Sir Pexall, *of whom you have heard*.' Perhaps we may yet discover that he sat to Shakespeare for one of his immortal pictures, for they must often have seen one another; or more probably still, to some one or other of Shakespeare's predecessors or contemporaries in the drama.

Soon after the penance (1617–8) we hear of the death of Dame Elinor. That she should have married two more husbands after the death of Sir John Savage is in keeping with the rest of her adventurous career. Her life evidently stood in the way of the expulsion of the Savages from Beaurepaire, for they now break up at last from the Brocas seat. There, in 1626, and probably some years previously, Sir Pexall's son, Thomas Brocas, was settled. In that year he makes a 'loan' to Charles I. of 3*l*. as lord of Beaurepaire, his neighbours paying 40*s*. apiece.[2] He had moved there from Steventon, where several of his children had been born; his father having settled at Little Brickhill. But Sir Pexall was no doubt chiefly resident in London, where he began his career, and where he had inherited from his father a house[3] in the parish of St. Bride's, in the ward of Farringdon Without.

Full of years and dishonour, Sir Pexall Brocas died in 1630. He is said to have been buried at Sherborne St. John, but no memorial

[1] *Calendar of State Papers*, Bruce, Nov. 27, 1638. [2] Rawlinson MSS. D. 666.
[3] Inq. p.m. 15 James I. on Bernard Brocas (who had died 1589).

has ever marked the place. It was not wonderful that his posterity did not share his ambition to have a monument in Westminster Abbey. Rather we may reflect that George Herbert, his contemporary, had such men in his eye when he wrote what might serve for Sir Pexall's epitaph:

> Only a herald who that way doth pass,
> Finds his crack'd name at length in the church glass.

On which lines apparently commenting, Fuller notes: 'The degenerous gentleman who within two generations had his name quite forgotten that ever such was in the place, except some herald in his visitation chanced to spell his broken arms in a church window, showing how weak a thing gentry is, than which, if it wants virtue, brittle glass is a more lasting monument.' But in this case not even remains a bit of 'brittle glass.' It was well that he should be forgotten. Nor would it have been becoming in these pages to 'draw his frailties from their dread abode,' were it not that family history, like all other history, demands the whole truth. No honest records of any family could evade the sad acknowledgment that it also has had its black sheep. But no one has a right to sit in judgment over the peccant individual, for no one knows the whole. In the present case we have a licentious age, vast temptation, just complaint of ill-treatment—no sufficient excuse, of course, but enough to warn us against indiscriminate harshness.

Sir Pexall's descendants were saved from beggary by the action of the numerous and efficient trustees who, on his marriage and afterwards, kept a hold on his estates. We may be sure that his creditors suffered not a little.[1] There are very numerous references in public documents of the reigns of both Elizabeth and James, such as the Exchequer Accounts, of suits in which he was engaged, and the seizure of his various properties by different Courts, which might be pursued further by the curious. But, after all, his will—dated August 15, 1630—pronounces that he is seised of ten-twelfths of his estates, and makes his only son, Thomas Brocas, tenant in tail, with remainder for life to each of that son's six male children in succession—Robert, Thomas, William, Oliver, Bernard, and Richard (John not being yet born)—with remainder over to his own right heirs. This proves that whatever may have been the relations in which he lived with his son, he died on good terms with him. The long-suffering wife survived her husband many years, living apparently at Roche Court, and, as we shall see, looking carefully after the interests of her grandchildren.

[1] The directions to his trustees in his will to 'raise money to pay his debts due by law in conscience, to any person whatever,' probably came to very little, his estates being entailed.

CHAPTER III.

THE FAMILIES OF BROCAS AND GARDINER IN THE TIME OF THE STUARTS.

From the two elder sons of Thomas, only legitimate child of Sir Pexall Brocas, descend respectively the two families which now represent the race whose history has been traced in the foregoing pages. Thomas Brocas, therefore, Sir Pexall's son, properly opens the last chapter of our consecutive survey, and he along with his immediate family are the last of whom any details will be given. He holds an interesting place in the household traditions, inasmuch as he is believed to have ruined himself and his family in the loyal service of the unfortunate Charles I., and to have inspired his six elder sons with so large a share of the same spirit that they all fell, like the Maccabees, in the sacred cause. We shall be obliged to tear to pieces the latter part of this legend, and even the cause of Thomas Brocas' ruin remains in some obscurity. However, the balance of evidence is in accordance with the general outline of the tradition, and we shall see reason to suspect that one main difficulty in the way of our obtaining a clearer light arises from the undoubted fact that Thomas, the second son, took up the side of the Long Parliament against the king. As his father desired to place the son of this Thomas, his only grandson, in possession of Beaurepaire, a plan which was eventually crowned with success, a judicious compromise became the policy of the family, exhibiting itself in much mystification, and probably destruction of papers, and at any rate in silence where we should have expected a voice. We must make our way as well as we can.

The career of Thomas Brocas opens well. He might seem to have been born to set right what had gone wrong. Four out of the five family seats[1] were still at his disposal. He must have shown dis-

[1] The Swakeleys Estate, at which Sir Pexall Brocas had been brought up, fell to the share of Francis Cotton, son of Margaret Pexsall, by her second husband, who aliened his eight-twelfths of it to John Bingley in 1612. Bingley, soon afterwards a knight, came into possession of the remainder, and in 1629 sold it to Alderman Edmund Wright, by whom the present house was built. (Information from the present owner, Mr. Thomas Clarke, obtained by the kindness of the Rev. Beauchamp Pell.) Thomas Brocas was born

eretion in his dealings with his abandoned father; he works in harmony with his mother in the settlement of affairs; his estates, though diminished, were still large; a quiver-full of seven sons would enable him to 'speak with the enemy in the gate,' at a time when, in keeping with the simile of the Psalmist, a father might well reckon up his sons as a valuable reserve of force; and his position was decidedly strengthened by his marriage with Elizabeth Wingfield. This lady came of a distinguished stock, several members of which take an important place in the history of the Plantagenets and Tudors. She was the daughter of Sir Robert Wingfield, of Upton, near Northampton, who was the nephew, by the mother's side, of the famous Lord Burleigh, and as first cousin of James' Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, must have formed an early connection with the Court of the Stuarts. The lady's mother, Prudence Croke, was also of a distinguished family, the Crokes of Chiltern, Studley, and Waterstock. Two of her uncles were the celebrated lawyers of the period, Sir John Croke, Speaker of Elizabeth's last Parliament, and Sir George, the fearless judge who stood out for Hampden against his brethren on the Bench. Perhaps this legal connection unconsciously betrayed itself in the multitude of legal transactions which for half a century seem to transport the affairs of these country gentlemen into the dusty precincts of a lawyer's office.

We find no property brought to Thomas Brocas with his wife, perhaps for the reason already suggested in the case of his father and Sir Thomas Shirley—ready money might be more useful. Shirleys and Wingfields were matching with a family which had begun to break up; the parents of each wife in succession cherished the hope of launching the new argosy refitted and well freighted after the damages of the storm. They could scarcely have had a suspicion of the future; but who in the days of Elizabeth and James could? By the time Thomas Brocas succeeded his father he found himself, like most other loyal gentlemen, face to face with questions which the wisest found it hard to answer, and with demands which the largest purses were soon drained to supply. The infatuated Charles had, a little previously, dissolved his Parliament in hopeless wrath, and he and his advisers were already in straits. But there is nothing decisive at this period to show how far the measures which we now find Thomas pursuing were dictated by the calls made on him by the

in London, and made good his claim to live at Steventon on his marriage. There his children were born between 1613 and 1619, after which the register is silent, leading us to suppose that he either moved to Beaurepaire, where we find him in 1626, or to the family house in London. The parson of Bramley at this period neglected his duty in a way which would have brought him into trouble had it come to the ears of Laud, for there is no register kept at all from 1614 to 1642, so that we cannot follow any further the movements of the family by the usual means. King Charles' writ, quoted in the text, speaks of habitual residence in London.

king, or by the resolution which he took almost immediately to possess himself of the portions of the Brocas estates which had been, owing to the circumstances already mentioned, so long separated from the rest. It is extremely probable that he was aiming at both together.

There are signs of financial activity in all directions. He begins letting out the park of Beaurepaire in 1631.[1] In 1633 (June 6) he parts with the long-cherished inheritance of Little Weldon and the Mastership of the Royal Buckhounds, for 3,000*l.*, to Sir Lewis Watson, of Rockingham Castle.[2] This will be noticed in Book V., where it will also be seen that the practical duties of the Mastership were assigned to Thomas Tyrwhitt, one of the Royal Household, about the very time when the hereditary office in the Brocas family came to an end. It had often been sufficiently nominal in their hands; it is probable that it now became entirely so with the Watsons, soon afterwards raised to the peerage as Lords Rockingham, and that the duties of the office were assigned to persons who held it during the king's pleasure. In the same year he, his mother, and others concerned, obtain license to sell Little Brickhill to Anthony Abdy, and they afterwards sell it for 10,400*l.*[3] In the same year also Thomas Brocas buys in the last outstanding portions of his estates—the Jobson twelfth for 500*l.*—we do not know how much he gave for the Beckett twelfth. At the same time he joins his mother in a settlement by which she releases her dower and jointure to her son, on condition of receiving 440*l.* a year for life, and of the estate of Roche Court being settled upon Thomas' younger children, which was accordingly done.[4] Now there is a very much larger sum collected by these sales than we can account for by any purchase such as that above mentioned; but we do not possess any deeds or notices which throw more than a suspicion on the causes of the subsequent collapse till we come to the year 1638, when the following document was issued in May, soon after which, in November, the marriage of Robert, the eldest son, took

[1] See book vi. chap. ii.

[2] *Watson Papers.*

[3] *Patent Rolls*, 8 Charles I. p. 22, No. 48.

[4] We have, in a well-drawn 'Case' written in Thomas' own hand in 1648, the whole consequences of this settlement put before us. The Revolution of the previous years had by this time loaded him with debt, and Roche Court was in the following manner saved out of the wreck. Lady (Margaret) Brocas had made a redemise of Roche Court to her son for a term of 99 years; and on her death (year not mentioned) he had made entry, and was possessed of the manor for his life. But he had no title, for he had in 1633 made over to his mother's trustee the life interest granted him in the estate by his father's will. Thus his entry was illegal. He had no estate while his mother was alive, except what she gave him; and after her death he had possession only, without title. Thus he declares that his creditors had no power to seize an estate which did not belong to him. Amongst other debts which had been assigned on this property was one which a creditor had assigned to Charles I. himself. It is not to be supposed that anything intentionally dishonourable had been designed in this affair; but the hapless debtor, floundering about in 1648, with no loophole for escape but this, hits upon what turns out to be an effectual method of saving something for his children.

place. Had the two facts any bearing upon one another? Do they enable us to interpret the past?

Charles and his advisers had now been obliged to face the consequences of their policy, and amongst other measures of defence either absurd or ineffectual under the circumstances, had proclaimed that no one should leave the country without license, and that the gentry should repair to their country houses. Thomas Brocas has on May 12 the following exemption:

Charles R. &c.—To all, &c. Whereas by several proclamations heretofore published upon due considerations of State, We have commanded the nobility and gentry of this our realm having mancion houses in the country wherin they and their familyes have usually dwelt, to depart from our cities of London and Westminster and other cities and places with their families and servantes unto their severall countries to attend their service there, and to keepe hospitallity meete for their degrees and callings. And that they make not their aboad or residence elsewhere then upon their ordinary places of habitacion, under the payne of our high displeasure and their disablement to hould their places of trust under Us, and such further censure and punishment as should be meete for contempt or neglect of our royal commandment, &c.

Yet having received information by certificate under the handes of our welbeloved Sir Symon Baskervile, Knight, and William Goddard, Doctors in Phisicke, that our subject Thomas Brocas of Bewreper in our county of Southampton, Esquire, hath of late yeares beene much afflicted with sicknes, and that the cause thereof hath proceeded, as they conceived, from his late residence in the country and absence from London where he was borne and for the most part ever lived, and did also certify that yt might conduce much to the recovery of his health to continue his stay here and endanger his health (yf not his life) to remove from hence, &c. The king therefore gives him license for and during his natural life to reside with his wife and family in the city of London, or in such other place, and for such times of the year, either at Christmas or otherwise, as he shall think fit, without incurring any penalty, &c.[1]

Dated at Westminster, 12th May [1638].

By Writ of Privy Seal.

The hints obtained from this writ enable us to see that Thomas, like his father, was by no means a country gentleman of the old Brocas type. Having reunited his hereditary estates, he had let off his park and settled in London, had again repaired to Beaurepaire on the king's proclamation in 1632, fallen ill, returned to London, and now obtained leave to remain there. Hence, we may conclude, the opportunities afforded to his eldest son for courting Jane Bodley, Queen Henrietta's maid-of-honour. Perhaps her hand is to be traced in the issue of the writ which enabled her lover to be near the Court. Here

[1] *Patent Rolls*, 14 Charles I. part 43, No. 10.

father and son were in contact with the whole of the circumstances which led to the Great Rebellion; nor can we separate the father from the son as to the side he espoused, or how should we find them in complete agreement as to the settlements and other dispositions of the family property which they now jointly made?

The resettlement of the Beaurepaire portion of the Brocas estates upon Robert Brocas, on his marriage with Jane Bodley, is too complicated an affair for the text, but it may be stated in outline thus: Jane's father, Sir John Bodley of Streatham, on his part, pays 3,000*l.*; while Thomas and Robert join in the settlement on Robert and Jane of the manors of Beaurepaire, Cranes, and Bulsden cum Bentworth, with other neighbouring farms, and lands in Basing, Strathfieldsay, and Stratfield Mortimer. These are divided into portions, and limited to different uses contingently on the decease of their children. The only point necessary to notice in addition is that only six of the seven sons are mentioned in this settlement, John, the youngest, filling up the number, and Bernard being omitted. He is one of the two spoken of in legal documents of a very much later date, as having 'dyed very yong.' He therefore cannot well be the hero of the legend concerning the Battle of Newbury in 1643, of which presently.

Beyond the sale of the ancient Broxhead property by Thomas and Robert, acting jointly, in 1639 (though it, or a part of it, comes back again to the family for a few years at the Restoration), there are no deeds to show any further dealing with the family estates at this time. Nevertheless, in the 'Recital' of a most elaborate and careful 'Case,' at a much later date, we read: 'Presently after the said marriage settlement was made [at Robert's marriage in 1638] Thomas became indebted to several persons by judgments and bonds in several sums of money which farre exceed the value of the lands descended to the Lady Gardiner' [viz. the Beaurepaire and Roche Court estates]; and it is very certain that poor Thomas Brocas is found, when the curtain lifts in 1648, deeply in debt. A little later he is 'a prisoner in the King's Bench for greate debts, and havinge little or nothing to subsist on but what was before limited to him for his life, which if the creditors did seize on, he would perish for want of a livelihood.'

Now it is quite true that there is nothing to prove how this debt was incurred; but Thomas was a very different man from his father. Throughout the mass of papers which have been preserved there is not the remotest sign of dissipation, and there is an ever-present regard for the interests of his wife and children, whose words—in more than one of their wills—betray a deep affection and respect for their father. His widow, after burying him handsomely in the Brocas chapel, is herself placed in the same grave. His resolution to recover the last scattered portions of his estates was praiseworthy, and he

certainly cannot be specially blamed for parting with the ancient property of Steventon in 1648, which was sold for the benefit of his creditors. So also passed away several others of the smaller estates about this time, but without leaving any trace in the family papers by which we can speak positively as to date. These are the estates of Chinham, Tadley, Sherfield, Deane, Alton, Froyle, Tisted, Newnham, Odiham, Hook, Oakley, Hale, some of those in the three Sherbornes, and the estates in Wiltshire.

Thus the date at which the debts were incurred, taken with the disappearance of so many properties, fits in with the family traditions, and with the one absolutely historical fact which has come down to us on the matter, viz. that Beaurepaire was held for the king in 1645.[1] Where we can obtain no more conclusive proof than this we must be content with the balance of probabilities, and these are all in favour of the belief that the family was really ruined in the cause of the Cavaliers. It only shared this fate with thousands of others, but it is at least a respectable conclusion of an interesting family history. The disappearance of the family plate at this time is not of course a fact of any importance, except so far as it confirms a story rendered probable by other circumstances; and the existence of a cherished picture of Charles I., which has been handed down under the belief that it was a present from 'His Most Sacred Majesty,' accompanied by the tradition that it was once attested by an autograph letter from the king, need carry no more weight than it deserves as evidence, but there may be truth in the legend. It is an excellent copy of some master, exactly like what Charles was in the habit of giving to his friends. If so, it was the one single compensation for a ruin which threw into the shade the troubles which the ancestors of Thomas Brocas had undergone in the service of the early Plantagenets or of Richard the Redeless.

Failing to learn anything more about the course of the father, let us now extract what we can from the career of the sons. Robert and Thomas come on the stage as distinct personalities. Of Oliver, Richard, and John we know something. A shadowy vision flits before us of a band of brothers fighting for the king at Newbury, and one falling in the act of seizing a hostile standard. Finally, we have 'Lady Brocas' house' fortified and garrisoned for the king in the spring of 1645—how much earlier we know not.

Robert Brocas, the eldest son and heir, who joined his father in the settlement and management of the estates, must have been about twenty-five at the time of his marriage, no longer a mere youth,

[1] To these indications we may add the expulsion from his living, in 1645, by the Long Parliament, of Edmund Brockett, the near relative and principal trustee both of Sir Pexall and Thomas Brocas.

and a good deal older than his brothers when the troubles of the Great Rebellion began. The picture which is believed to represent him is that of a dark, stern man in armour. His father-in-law, Sir John Bodley, of Streatham, Surrey, does not appear to have been related to the famous Sir Thomas Bodley, the ambassador and founder of the Bodleian Library, nor do we find anything about Sir John in public records;[1] but his wife was of the well-known family of Evelyn, grand-daughter of George Evelyn, of Long Ditton and Wotton, sister of Sir Thomas Evelyn of the former place, and first cousin once removed of the famous John Evelyn of Hayes. It is thus that we find an Evelyn amongst the trustees of the Brocas estates in the reign of Charles II.

The marriage could hardly have taken place at a more critical moment. In November 1638 the mist which had concealed from Charles and Henrietta the abyss to the brink of which they were advancing with headlong speed, had begun to clear away. Laud's liturgy and Charles' blunders had already virtually commenced the war with Scotland. Richelieu was feeding the flame with French fuel in the shape of a subsidy to the malcontents. Strafford was maturing his schemes for a military despotism, which was to put down with a strong hand the visible stirrings of the outraged people, threatening the Crown on every side. Jane Bodley could hardly but have married a Cavalier. She would naturally rejoice to throw in her fortunes at such a moment with one who was bound to the same cause as herself, and held a stake in the country which the loyalty of many generations had consecrated to the service of the Crown. About a year after their marriage the eldest son, Bernard, was born. This we learn with certainty from the peculiar circumstances attending his death, just when he was of age. The birth of the second son, Robert, is found by the Streatham register to have taken place in August 1640, and of Jane, afterwards Lady Gardiner, in 1641. These entries show that the young couple, wherever they were at first, had taken up their residence with the Bodleys before the actual commencement of the Rebellion, while the family estates were being, as we have supposed, lavished on the daily support of the Court, and Robert Brocas engaged, we may also well believe, in the active service of Charles.

The wife and infants were thus placed under the protection of Jane's relatives. It must be left to our imagination to picture the excitement, the agony of those who were concerned in the events of

[1] From a pedigree in the *Visitation of Surrey*, 1623, MS. CXVI. in the Library of Queen's College, Oxford, we discover that Sir John's family had been settled at Streatham for three generations; that Francis, his father, was married to the daughter of Humphrey Collett, of London; and his grandfather, William, to Beatrix Sadler, of London. He had two children in 1623, Rebecca, aged sixteen, and Jane, aged seven. The latter must thus have been twenty-two years old when she married Robert Brocas.

the years 1642 and 1643. We know nothing of our young couple till the curtain lifts, with all the mystery of a stage tragedy, but also with all the horrible reality of life, and Robert Brocas' body is found one morning, covered with wounds, in the fosse of the Oxford fortifications. The date is variously stated as 1643 and 1644, but beyond the fact, which is undoubted, none of the circumstances, nor even the exact date, have yet yielded to such research as has been bestowed on the matter. No record is to be found in the Books of Oxford City; but that we might expect—*Inter arma silent leges*; and many other notices which should be in these books are wanting. Oxford was then the central citadel of the Royalists, and such a fact did not affect the 'Orders of the day.' It was only a dead gentleman found in the ditch. Still one might suppose that Robert Brocas' murder—for suicide seems most unlikely—would have found a place in contemporary papers or notes, such as those of Anthony Wood or 'Mercurius Aulicus,' both Oxford authorities. Neither here, nor even in the family papers, is there anything to give us light. The latter report, 'Robert Brocas, killed at Oxford, 1643.' Yet one would think there must have been some inquiry. This absolute silence has very much the air of a mystery hushed up for some reason.

Still we are not obliged to listen to the prurient gossip which we find retailed by some anonymous writer in the Rawlinson MSS., now in the Bodleian, and which really deserves no notice; yet, as it is public property, and might be raked up by some one else, we cannot pass it over as if it did not exist—especially as it seems to be nearly contemporary. The writer, whose ignorance is shown in nearly every line, had been informed that Jane had been engaged in an intrigue at Court before marriage, that her eldest son was born within eight months of that date [whereas we have seen it was a full year], and that this murder was the consequence of her crime. 'Some thought he killed himself, but more truly, generally, and credibly reported to be destroyed by her, because dead by wounds in a moat at Oxford, about 1644; for she loved him not as a husband.' This is a very random sort of 'report,' worthy of the times. There is nothing in Jane's whole history to justify such a frightful scandal; but we may frame a reasonable supposition out of the historical circumstances of time and place.

We naturally connect the arrival of the Queen at Oxford in the middle of 1643, and her flight in the middle of 1644, with the presence by her side in the 'loyal city' of her former maid-of-honour and Robert Brocas. The state of Oxford during Charles' occupation, and especially of the Court, was so notoriously bad, that our suspicions may well rest on some member of it; and nothing could be more likely than that some quarrel may have arisen, perhaps connected with Jane's old place at Court, in which Brocas might be concerned, and which would

give just that handle to the gossips of which one of the pack has made the above use. Men of the highest rank were not ashamed to avail themselves of the aid of assassins down to much later times. Thus there may have been reasons for silence amongst the Royalist writers, whose voice alone at this time is heard from Oxford in any public form. Some more private sources of information may yet be available, but from the Parliamentary side they would have, like the above, to be accepted with the greatest suspicion; for Henrietta was more furiously hated than Charles himself, and any scandal concerning her servants would be greedily swallowed. Some years afterwards we find Jane Brocas married to John Thorner, living at Beaurepaire with her husband and children, on her jointure, and protected as such from the creditors of her father-in-law, who was now in the prison of the King's Bench for debt.

But there were few families which did not experience in the most painful manner the bitterness of the struggle, through the family divisions to which the questions of the times gave rise. While Robert Brocas was with the king at Oxford, during the height of the war, Thomas, the second son, was serving in the army of the Parliament. This fact, which is exactly opposite to the family tradition, is ascertained by the following extract taken from the 'Royalist Composition Papers,' and headed: '1650. Examination of witnesses before Commissioners at Westminster on behalf of Captain Benjamin Mason, concerning a charge of delinquency given in against him.'

Captain Thomas Brocas, of Roch Court in Hampshire, aged 30 years or thereabouts [he was baptised at Steventon in 1619], sworn and examined, deposeth and saieth as follows: Has known Captain Mason nearly seven years; Mason was in command and service for the Parliament as Captain of a Troop of Horse against the late King's forces, and deponent was his Lieutenant, and was in actual service with him for the Parliament from 13th July to 2nd October, 1644, at the siege of Banbury, when Mason did on foot lead a party of horse dismounted against the Castle of Banbury, &c. In 1644 Mason bought ten horses in Essex at his own charges, which were instrumental to the raising of a troop of horse. (Signed) Tho. Brocas.

In another page (297) we get the exact date of this examination, August 6, 1650.

Five weeks after giving this evidence, 'Captain Brocas, of Roch Court,' was buried (September 13) at St. George's, Southwark. The only son who survived him, called by his own name, was born in 1650, about the time of his father's death. Thomas is said to have had five others who died young. If so, he must have married at least as early as the death of his elder brother. Mary, his wife, was a lady of good family, the daughter, and after the death of her brother, coheir, of Philip Catelyn, of Wolverton Hall, Suffolk. Even over her, as over so many others with whom we are concerned at this period, hangs

Roche Court

From a sketch taken in 1848

some mystery. She evidently found it best to keep out of the ken of the Brocases during the years immediately succeeding her husband's death. In a Brocas deed of August 8, 1656, we find the expression: 'If Mary, late wife of Thomas Brocas, and mother of Thomas Brocas, be now living, sole or unmarried, and have so continued since Thomas Brocas' death'—then she was to have half the profits of the lands placed in trust for her son, during her widowhood, for her maintenance. What had become of her? She again appears on the scene, however, after the resettlement of all the properties, and lives long, for her son Thomas buried her in the Brocas chapel in 1693–4. If we may trust the filial piety of the inscription, she must have been possessed of every virtue. She was, at her death, in her seventy-third year, and must have had many strange experiences to recount to the grandchildren who gathered round her at the battered mansion.

We observe from the above narrative that Captain Thomas Brocas was not only in 1650 styled 'of Roch Court,' but that his infant son had been provided for by his grandfather, and his lands placed in the hands of trustees. These lands comprised all the estate which did not form a portion of Robert and Jane's settlement, or of that which Lady Brocas had settled on her other grandchildren. We thus see that old Thomas Brocas not only made no difficulty about his Roundhead son occupying the second estate of the family, but placed that son's child in a position which eventually gave him the possession of Beaurepaire. The significance of these arrangements is shown by the fact that Bernard Brocas, the eldest son of Robert and Jane, the Cavalier couple, was the heir to all that was left of the whole estate in the natural course of things, and was then being brought up at Beaurepaire under his mother. He did not die till 1660. The clear inference is that some consideration of a peculiar nature was operative with old Thomas Brocas; and, as we cannot doubt his own Cavalier principles, we must suppose that something had occurred which rendered it imperative that he should recognise the second son and his infant almost in the place of his eldest son's heir. He may have been under some great obligation to him during the stress of the Civil War; it may have been through his influence that both the Beaurepaire and Roche Court houses survived the conflagration, or the old man may have quarrelled with Jane and her second husband. It is not of much use to guess, but there are the facts. Further, after the death of the grandfather the infant Thomas' trustee seems to have produced a settlement made by him of all the remaining estates on this youth, effected perhaps in consequence of the death of Bernard. The male heir of the second son was now to take the place of the female heir of the eldest son and of her husband altogether. The name of Brocas was to be continued at any sacrifice of the rights of Robert's heirs. But many things had by that time taken place in

relation to the various properties: old Thomas' outlawry nullified his acts, and, as we shall see, the claim was successfully disputed. However, as a matter of fact, the son of the Roundhead Captain became the progenitor of the male, though junior, branch of the Brocases settled at Beaurepaire.

But before explaining this process it will be necessary to notice the other sons of old Thomas Brocas. It is plain that neither Robert nor Thomas died for the king in the Civil War; nor did Oliver, Richard, or John, for we find them alive at the Restoration. The last, indeed, must have been a mere boy in 1643, for he was not born in 1630. Bernard, we have seen reason to believe, had died before 1638. William alone can be held to satisfy the conditions of the legend as to the battle; and if we are to believe it, his name must be substituted for that of Bernard. It occurs both in 1630 and 1638, but it does not occur after the war. The legend is this, and until recently was inscribed in the lobby of the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, under the flag which the hero was supposed to have captured at the first battle of Newbury.

This flag was taken by Bernard Brocas, of Beaurepaire, from Cromwell's army at the battle of Newbury, August 20, 1643. He was taunted by the Royalist party with indifference to their cause, on account of his love for a daughter of Lord Sandys,[1] who had the adjoining property and was in Cromwell's army, and stung by the imputation of cowardice, swore in the next engagement to take a standard or die in the attempt. This flag was found in his hand after the battle, and the standard-bearer dead by his side.

The inscription is quite modern, but represents the legend fairly enough. The flag is of faded yellowish flowered damask, with no other device but a scroll containing the words 'Constanter et fideliter.' A drop of blood, and some round holes which might have been made by bullets, bestow an air of genuineness on this symbol of a romantic story, no trace of which can be verified from any contemporary record, but which need not be on that account wholly discredited. Nor can even the extensive research of Mr. Walter Money, who has written the history of the Battles of Newbury, discover the slightest indication of any of this band of brothers having been engaged on that occasion, much less died on the field. But though this proves that, if they fought, it must have been in the ranks, it is nevertheless perfectly credible, and even probable, that their home being so near, some of them started forth and joined in the fray; nor have we any right to reject the similar legend that these same young men had previously fought at Edgehill. What can be more likely? Robert, William, Oliver, and Richard may have formed, with their servants, the little contingent from Beaurepaire; and the domestic character of the Newbury legend rather favours the

[1] Unfortunately for the legend, Lord Sandys was a determined Cavalier.

idea that William, if it was he, joined in an unpremeditated adventure rather than took a place which the muster-rolls, despatches, journals, and letters of the day might be expected to notice. Who would know anything about a little private flag, carried perhaps by the gallant leader of some similar family band, made up out of some gorgeous wedding-gown, and lettered by the fair hand of the wearer? If we ask with some surprise why no contemporary record of the deed is found in the Beaurepaire mortuary, we point to the rivalry of the two elder branches of the House. Perhaps we could hardly expect so much magnanimity from those in whose possession the family place remained. We are not bound to account for the preservation of the flag and the legend. There were plenty of Royalists in the family.

Lastly, with regard to the part taken in the war by those who lived at Beaurepaire in 1645. Of this, like the opposite course taken by Thomas Brocas, we should never have known anything from the family records. There only remained a tradition of the house having been held for the king, and of plate thrown into the moat—a tradition which, in the absence of all records, no one felt bound to believe. But a search of public contemporary documents has been rewarded in this case, though not in that of the murder of Robert Brocas. The tradition as to the conflict turns out to be strictly correct. In the 'Perfect Diurnall' of April 25, 1645, occurs the following:

By letters this day from Abbington we heare further to this effect: that Col. John Fiennes sent out a party of his own regiment from Abbington, under the command of Captain Edmund Temple, to Brimpton, in Barkshire, near Newbury, who fell upon the enemy quartered in the towne, took seventeen prisoners with all their arms, and twenty horse; from thence they marched up to my Lady Brocas' house, fortified by the enemy, which they summoned. They within the house were two troops of horse and sixty musketeers, but upon the appearance of a second party commanded by that gallant Major, Captain Temple's brother, they quitted the house and fled to Basing, whither they were pursued with good execution done upon them, a welcome business to Barkshire and Hampshire; for that from this house the country was plundered as far as Reading, and very fit to be fortified by the Parliament, if they please to take it into their consideration. The noble Colonel, though his regiment is much weakened with continuall service, is now gone with Collonel Crumwell against Oxford, from whence we may expect to hear of action shortly.[1]

We find from this notice that Beaurepaire, as we might expect, was, in May 1645, an outpost of Basing House, which had long held out against the Parliament, and was not stormed till some months later. 'Lady Brocas' was in all probability the wife of Thomas, the head of the House, by whose name, while he was in prison, the place would be known. She had no right indeed to that

[1] The writer is indebted for this extract to Mr. C. H. Firth, of Balliol College, Oxford.

title, but in the popular designation it was, and even is now, often conferred without right in the case of considerable county families. We may be almost certain that the old Lady Brocas, Sir Pexall's widow, had succumbed to old age by this time, as she certainly had in 1648. As to which of the band of brothers were found co-operating with the troops who fell back upon Basing House, no doubt according to their orders, we have no means of judging. The house would scarcely have been seized by the gallant Marquis of Winchester as an outpost without their goodwill. If we are right in believing it at this period to have been the same which was built or restored by Sir Bernard Brocas, its massive walls would be capable of making some resistance; and the wide moat was in itself an obstacle of some value. The place was, as the writer above quoted says, 'very fit to be fortified.' Field entrenchments were no doubt thrown up within the moat, of sufficient strength to beat off small parties of the enemy. The attacking force was very considerable, and we are not called upon to accept with implicit faith the version of the enemy. Enough is told us, however, to show that the royal troops were not keeping a very sharp look-out, for they were evidently taken by surprise.

So much for the Brocas family during the war. When we next obtain sight of them, in 1656, Oliver, now the eldest son, is taking the lead. The father is still in prison, outlawed for debt;[1] Oliver and Richard are living at Roche Court, where they had for some time taken the place vacated by old Lady Brocas and Captain Thomas, the Parliamentarian. The Thorners, with Bernard and Jane Brocas, the children of Robert, killed at Oxford, are living at Beaurepaire, Robert, the second child, having died young. A short abstract of the settlements which took place in 1656 will be found in a note.[2]

But on December 18, 1660, the aspect of affairs was unexpectedly changed by the almost sudden death from small-pox of Bernard, the

[1] Aubrey speaks of Thomas Brocas as being still in prison when writing his notes on Bradenstoke, which were not begun before 1659, nor finished before 1670. (*Collections for Wiltshire.*)

[2] Sir Robert Wingfield, old Thomas Brocas' brother-in-law, Adiel Baynard, of Basingstoke, son of Lady Brocas' trustee, and Oliver Brocas, are the agents in this settlement. The former receives from Baynard the Roche Court estate in trust for the surviving grandchildren of Lady Brocas; on which old Thomas, their father, exercises his power of appointment, and divides the estate between Oliver, Richard, John, Prudence, and Elizabeth Walden, now a widow; but Oliver is placed in the position of eldest son, with the house, the largest share of the land, right to heriots, &c. &c.; and Thomas, the infant son of Captain Thomas, has a share assigned him in case he does not obtain possession of Beaurepaire. By another deed Richard and Prudence are made trustees of the child's portion, half of which was to go to his mother if she is discovered to be unmarried. Thus the life-estate of old Thomas, in Roche Court, having been saved from his creditors by the forfeiture he himself made in error, his children and grandson now have estates in fee, which are protected by the act of Oliver and Richard, who complete the transaction by creating a trust for a 'term of years to attend the inheritance.' Bernard and Jane, of Beaurepaire, are excluded as being provided for on that estate.

eldest son of the new generation.[1] His sister, Jane, now became the sole heir-at-law to her brother, father, and grandfather, as well as heir-general under the will of Sir Pexall Brocas, her great-grandfather. This position and its consequences might not have been made clear to the whole family, already wrecked by the stress of past storms, if she had not married very soon afterwards a practised barrister, Sir William Gardiner, who seems to have performed the difficult task of setting everything in its right place, and yet keeping friends with all. He next demands our attention.

We are in complete ignorance as to any previous relations between the Brocases and Sir William Gardiner, and equally so as to the exact cause of his being made a Baronet and Knight of the Bath; for at the coronation of Charles II. (April 23, 1661) he was one of the eighty Knights of the Bath who rode in their robes through London in that magnificent procession. Not that it is easy to trace the services of many others in the list; but at such a time, with such a vast number of claims upon the king, we may be sure that there was some very distinct reason in each case. Gardiner and his family had indeed performed political services on the Royalist side, which were of a nature to be recognised by some reward; and other persons of the same name are found with whom he had some connection, if not relationship, and who had done great services; but it is probable that the Brocas marriage had a good deal to do with it. That marriage did not take place till a month later than the creation of the titles, viz. on May 28; but there are several circumstances which point in this direction. The family of Beaurepaire and Roche Court were breaking up, as we have seen. Bernard, the heir, had just died; Jane, now the heiress, was just twenty years of age; and her mother, the old 'Maid of Honour,' was not likely to leave the restored king in ignorance of the situation. The aged head of the family was still an outlaw—at least so we have reason to think; his grandson, the son of the Parliamentary Captain, was a child, and Oliver, the leading man, probably the lawyer, of the family, was dying unmarried. He passed away in July, leaving 'my Lady Jane Gardiner,' his niece, all his estate at Roche Court in fee, and making her his sole executrix.

[1] Bernard had only just come of age. He had already arranged to reunite what was left of the Beaurepaire estates, and to settle his sister's jointure. Two days before his death he signs a deed by which he grants the Beaurepaire estate to his mother for her life, with remainder to her husband, Thorner, and his heirs (rendered necessary by the large sums Thorner had advanced to further the settlement), provided that if the sums owing to Thorner were repaid, the use limited to Thorner is to determine, and the estate to vest in himself and his heirs for ever. This and the preceding note show plainly enough the straits to which the once prosperous family were now reduced. These two estates alone remain, and the whole family are to find their subsistence upon them. Money has to be borrowed as a condition of making any settlement of the chief estate, though it involved the probable contingency of its speedy loss to the family.

His will, still extant in his own hand, is otherwise suggestive. He requires his niece to pay his 'dear father, Thomas Brocas, Esq., 40*l.* per annum during his life,' and legacies of 30*l.* to his sister Prudence, 20*l.* each to his brother Richard, his sister-in-law Jane Thorner, and John Thorner, and 10*l.* each to his sister Elizabeth, his brother John, and his cousin Pexall Brocas; but he does not remember the young Thomas, the only male of the next generation. Evidently in his mind Jane and her bridegroom were to be the heads of the family, as the law entitled them to be. He and Jane Thorner had been concerned in the whole arrangement, and nothing would be more likely than that King Charles, who must have been familiar from his cradle with these outlying members of his father's Court, accepted the idea of aiding the family to recover its old position by promoting William Gardiner, to whom he owed recognition on other grounds. Loyalty would thus be rewarded on all sides, and the old courtiers restored, like himself, to a place of rank and honour.

Sir William Gardiner is at first 'of London,' where, at St. Pancras, the marriage took place. There, also, several of the Brocases had been living during these unsettled times. There they would have been on the spot to welcome Charles on his arrival. Immediately after the marriage, on Oliver's death, Sir William became 'of Roche Court,' the title which has been retained by his heirs, the elder branch of the Brocas family, ever since. The new baronet must, however, have been a man of some fortune, for his territorial title was for some time almost a barren honour. Many of the deeds in the family chest contain the processes, now sufficiently uninteresting, by which the various estates cut out of Roche Court, under Sir Robert Wingfield's Trust, for Lady Gardiner's uncles and aunts, were gradually bought in or fell in; for she was heir-general not only of her immediate progenitors, but also 'of all her uncles and aunts who died without children, and had not otherwise disposed of their estates in their lifetime.' Some portions of the estate were, however, during the process finally lost to the family; nor was what was left ever entirely in the hands of Sir William Gardiner. His son, Sir Brocas Gardiner, on his mother's second marriage to David Morris of Lambeth, at last obtained full possession in exchange for an annuity settled upon her for life.

The successive steps by which young Thomas was settled at Beaurepaire will be more properly treated in a note. It is sufficient in this place to remark that the result of the complicated transactions of which the heads alone have been presented to the reader, was that the senior and junior branches of the family changed places, the latter going on at the chief seat of the ancient House, the former at the second. The Brocas name continued where it had been fixed by the Gascon knights in the reign of Edward III.; the new name established itself on the

MODERN BEAUREPAIRE, BUILT WITHIN THE ANCIENT MOAT

From a sketch by Mr. W. Brocas, 1850

property where the Poitevin bishop of Henry III.'s reign had left his mark. To the most ancient inheritance succeeded the Wigan Royalist, to the less the Cromwellian soldier's son. It was a strange freak of fortune which assigned the unbroken male inheritance from the king's Anglo-Gascon servants to the family of the only member of the clan who had fought against the Crown. Yet who in the present day would think of finding any fault? To many it would appear to be an arrangement which satisfied the claims of poetical justice. The really remarkable thing is that the descent from the Parliamentarian has been so entirely, and so long ago, forgotten by his descendants, that a tradition has come down to present times that a Brocas of Beaurepaire went so far as to claim a peerage by way of reward for the loyalty of the family to the cause of Charles I., and declined the rank of baronet in terms which were considered by the Crown lawyers as punishable.

The family history during the two succeeding centuries must not be looked for in these pages. There has been nothing to distinguish the members of either branch from ordinary country gentlemen, nor is there any more ground than usual for indiscriminate and unmeaning eulogy. Perhaps they have not been less at ease since their earlier history, which alone justifies notice in print, came to an end. The interesting memories of that time have certainly not left behind them many solid advantages. Comparative obscurity need not perhaps be reckoned a disadvantage, but when Beaurepaire was sold in 1873, and two of the pictures were bought for the National Portrait Gallery, the newspapers spoke of them as a resurrection. They had been 'buried at Beaurepaire in Hants.' Where is Beaurepaire? asked those who did not remember that in modern times 'Nimrod' had written some of his sporting articles from that place. These pictures claim to be originals of Queen Mary and Mary Queen of Scots. We may guess as we please how they came into the family. There is also, of the same period, a remarkable picture, believed to be a Vandyke, of a person unknown, but wrongly marked 'Earl Strafford, beheaded May 12, 1641.' This was no doubt inscribed by some young member of the family after Jane Thorner had left the old place. We hardly realise what a gulf between the times of the early and later Stuarts was caused by the Great Rebellion. It was a 'Restoration;' but a restoration to its old order of a changed world.

One member of the restored family, alone in either branch, has carved a place for himself, but it was on the limited stage of a University. This was Bernard Gardiner of the Roche Court branch, third son of Sir William Gardiner and Jane Brocas, Warden of All Souls from 1702 to 1726, and at a very critical period (the Accession of George I.) Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University. Though a man of peace by profession, his stormy career yielded to that of no one of his warlike ancestors in the exhibition of a spirited resolution to do his

duty in the midst of great difficulties, and in spite of an envenomed opposition. His career was not equally characterised by the milder virtue of conciliatory forbearance. Of him the writer of these pages has given some account elsewhere.[1] He was of 'Founder's Kin' at his College, through his great-great-grandmother, Margaret Sherley, Lady Brocas, who traced her descent from Sir Thomas Kempe of Olanty, who married the great-niece of Archbishop Chichele, Founder of All Souls.

The Gardiner baronets were not above adding to a limited income from professional sources. It would not seem that the Knight of the Bath practised at the Bar after his elevation; but his son, Sir Brocas Gardiner, was, like his father, a member of the Inner Temple, and held a post in the Stamp Office; and his son, the second Sir William, was in the Pay Office. The relations between these baronets and their kinsmen at Beaurepaire were friendly and intimate. The third and last of them was executor to one of the heads of the Brocas House, and if Sir William had left issue, that issue would, by the will of another of them, have united the Beaurepaire estates to those of Roche Court. But the title became extinct at the death, in 1779, of this Sir William Gardiner. It was almost immediately revived in the person of John Whalley, the son of Grace, daughter of Dr. Bernard Gardiner of All Souls; and became extinct a second time in 1868, at the death of the fourth baronet, Sir John Brocas Whalley-Smythe-Gardiner.[2]

Both branches have kept up the traditions of their ancestors in serving the office of High Sheriff of Hampshire, which has thrice fallen to the later owners of Roche Court, once to those of Beaurepaire. But there has been only one Member of Parliament in either branch, and that not for the county. This is intelligible enough. The forfeiture incurred in 1400 and the bifurcation of the estates reduced the family to a humbler condition than it had previously occupied, but it still held its head high, during the fifteenth century, in Hants and Bucks. The increase of wealth and importance under the Pexsalls was more than balanced by the vicious excesses of Sir Pexall Brocas. After having been brought low in the Civil War, the two branches into which the family once more bifurcated could not expect to stand quite where they did of old.

It is remarkable that though several estates have come to the family since they were re-established after the restoration of Charles II., all have disappeared again in turn, except the two which were saved out of the wreck at the Great Rebellion. These have exhibited a

[1] *Worthies of All Souls* (Macmillan). A mistake as to Gardiner's parentage has crept into that book.

[2] The additional name and arms of 'Smythe' were granted in consequence of the descent of the property of the Smythes, of Cuddesdon and Tackley, Oxon, to Sir John Whalley, whose grandmother was Grace, daughter of Sir Sebastian Smythe.

tenacious vitality, but Beaurepaire has at last succumbed. It passed into the hands of strangers in 1873.

The Roche Court estate of the Whalley-Smythe-Gardiners is now left alone to represent the wide domains of the 'great House of Brocas.' It enjoys the not very common distinction of having come down in an unbroken descent from Emma Fitzroger and her husband, Geoffrey de Roches, of exactly twenty generations.

NOTE ON THE GARDINERS OF WIGAN.

Sir William Gardiner was descended from an old civic family belonging to the town of Wigan in Lancashire, which, when the parish register commences in the reign of Elizabeth, already ranks high among the burgher aristocracy. By that time the Gardiners, or Gardners—for the name is spelt in both ways—can be traced in three distinct lines, spreading into suburban Standishgate, extra-mural Scoles, and the out-township of Aspull. Sir William derived his parentage from a branch of the clan which migrated to London early in the seventeenth century, but which retained a very close connection with the original stock. He and his father utilised that connection in the cause of the Cavaliers, by strenuous efforts to become the representatives of Wigan in Parliament, a laudable ambition which was also exhibited in another member of the clan, Edward Gardiner.

William, Sir William's grandfather, was Mayor of Wigan in 1596, and died in 1616. In 1588 his son Robert was baptised, and the register notices the fact in the exceptional style of entry reserved for local magnates. As Robert's name does not appear again in the register, either at marriage or death, but only in the town records as a voter and candidate for Parliament, the migration to London of his branch, which we gather from other sources, is tacitly confirmed. In 1628 and in 1639 he stands unsuccessfully for his native place—in the latter year along with the celebrated Royalist Orlando Bridgman. In 1649 he appears on the list of burgesses as 'armiger;' so also did Edward Gardiner in 1640, but as we do not find any earlier indication of social rank, this seems to indicate that the family did not take out arms before the time of the Stuarts. In Robert's person there is a distinct accession of social importance. He marries Mary, sister of Sir William Palmer, of Hill, in Bedfordshire, and his son is brought up at Oxford and as a barrister of the Inner Temple. In the edition of 'Gwillim's Heraldry' published before 1660, the arms of the family are thus described: 'He beareth or, on a chevron gules, between three griffins' heads erased azure, two lions counter passant of the field, by the name of Gardiner of Wigan in Lancashire, from whence descended Robert Gardiner of London, Esquire, father of that hopefull gentleman, William Gardiner, and of Mary, Baroness Digby, of Geshall in Ireland.' The name of Sir William himself first appears in the roll of Wigan burgesses in 1639, when he votes for his father; and this will bring his birth back at least as far as 1618. He is also on jury and burgess lists in 1649 and 1651. All this goes to prove a close connection with his family place at a period when it was engaged in the very thick of the struggle which divided the country into two

opposite camps. Wigan went heart and soul for Charles, and suited the action to the word by taking the offensive, during the early years of the war, against its rival, the town of Bolton. Twice over the men of Wigan were beaten back by their Parliamentarian neighbours, but in 1643 their enterprising spirit was rudely crushed; for the town fell, like all the rest of Lancashire, Lathom House excepted, before the conquering arms of Colonel Ralph Assheton, of Downham Hall, near Clitheroe, who carried it by storm at the head of his troops. Whether William Gardiner was concerned in this brief struggle we know not, but a few years later, on the eve of the Restoration, he is accepted by his clan and their friends as the Royalist candidate for the new Royalist Parliament. This was the celebrated 'Convention Parliament,' the first of Charles II. It assembled on April 25, 1660; and William Gardiner was returned along with Hugh Forth; but these two were not the only ones returned. During the long abeyance of regular Parliamentary Government irregularities had crept in, and claims to vote were preferred by a section of the Wigan people which were not admitted by Gardiner's party. His opponents prevailed. John Molyneux and Robert Stoughton, whose names had been sent up along with those of Forth and Gardiner, were, on the issue of a new writ, re-elected; and thus for the fourth time in twenty years the family ambition remained ungratified. If an undated statement in Cartwright's 'Sussex' (vol. ii. p. 164) refers to the subject of this sketch, William Gardiner had experienced a previous disappointment; for in the reign of Charles I. 'Mr. William Gardiner, Esq.' had been 'recommended' to the borough of Steyning as their representative, by Lord Arundel, without success, although the earl undertook that his nominee 'should not require any Parliamentary wages.' The reason for believing that William's education had taken place at Magdalen College, Oxford, is that all the circumstances fit in with his identification as the William Gardiner, Gardner, or Gardener—spelt in all these ways—summoned in 1648 before the Commonwealth Visitors. When questioned: 'Do you submit to the authority of Parliament in this Visitation?' he gives a short, straightforward answer, strongly contrasted with the evasive replies of the other members of Magdalen College on the same occasion: 'I cannot submitt to this Visitation.' He is a 'Commoner,' and being marked for expulsion, we should not expect to find his name afterwards amongst the Graduates. He would be at that time, if born in 1618, a man of thirty, an age which was very unusual for a 'Commoner;' but he may have been pursuing his legal studies at Oxford after a period of non-residence occasioned by the war. The conjecture that this was Sir William Gardiner is strengthened by the fact that he sent his son Bernard to Magdalen.

We know nothing more about Gardiner's family, and should not have known so much as this but for the timely publication of the 'History of Wigan,' by Mr. David Sinclair, who kindly undertook a further investigation into the Wigan history of the Gardiners, but without results. There were others of the name in prominent positions on the Royalist side, and of these one family was highly distinguished in the war, that of Sir Thomas Gardiner, of Cuddesdon, Oxon, King's Solicitor and Recorder of London. With them Sir William—to judge by the arms—had no connection except by marriage, a sister of Sir Thomas being married to William Gardiner's uncle. Sir William

Palmer. Dr. Richard Gardiner, Canon of Christchurch, Oxford, may have had more claim to relationship, for his arms contain two of the griffins' heads erased, which form the chief feature of the Wigan branch, and, though he is said to be 'of Herefordshire,' he may have migrated there from Wigan. He was one of those expelled 'by the rage of the fanatics' (see his monument at Christchurch, and the 'Visitors' Register,' published by the Camden Society). The arms of the Gardiners, of Castle Combe, Wilts, are almost identical with those of the Wigan family, but no connection whatever has been traced.

NOTE ON THE GARDINERS AND BROCASES OF THE RESTORATION.

It must have required all Sir William Gardiner's skill and tact to secure his wife's rights in Beaurepaire. There were two distinct parties in the family. That of which Oliver Brocas had evidently been the head was now represented by the Thorners at Beaurepaire, and the Gardiners at Roche Court. They took the legal view of the matter. Young Thomas was to have his share of Roche Court, or a sufficient compensation; Lady Gardiner was to succeed as heir-general to both the Brocas estates. On the other hand, the surviving trustee of old Thomas Brocas, the second Edmund Brockett, interpreted his trust to mean that these estates should come to the young Thomas as male heir of the junior branch; and this, when the grandfather died in 1663, was, no doubt, his desire. The lad, who had till then been probably brought up by his mother, is now found in the neighbourhood of Beaurepaire, where he selects a champion in Richard Johnson, of Sherborne St. John, to whose daughter he is, in the year 1664, at the age of fifteen, discovered to be married. This lady is unknown to the pedigree; but young Thomas' deed, making his 'father-in-law,' Richard Johnson, his guardian, is extant. We have also an amusing letter from Sir William Gardiner to Thorner, complaining of this man, who is already receiving rents at Beaurepaire, and who, on the strength of his guardianship, sets up a handsome carriage with two fine black horses. Whatever may have been the rights of the matter, the 'infant's' claim is decidedly strengthened by these proceedings; and by the time he comes of age in 1670, it would seem to be admitted that his grandfather's trustee had been able to establish rights in some portion of the Beaurepaire estate. The deaths of Prudence and Elizabeth, his aunts, in 1666, had simplified matters, and the portion of the Beaurepaire property which could not be denied to have descended to Lady Gardiner on the death of her grandfather is handed over to Sir William. Soon afterwards the Thorners agree to take this portion in exchange for the shares of Roche Court which belonged to John Brocas and Elizabeth Walden, and which they would seem to have bought. These are now assigned by them to Lady Gardiner and her heirs in tail male.

So matters rested till 1676, when Thomas Brocas' second marriage precipitates what looked like a final settlement. When his first wife died we do not hear; but she could not have left him any children. He now marries Mary, daughter and heiress of Edmund Webb, Esq., of Liddiard Millicent, Wilts; but that he retained the friendship both of his first wife's and of his mother's family is shown by the appearance of the names of Richard Johnson and

Philip Catelyn, of Stepney, as his trustees in 1678. As yet, however, his claims in 'equity' were not distinct enough to enable him to dispose of the Thorners at Beaurepaire, or of the contingent interest of the Gardiners in that place; for on January 16, 1676, Sir William and Lady Gardiner make formal entry upon the houses and manors both of Beaurepaire and Cranes. We hear of no opposition; and the rents being now paid exclusively to them, there is every appearance of the establishment of a clear legal right, and of a resolution to hold the whole property for Lady Gardiner, the heir-at-law. This decisive step is, however, next year met by another equally decided. In 1677 Edmund Brockett dies (and was buried at Sherborne St. John on March 27), leaving all the estates of which he was trustee to Thomas Brocas, whom he constitutes sole executor. This trust included Beaurepaire house and farms, as well as all the settled lands of Robert and Jane, his wife, the inheritance of which was in Lady Gardiner. It would seem clear that old Thomas Brocas was in no condition to make such a trust; but the resolution taken in his old age to substitute his second son's male heir for his eldest son's female heir was thus expressed in the fullest manner. Sir William Gardiner, in an extant paper, exposes the illegality of these proceedings without much difficulty, on several grounds, one of which is that the trustee had assigned the 'Term to protect the inheritance' long after old Thomas Brocas' death, so that the grandson was barred by 'Non-claim.' However, Thomas Brocas had now by his marriage funds to prosecute his claim in Chancery; he was backed up by lawyers, and the issue might be doubtful. Here was a fine opportunity for the fraternity which had already swallowed up so large a portion of the ancient inheritance. But Sir William Gardiner was not only a lawyer, but an experienced and sensible man, who knew the world and understood his condition. Thus he perceived the value of a compromise. How strong his case was is shown by what took place. In 1678 Thomas Brocas consents to give the sum of 1,550*l.* for the relinquishment of the Gardiner claims on the freehold estates of Beaurepaire, Cranes, Bramley, Strathfieldsay, Stratfield Mortimer, Pamber, Basingstoke, Monk's Sherborne, Sherborne Cowdray, Sherborne St. John, and Basing; while he himself relinquishes his claims on the Roche Court estates. The copyhold estates, settled originally on Jane Thorner on her first marriage with Robert Brocas, in Sherborne St. John, Pamber, and Bramley, remain with the Gardiners. In order to effect this arrangement Sir William lent Thomas Brocas 1,000*l.* on a mortgage of Beaurepaire.

So at last ended the long series of settlements, lawsuits, and compromises which date from the death of Sir Pexall Brocas in 1630, and of which the commencement may really be traced from 1571, when Sir Richard Pexsall, under the influence of Elinor Cotgrave, his second wife, made his ill-judged and unfortunate will. The ghost of Lady Elinor Paulet, his first wife, was at length appeased.

What became of the Thorners does not appear, for they are not buried either at Sherborne St. John or at Fareham. But as Thomas Brocas' son, Thomas, by Mary Webb, was baptised at the former of these places on January 1, 1679–80, we must suppose that the father and mother established themselves at Beaurepaire immediately after the completion of the final

agreement with the Gardiners. There also were baptised and buried his two pretty daughters, Mary and Anne, whose pictures have been preserved, both of them cut off in early youth, and on the monuments of both of whom are inscribed some fanciful but pretty verses. No other male names are found in this Beaurepaire branch for three generations, but 'Thomas,' that of the old Cavalier, and his Roundhead son; nor do the girls receive the names of their great-aunts.

The will of one of those aunts, Prudence Brocas, has some character in it, and may be here in part appended. She was buried in the Brocas Chapel on November 28, 1661, thus surviving her brother, Oliver, only a few months, and being forty-four years of age: 'In the name of God, Amen.—I Prudence Brocas, one of y^e^ daughters of Thomas Brocas of Beaurepaire in y^e^ county of Southampton, Esquire, single woeman, being at this present tyme weake in body and considering how incertaine my life is, and not knoweing how it will please God to deale with mee; and being of good and perfect memorye and understandinge, praised bee God for it, doe make and ordayne this my last Will and Testament in manner and forme following: Imprimis I give and bequeathe to my brothers Richard and John Brocas tenn poundes to each of them to buy them mourneing; and to my sister Walden the like summe of tenn poundes to buy her mourneing, and my sable muffe and tippett and black velvett mantle, and my satten gowne lyned with catt skinns and my pearl bracelett with gould pomanders, and chest of childebedd lynnen which was my mother's: Item, I give to my nephew Thomas Brocas mourneing and my great gould ringe with a whole skelleton upon it, and tenn Elizabeth gould Angells and all my bookes: and to my nephew Sir William Gardiner, Barronett, my diamond ring with seaven diamond stones in it; and to his lady my neece my diamond lockett with fifteene diamond stones in it, and my father's picture sett in a guilte case: Item, I give to my brother and sister Thorner, to each of them five pounds: Item, I give to my sister Brocas, y^e^ wife of my said brother Richard Brocas, and to y^e^ widowe of my brother Thomas Brocas deceased, to each of them twenty shillings to buy them a ringe.' The remainder of the will contains bequests of jewels, apparel, and money to Mrs. Mary Browne, 'my cozen Barbara Ludlowe,' 'my kinswoman, Mrs. Francis Wingfield,' Dr. Charles Bostocke, Dr. Adyel Baynard, and, above all, to her sole executor, 'my kinsman, Mr. Pexall Brocas.' He is to have her gold watch, the legacies left her by Oliver Brocas and Mary Miles, her residuary estate, and the lease of a house in 'Baldwyn Garden, neere Grayes Inne in y^e^ county of Middlesex,' Richard, Elizabeth, and John to have it in succession if Pexall should die before the expiration of the lease. One only of these books (but none of the jewels) has been recovered by the family. It is a rare copy of 'Christ's Passion, a Tragedy,' dated 1640, by George Sandys, with a poem 'to the author,' by the celebrated Lord Falkland, prefixed. Prudence Brocas writes under her own name, 'given me by the Lord Sandys.'

This model lady, who lived at Males, a farm then on the Roche Court estate, where she built a 'brick house,' would seem to have been a link binding together all the members of the family without exception. Richard lived for many years at Broxhead. It will be remembered that in a note

to Book III. we have ventured to identify him as the grandfather of Sir Richard Brocas, the Lord Mayor of London, who died *s.p.* in 1737. John does not seem to have married. Elizabeth Walden died in 1666. Her husband seems to have belonged to a Coventry family, which came into possession, after his time, of Symson Manor, Bucks. Pexall Brocas, the cousin mentioned in the will, is also found as trustee and useful friend of the family in other papers, but he has never yet found a place in the pedigree. His date would correspond with that of a son of the brother of Sir Pexall Brocas, who, as we have seen, bore the same name, Pexall; but we have, in the Ickenham Register, the death of a 'Pexall Brocas' who could be no other than this youth. It is possible that the trusted and respectable gentleman of the Restoration period was the son of an illegitimate son of Sir Pexall Brocas, who had been taken up by the Beaurepaire family, and had come to be reckoned as one of themselves, repaying his obligations in an exemplary manner; but it is much more probable that he was one of the Brockett family, who had taken the name of 'Brocas,' as we have seen was contemplated in Sir Pexall's will.

BOOK V.

PARALLEL HISTORIES.

CHAPTER I.

THE MASTERSHIP OF THE ROYAL BUCKHOUNDS.

Like many other matters connected with the House of Brocas, the memory of their hereditary Mastership of the Royal Buckhounds, though it lasted for several centuries, has completely passed away. If a newspaper contributes a sparkling article on the existing hunt and its accompaniments, it is sure to speak of its origin as 'lost in the mists of antiquity.' If a learned expert delivers a lecture before the Archæological Society on Rockingham Castle, he betrays no suspicion of the early provision made for the sport of the monarchs who resorted to the castle for the express purpose of hunting with their own buckhounds hard by. If local residents are now at last beginning to collect the customs and antiquities of the forest, they have nothing whatever as yet to guide them on this subject beyond the few lines which are to be found in that excellent book of its kind, Bridges' 'Antiquities of Northamptonshire'—lines, indeed, which only make one regret that such a painstaking author should not have been able to use more complete materials. What little may be found in any other book or pamphlet has been filtered from that one contracted source. Even the late Canon Thomas James, in the brilliant article upon Northamptonshire which he wrote for the 'Quarterly Review' (reprinted in 1864), never notices the subject. The deeds and papers given in the present volume, though far from numerous, are at least trustworthy, and may serve for a beginning; it is not perhaps too much to hope that they may draw out something more from the hidden recesses into which modern research has begun to penetrate. If we nowadays perceive the importance of understanding the exact history of stones

and ditches, we may well think it worth while to trace the origin and growth of institutions represented at the present day, though they existed only for the recreation of royal personages. That the present Masters of the Royal Buckhounds, though the office is no longer hereditary, are the representatives of the old hereditary masters, admits of no doubt whatever. It is not likely that kings or queens, if they should ever read, or hear of, the following brief narrative, will ever desire to recur to the ancient system.

No earlier notice of any regular establishment for the King's Buckhounds at any place has yet been made public than the grant of certain lands in Little Weldon, a manor near Rockingham, to Hamon Le Venour, in 1216. It was supposed by Mr. Bridges that these were the same lands which were afterwards found in the possession of John Lovel, Master of the Buckhounds, at his death in 1316, just a century later. But whatever else is to be learnt from the puzzling memorandum which heads the Brocas series, it is clear that the Lovels had been placed at Little Weldon as far back as the time of Henry II., who granted certain lands and the lordship of the manor, which had been forfeited by Michael FitzRobert, the son of Olof, to his Chamberlain, Osborne Lovel, and at his death to William Lovel, from whom it descended through another William Lovel, to John 'now living.' The date is not given, but the paper must be assigned to some year within the lifetime of the John Lovel mentioned above, who died in 1316. Hamon's grant, therefore, would seem to have been interposed between successive grants to the Lovels, and to have passed away with him, and so come to be forgotten. At any rate, it is with the estate and office of this John Lovel that we are here concerned, for we can trace it down to the present day. Whatever were the original relations of 'Hunter's Manor,' in Little Weldon, to the royal 'Manor of Little Weldon,' of which it was a part, it is assumed, in the time of the Edwards, a position of its own so entirely independent of the larger manor that it is itself invariably called in the Brocas deeds, and in official papers, the 'Manor of Little Weldon'—sometimes in the later deeds with 'Hunter's Manor' prefixed as an alias. The manor proper has no history of the slightest interest. 'Hunter's Manor,' which obtained, though improperly, the title of the 'Manor of Little Weldon,' carried with it the Mastership of the Royal Buckhounds in Grand Serjeantry for many centuries.

But why should this obscure little spot have been selected as the centre of the royal sports; and why should it have held its place through all vicissitudes of time, and all revolutions of the throne? The answer is to be found in the central position and regal history of Rockingham Castle and Rockingham Forest. That forest, in Anglo-Saxon and Norman times, covered an extent of country which seems almost incredible in our day. Its impenetrable fastnesses had played

no unimportant part in the 'making of England,' and even when reduced to the limits which it retained almost to modern times, it was twenty-four miles long—from Oxendon Bridge to Stamford—and twelve in width between Rockingham and Thrapstone. The numerous woods and moorlands which still meet the eye, though much has been utilised as parks for noblemen and gentlemen, and though cultivation has advanced with steady pace on every side, remind the most cursory visitor of what the forest must once have been. Quaint forest names, peculiar customs, and a population which has not yet lost the forest mark, still survive within the precincts in which king after king found his loved pursuit, and where hereditary 'Venours' attended him with hounds and horn, robed in the livery which was specially provided from the royal wardrobe, and above all in the mighty boots, the price of which seems to bear so large a proportion to the rest of the equipment.

But there were many other royal forests, some sixty-eight of them, including the New Forest; why should all this provision be made for Rockingham alone? The inspection of the castle, even in the present day, when the noble Late-Norman or Early-English gateway alone remains to show what Mr. Watson's fine residence was when a royal palace, suggests a sufficient answer; still more when one reflects on its proximity to Northampton, the royal castle of war and government, as Rockingham was of retirement and sport. Long before Windsor, old or new, contained anything but an ordinary castle, occasionally visited by the Norman and early Plantagenet kings, Rockingham Castle was their almost regular residence, as far as anything could be called a regular residence for that much-travelling royalty, always on the march. There had been a royal palace or nobleman's house on the spot before the Normans came. The quick eye of the Conqueror at once discerned the capabilities of that fine situation, high enough for defence, not too high for convenience, commanding the devious course of the Welland, and protected on all sides by the forest. The castle he built passed away. It was succeeded, or patched at different times, by structures of the reign of Henry III. or Edward I. It had come to be dilapidated in the reign of Edward III. By that time it was virtually superseded by the greater convenience and magnificence of Windsor. Times had already changed. The king must be nearer London. Rockingham was becoming more and more a mere temporary abode for hunting, not a residence. In the Yorkist and Tudor reigns the castle came to be settled on queens for life, a sort of royal dower-house. The notices of it in the reigns of the later Tudors and early Stuarts show that the forest had already to a great extent broken up. Subjects managed it in their own interest rather than that of the Sovereign. Even James I.'s devotion to the chase failed to recover the past.

But the long and gradual process can scarcely yet be said to be completed in one respect. The love of the chase has never in England been confined to the Court and the great nobles. The forest is still the country of the Pytchley Hunt, and curiously enough a very favourite place for the meet of the hounds is a stone about three feet high, and now fast sinking into the ground, on the border of Farming Woods, called the 'Bocase Stone.' This ancient stone marks the site of a still more ancient tree, as the inscription, twice repeated almost in the same words, testifies:

> 'In this place grew Bocase tree:' (and, lower down)
> 'Here stood Bocase tree.'

No tradition of the meaning of this inscription survives, or can now be traced. Of late years recourse has been had to 'Notes and Queries,' with much the same result as in the case of 'the Brocas' at Windsor. Some gravely suggested that the old tree marked the spot where the buck, when shot, was deprived of its 'case' or skin; but why shoot the animal at one place and flay it at another? As the word 'buck' differs so very materially from 'bo,' one is almost tempted to apply a certain old familiar expression to the propounders of this theory. Others held that it might be a place for forest archery, and that the competitors placed their *bow cases* against the venerable tree; —which seems a little far-fetched. Others again, remembering that there is a strip of land some little distance from the place where the stone stands, called the 'Straits' or 'the Bowcast,' hold that the word is a corruption of this term, and that the word, marking the distance of a 'bearing arrow' shot by the forest archers from the long bow, was transferred to the tree; but this rather suggests the idea of 'shooting round a corner;' for the Bowcast is at right angles to the road where the stone was fixed, and is a good way from it.

The writer of these pages ventures to suggest at least as good a guess as any of the above, derived from the Brocas history, the knowledge of which, though it had been casually noticed by Mr. Bridges some generations ago, had entirely passed away from the neighbourhood when he visited the spot. Was not this tree—this place where the hounds still meet, conveniently situated as it was both as regards the ancient kennels of Little Weldon and the old roads (still traceable), by which hunters from all parts of the forest could easily make their way—the usual spot selected for the meet by the Brocas Master of the Royal Buckhounds? But the 'r' is omitted from the word. So is the still more important 'w' from the word which is supposed to represent the bow. Anyone can see that there would be a tendency among the common people to sound 'Brocas' with very little stress upon the 'r'; and as tradition gradually usurped the place of actual presence, the stonemason who rudely executed the work might very

naturally believe he had rightly represented the old name which had so long passed away. The dates favour this theory. The mistake could hardly have occurred even two hundred and fifty years ago, when the name was familiar; but it might easily have been made in the early part or middle of the last century, when this stone seems to have been put up; for its old appearance is not borne out by the shape of the letters, the inscription being rather rude than old. As for the redundant 'e,' that is nothing; most words in old times had an unnecessary 'e' at the end. Further, near the stone is a place still called 'The Lords' Walk,' and this again almost adjoins 'Harry's Wood,' traditionally sacred to some one of the kings of that name. Here, we may well believe, was the rendezvous of the Court. Here the monarch expected to find his sport. His castle was on the edge of the forest; and after an easy ride, he would be, when he came to this spot, well within its more secluded glades. Here, at the 'Brocas tree,' stood Brocas and his huntsmen, his 'veutrers,' his 'berners,' and his buckhounds. In short, the tree marked a spot intimately connected with hunting and with kings and lords. What name but 'Brocas' can be found to bind together all those associations at that place?

The question arises:—How did the early kings of England hunt their other forests? Why was there this one establishment alone—this one hereditary Master for Rockingham? No doubt the hunting establishments of those earlier kings must have been an important part of their administration. In that 'mimic war'[1] they and their nobles were trained from childhood, and the severity of the forest laws is proof enough of the jealous care with which they guarded their so-called rights. The Gros Venour was a great officer, and it was his business to find sport for the king whenever he might resolve to hunt. But it must be remarked that we never find that office, nor the great family of Grosvenor, in connection with the institution which we are now to trace—the Mastership of the Royal Buckhounds, properly so called. Some day we shall probably know something about these earlier matters. At present they are a blank. Let us speak of what we know, and marshal our facts.

Soon after the Norman kings had passed away we come in contact with the first and leading fact. A regular provision for the hunting of Rockingham Forest has been made. The charge of it has been bestowed on a family which holds it in fee with a certain neighbouring manor. In the first year of Henry III. a particular huntsman has lands assigned him in the place where the king's hereditary Masters

[1] Did Sir Walter Scott take that happy phrase from Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, quoted in the preface to the anonymous edition of *The Book of St. Albans*, published in 1810? The author draws out a quaint and elaborate parallel: 'The houndes be the square battell; the greyhoundes be the flanquarts and wynges to follow the enimy; . . . . to be short, it seemeth a very campe in battayle.'

of the Buckhounds had been already established. This must have been the act of the Earl of Pembroke, or Hubert de Burgh, for the king was a child; and it fits in with the known fact that King John had been especially devoted to Rockingham. He visited the castle fourteen times during his reign, and was a furious follower of the chase. Hamon was probably the favoured huntsman, and the land may have been assigned to him in order that the young king should have the benefit of his immediate services, or that the old servant should have the reward which he had earned. It is possible that there may have been no Lovel to fill the office at the moment when his duties were to be performed; or if Hamon had been really put into the hereditary place, a Lovel may have married his daughter, and so recovered the rights of his family; for we never hear of Hamon le Venour again.[1] At any rate, as John Lovel is, when he dies in 1316, so firmly established in the hereditary Mastership that his daughter carries the office to two husbands in succession, we need not trouble ourselves very much about what had taken place in the preceding century; but we cannot fail to note that the old Norman Gros Venour, with his expensive administration, had long ago given place to a modest provision, carefully regulated by the Royal Household, for the regular hunting of Rockingham Forest by the king whenever he might be at the castle.

We might well expect that some change of this sort would be called for, when we remember the great importance which was attached to the *Charta de Forestis*, as also the virtual break-up of the old Norman and early Plantagenet habits of dealing with their subjects, which took place during the long and agitated reign of Henry III. and the wise reconstitution of England under Edward I. Whether the royal buckhounds of Rockingham were used for hunting elsewhere, or if not, what sort of temporary provision was made elsewhere, are questions which no materials yet come to hand enable us to answer. We may guess what we please; but we are on perfectly firm ground when we reach the reign of Edward I., and the tenancy of Little Weldon on the conditions above mentioned, by John Lovel. These Lovels, by the bye, seem to be of the same family as that, so well known in the later Middle Ages, of Minster Lovel; from which stock also the Lords Lovel of Tichmarsh, near Thrapston, seem to have descended.

The terms on which John Lovel held his estate and office are practically the same as those which governed the tenancy of the De Borhuntes and Brocases, though they were somewhat further developed in the course of time. On August 15, 1316, the escheator reported that Lovel had held one messuage and one carucate of land in Weldon Parva of the king *in capite* by service of keeping and feed-

[1] It is likely enough that the grant was cancelled under the provision of the new *Charta de Forestis*, which prohibited such grants during the king's minority.

ing at his own charges fifteen *canes currentes* of the king's, for the forty days of Lent in each year.[1]

We know very little else about these Lovels; but a full account of the family of De Borhunte, in which they merged, is given (in Book VI.) in connection with the single deed concerning the Borhunte family property which is found in the Brocas chest. From the two other Borhunte papers found there, relating to the estate and office of the Mastership, we get a little further into the history which is now before us; and from the Public Record Office we obtain a separate notice or two of the Thomas de Borhunte who married John Lovel's daughter in 1314. They are these. In the list of Edward III.'s household, soon after he comes to the throne, appears the name of this Thomas amongst other 'Venours;' and in 1337 he stands first in a list of three '*Venatores Hospicii Regis*,' receiving for his salary and robes *41. 16s. 3d.*[2] The undated document describing his duty and the details of his salary is an official statement procured from the Chamberlain, or other chief officer of Edward's household, and there are two copies in the chest. It was evidently preserved as a sort of Royal Charter. It may be translated as follows:

Thomas Borhunte holds of the king *in capite* a chain of land in Little Weldon, of the inheritance of Margaret, daughter and heir of John Lovell, his wife, by service of being 'Venour le Roy des deymers,' or Master of the King's Buckhounds. His duty is to take charge of twenty-four buckhounds and six greyhounds of the king's pack, receiving for the feed of each an obol, or ½*d.* a day, and also of two under-huntsmen, whose wages are 1½*d.* a day, with a robe of cloth, or a mark in money by the year, and boots. He is also to take charge of a veutrer[3] [or huntsman] at 2*d.* a day, who is to have a robe, or a mark in money, and also 4*s.* 8*d.* for boots by the year. Out of this pack of

[1] The messuage was worth, with appurtenances, 5*s.* a year; the carucate, containing seventy acres of arable land, was worth 29*s.* 2*d.*; and four acres of meadow, 6*s.* There was also a wood containing twenty-four acres, from which there was no profit because it was in the King's Forest of Rockingham, a little water mill worth 5*s.*, two free tenants, who paid 7*s.* 6*d.* rent, and a cottage which paid 1*s.* 6*d.* rent for all services. Margaret, wife of Thomas de Borhunte, daughter and heir of the said John, was twenty-eight years old by one inquest, twenty-five by another; Thomas was twenty-five years old. John Lovel and Christiana his wife held, in addition, Benham Valence in Warwickshire, which also was carried by Margaret to her husband; and they had manors in Berkshire (Inq. p.m. at Northampton and Warwick, 10 Edward III. No. 41). From the Inquisition taken on the death of Edmund Crouchback, Edward I.'s brother, in 1300, we find the distinction between the above lands in Little Weldon and the manor itself clearly made out. That manor Edmund held of the king at the rate of 40*s.* It comprised a messuage, fifty-six acres of arable land, four acres of meadow, sixty acres of wood, seventeen free tenants, and certain bondmen and coterells, whose rents &c. are described. Edmund also held the Vill of Rockingham.

[2] Exchequer Q.R. Wardrobe and Household Acc. $\frac{2}{13}$, 4–5 Ed. III.

[3] From 'veutrier,' to hunt the boar. We find it, later on, in the forms 'beautrer' and 'beaulterer.' It seems to have been pronounced like 'fewtree,' e.g. in the Duke of York's 'Master of the Game,' 'Hornes for fewtrees and woodmen I speke not of.' (See *Book of St. Albans*, Ed. 1810.)

hounds the master is to keep at his own cost, for the forty days of Lent, fifteen buckhounds and one 'berner' [varlet, or keeper, of the dogs, from *bernarius*, a boarhound], the other berner, the rest of the dogs, and the veutrer to be kept at the king's cost, not only for the above forty days, but for the rest of the year. The Master's salary to be 7½*d.* a day when 'in Court,' and when on the king's business away from the Court he is to have 12*d.* a day for salary and expenses, and two robes a year in cloth, or 40*s.* in money. The 'seigne en malades' is to have for livery [daily] 1*d.* worth of bread, a gallon of beer, a mess of 'groos' from the kitchen, and a mess of roast. The other huntsmen [for their livery] at the king's will.

Here is the whole apparatus, by no means remarkable for its extravagant proportions, even when multiplied by about twenty, in order to bring it to the current value of money, but no doubt on the same scale as the rest of the expenses of the royal household. What is most observable in the paper is the absolute acknowledgment of the hereditary character of the office. It was 'Margaret Lovel's inheritance' which Thomas de Borhunte held. This was the vice of the institution; but the history of the tenure during its transition from the Lovels to the Brocases seems to show that there was no intention at that time of allowing the office to be actually held by females, though they might transmit the claim. And this was probably the case in later times. Later on, we shall find Parliament restricting the succession to male heirs; but in spite of this it came again, under the Tudors, to female heirs in such a manner as to be ridiculous; for the proceeds of the office were divided amongst four of them, and the office itself could not possibly be anything but a name. This female inheritance did not matter in the case of an immediate marriage of the heiress, since the Crown would hold the office and estate in abeyance for short intervals; but it was sure in the long run to defeat the original object of the Mastership, and to end in its being bought and sold like so much private property. It may here be observed that an interval of four years elapsed between the death of John Lovel and the entry (after payment of 40*s.* by way of 'Relief') of Thomas de Borhunte on the office of Master of the Buckhounds; and this though he had married Margaret Lovel two years before John's death. So long an interval suggests that it may possibly have taken that time to get over the difficulty presented by female inheritance; but in the reign of Edward II., which was almost one long civil war, such indications are of less value than usual.

Another vice attending the strict hereditary descent of such an office, so characteristic of feudal ideas, was that it carried the Mastership to persons who might be at any distance from the scene of their employment. The De Borhuntes, like the Brocases, were essentially South-country folk. They could not be often engaged on a journey of considerably more than a hundred miles on horseback through the roads

or no roads of those days. The work must have been left very much to the under-huntsmen. They themselves would only preside on State occasions, though of course they would have to make their appearance as Officers of the Household at Court, for which special provision was made.

These arrangements suggest that an office of so ceremonial a character could hardly have been retained for centuries unaltered, unless the royal hunting in Rockingham Forest had undergone, under the later Plantagenets, a complete change. The rapid sketch given above of the gradual desertion of the palace-castle for Windsor will explain how it happened. Whether the Brocas Masters of the Royal Buckhounds had any responsibility for the royal hunting at Windsor, Guildford, or elsewhere, during their tenure of office we can no more say than we can as to the earlier days of the office, when the ancient irregular hunts crystallised into the one institution which the Royal Household recognised. In collections of Rockingham deeds and petitions for payment of the Rockingham salary, we could not expect to find this information; but it does excite a little surprise that no stray hint as to the exercise of the office should survive, except an order from Edward III. to settle a pension on a veteran huntsman, and a message from James I. to Sir Pexall Brocas about some dogs which had been sent from Yorkshire.

After the death of Thomas de Borhunte in 1340, Margaret, his widow, married William Danvers, and carried the manor and Mastership of the Buckhounds to him, as she had carried them to her first husband. Danvers surviving her, and living to 1361, Sir John de Borhunte, Margaret's son, who died in 1359, never enjoys the inheritance; but on Danvers' death it devolves on Sir John's widow, Mary, for her life. The reversion was claimed by Margaret's relative, Matilda, or Maude Lovel, who was now married to William Trewe-man; for the son of Sir John and Mary de Borhunte died about this time, and Mary could convey to her second husband no larger estate than she herself possessed. Sir Bernard Brocas in 1365 proceeds to purchase this reversion from Maude, whether she had any real claim or not, and in 1366 obtained, on the payment of one year's income, viz. 4*l.*, a license from the king to Maude to enable her to alienc. There still remained the possibility of Maude's heirs bringing their claim against Sir Bernard; and other heirs of Margaret besides Maude might put in a claim. The provisions of the deed by which he binds himself and a certain Simon Levelys, brewer and citizen of London, in certain sums, against any action which these heirs might in the future take for the recovery of the office and manor may be commended to money-lenders; but Simon found his match in the experienced knight. The process may be briefly described as follows: Sir Bernard had in the previous year borrowed from Simon the sum of 100*l.*, no doubt the

money paid to Maude. If he pays up that sum within nine months, the bond for 200*l.*, which he had given for repayment of the loan, shall be cancelled. But Levelys had also in the previous year given Sir Bernard a bond for 480 marks (320*l.*), which sum he had to pay in November next following, or lose twenty marks. Sir Bernard agrees not to demand this latter sum as long as he holds peaceful possession of Little Weldon and the Mastership, undisturbed by Margaret Danvers' heirs; but if Sir Bernard is ousted by Maude Treweman, he may bring an action, with a month's warning, for the above twenty marks. In such case, if Levelys can prove that Maude is the heir, then he shall be discharged of his bond, as well as of the debt due by Statute Merchant; but if he fail to appear, or the verdict go against Maude's claim, he shall pay 250 marks in discharge of the whole debt. If, however, Levelys shall be dead before Sir Bernard is ousted by any other heirs of Margaret besides Maude, and if, after due warning, the tenants of Levelys' lands pay 250 marks, the bond shall be cancelled.

The gambling nature of this transaction may have mitigated the painful apprehension of the future, under which both parties seem to have laboured. We hear no more of these dreaded heirs, nor is it easy to see why we should, for the king's writ, conveying the office and manor to Sir Bernard, recites that the knight had paid 4*l.* into the Hanaper, in return for which the king has granted Matilda Lovel a license to make the grant of her reversion to Sir Bernard and his heirs. There is no reservation of heirs male, neither is there as yet any mention of the source from which the salaries have to be paid, still less of the 50*l.* 6*s.* which figure in so many subsequent documents as the total payment.

We may conclude that there were no difficulties as to payment of salary during the time of Edward III. and Richard II. The Brocas knights, father and son, were in high office and close contact with those sovereigns. Nor does the attainder of the second Sir Bernard affect the tenure of 'the manor of Little Weldon called Huntesmaner, since the old Sir Bernard Brocas had granted it to Arnald Brocas and others by Fine, 7 Ric. II., with other manors, lands, and tenements,' and the trust was still existing.[1]

With the Lancastrians came not only a special mode of payment, but serious difficulties about being paid at all. We first hear of the salary being assigned on the revenues of the Sheriff of Surrey in 1421, a memorandum of which date we find in the Brocas chest, concerning the payment of part of the salary due to William Brocas from John Halle, Sheriff of Surrey.[2] The method of payment was by warrant

[1] Inq. p.m. 1 Hen. IV. part 1, No. 17.

[2] Sussex is found comprehended along with Surrey in most of the documents, but not in this case. It is the same with knights of the shire; no one has yet explained why it

under the Privy Seal, addressed to the Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, three copies of which, two of the reign of Henry VI. and one of the reign of Henry VIII., are found in the Brocas chest. They are all alike. The obol is in the former reign called a 'maill,' a medieval word for a very small coin (whence black mail); the time during which the keep of the hounds is to be paid is from Michaelmas to June 24; the 'Statute of our Houschold' is referred to as the authority on which the whole rests; and Brocas is styled 'maistre de noz Bukhoundez.'

But in 1449 the disastrous condition of Henry VI.'s affairs had affected this amongst greater matters. In the Rolls of Parliament of 27 Henry VI. is found William Brocas' petition, the copy of which in Book VI. the reader will find interesting, if only as a specimen of quaint and forcible English. The original grant is already pushed back to 'tyme that no mynde is;' and the cause of the failure of payment is traced to so many Letters Patent having been issued upon the revenues of the sheriff that he has nothing left for Privy Seals. Brocas begs that he also may have the benefit of the former method of payment. Whatever service may have been required of 'William Brocas Squyer,' he is not afraid to claim that he and his 'auncestres' have done 'trewe and contynuell service;' and he 'mekely biseecheth' the king to 'consider tenderly these premises.' The reply is favourable, so far as to order that his claims shall in future have precedence of all others; but there is nothing said about Letters Patent, and the opportunity is taken of settling, by a stroke of the pen, the inheritance upon the heirs male. That William Brocas was well advised in crying out before he was more seriously hurt is shown by what took place in the following year. On the very eve of the civil war—and it was one among the many causes of it—Henry's shortsighted counsellors, in their desperate straits, persuaded him to pass an Act for the Resumption of Grants. The escheator at Northampton reported that the king might resume the manor of Little Weldon, farmed by Thomas Osbern, but that there were no other lands which could be so treated. The Brocas manor was left untouched; Osbern's was seised into the king's hands.[1]

Nothing more is heard of these too casual payments till the reign of Henry VIII. We have seen that the heads of the family fell easily into their allegiance to the House of York; and we have examined the relations of John Brocas to Richard III. and Henry VII.

The next and last series of documents have been also noticed in

was sometimes one way and sometimes the other; nor were the two counties regularly placed under separate sheriffs till 1637. Still less can it be explained why that sheriff had to provide this particular salary, which was in connection with another and distant county. Not that it is a greater anomaly than the assignment of English pensions on the Irish revenues, which was the fashion in the last century.

[1] Inq. ad. q.d. 20 Hen. VI. No. 1.

dealing with Ralph Pexsall's marriage to Edith Brocas. From the joint petitions of the two husbands of the two wards we were able to obtain some clue to an obscure portion of the family history. But not only were the arrears petitioned for never paid, but in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh years of Henry VIII. the sheriff still continued to refuse payment, and Pexsall appears to have obtained no redress. We may, however, suppose that these difficulties now came to an end, for we hear no more of them. Wolsey probably put the matter straight for his friend; and a little later Sir Richard Pexsall's high position with Queen Mary, and the complete and formal recognition of his rights by the chancellor of the day, along with her Letters Patent,[1] would prevent any further trifling. Besides, he was the son of the Brocas heiress, and in a different relation to the office from his father. The attempt of Sir Pexall Brocas to enter on his office without Elizabeth's license, his subsequent pardon, his success in obtaining his payments of salary by the order of the chancellor, and his attempt to assert his claim to a place at the coronation of James I. have been already sufficiently noticed. The latter was the first case of the sort that has come down to us.

The still more exclusively ceremonial and nominal position which the Mastership had now assumed would seem to have become so clearly marked by the circumstances which have been already mentioned, that we should scarcely have expected to find the single passage in the whole history which relates to the execution of the office occurring in the time of Sir Pexall Brocas. James I. soon after he had knighted him was in correspondence with him about dogs; this could hardly but bear some reference to the pack which he was bound to supervise. It has been hinted that Sir Pexall's disgraceful character may have stood in the way of the further practical revival of the Mastership under the king who of all others would have been most likely to desire it. Even Carr and Buckingham must have frowned the Master out of Court, and the young Prince Charles could not have tolerated him, much less Abbot, who brought the High Commission Court to bear on his misdeeds, or Laud, who set himself to work to reform society on the new Laudian model. Thus, when in a fit of remorse Sir Pexall resolved to found a 'Brocas College' at Oxford, he assigned the Manor of Little Weldon, and the profits of the Mastership as a part of its revenues, exactly like the other estates which he set aside for the same purpose. There was no question of the royal pleasure in the matter, nor is there any mention of the King's license in the deed by which it was finally alienated. Dr. Brockett, Sir Pexall's trustee and apparently adviser, saw no difficulty from that quarter. If the Master was not to be at Court—so perhaps they argued—his salary was at least as much his own to deal with as the properties which,

[1] *Remembrances of the Exchequer, Letters Patent*, 1 Mary, May 23,

though they had come down through so many ancestors, they did not reckon as within the claims of his son. Much the same view of his position was taken by that son when his turn came: and though his father had revoked the deed of Foundation of the College, the Mastership and the manor were sold for 3,000*l.* to Sir Lewis Watson only three years after Thomas Brocas had succeeded to their possession. The deeds by which Sir Lewis, afterwards Lord Rockingham, became possessed of the estate and Mastership, and various documents connected with the tenure, have been preserved at Rockingham Castle; and their contents, by the kindness of Mr. Watson, the present owner, made known to the present writer. They do not add much to the knowledge derived from the documents in the Brocas chest and the Public Records which have been consulted, and throw no light whatever on the practical exercise of the office. Nominal as it had become with the Brocases, so it remained with the Lords Rockingham, who, however, secured some sort of irregular payment of salary up to 1691, when all record of payment comes to an end. '*Ultra nil allocatio.*'[1]

Thus ends a curious history, of which we may well desire to know more. If the credit of the office had suffered in later years under Sir Pexall Brocas, it had at least the respectability of a great antiquity; and we have no reason to suppose that its hereditary possessors had not fulfilled all that was required of them. Even if we regard Sir Bernard Brocas as the first Master from whom Thomas could claim a clear descent, the latter was disposing of a tenure which had lasted 267 years; but though the royal interposition and a sum of money had been necessary to turn Mary de Borhunte's life interest into an estate in fee, she may certainly be reckoned amongst those who passed it on from the times of the first Lovels, who were planted by Henry II. in Little Weldon; and this gives a descent of nearer five than four hundred years before it passed away from the direct line of Lovel-Brocas.

Scanty as the narrative of the Brocas tenure has necessarily been, the subsequent history of the subject, though so close to our own times, is still more obscure. The unsuccessful claims of the Masters of the Royal Buckhounds who succeeded the Brocases to have a special place, by Grand Sergeantry, at the coronation of the Sovereign, confirm what has been already said on this subject, and demand a few words. Sir Lewis Watson, from his position at Rockingham, was precisely the man to hold the office. His grandfather, Sir Edward Watson, held lands and tenements in Rockingham Manor in the reign of Henry VIII.; his father is found in possession of that manor itself in the reign of James, and it is confirmed to Sir Lewis in the reign of Charles I. It was the father who turned the old palace-castle into a

[1] Extracts from Pipe Office Accounts. (*Watson Papers.*

dwelling-place, just as we see it now, half Plantagenet fortress, half old-fashioned Elizabethan house, with the inscription in gold letters still running along the beams of the hall:

> The house shall be preserved and never will decaye
> Whearе the Almightie God is honored and served daye by daye. 1579.

It was thus extremely natural that Sir Lewis should desire to add the Hunter's Manor of Little Weldon to his Rockingham property, and the title of 'Master of the Buckhounds' to his baronetcy.

The year 2 Car. I., or 1635–6, is often quoted for claims made at 'the Eyre held for the Forest of Rockingham.' Sir Lewis Watson is on that occasion found to be in possession of Hunter's Manor in Little Weldon, and in right of that property claims 'by prescription to himself and his heirs, Huntswood and Hunt Shorte, as parcel of Hunter's Manor, free from the jurisdiction of the forest, with the liberties of chase and free bay, and common of pasture within the forest aforesaid.' This indicates what the customs of the Brocas tenure had been.[1] On this same occasion Sir Christopher Hatton made his claims for the manor of Little Weldon proper. He had inherited it from the famous Sir Christopher, of Queen Elizabeth's time, in whose descendants, the Finch-Hattons, that and other neighbouring estates have remained to the present day. As Queen Elizabeth visited her favourite more than once at his magnificent mansion of Kirby Hall, in the heart of the forest (the grass-grown ruins of which, with the woodman's little fire of sticks lighted in the great hall, are now one of the most melancholy and touching sights in England), we must suppose that she could hardly fail to require the services of her Buckhounds. Surely one or other of the Hereditary Masters must have attended her.

Two documents on the subject of the place claimed at coronations by the new hereditary Masters of the Buckhounds illustrate the tenure of the successors of the Brocases. The following decision, given at the coronation of Charles II. by the Court of the High Steward (on April 21, 1661), shows that the peer was no more fortunate than the commoner had been at the coronation of James:

> To be Master of the Buckhounds, and to keep 24 buckhounds and 6 harriers.
>
> Claimant: Edward Lord Rockingham.
>
> Right: As holding the manor of Little Weldon, in the county of Northampton, and the Bailiwick of the Guardianship of the King's Buckhounds *in capite* by that service.

[1] The independence of the manor and its appurtenances of the forest jurisdiction was formally testified in Sir Lewis' time by the 'regardor,' the 'reeve,' and three 'foremen' of the Forest of Rockingham. It was 'without the regards of the forest, so that the foresters and keepers have not, nor ought, to meddle therein.' (*Watson Papers.*)

Fees, &c.: Twopence a day, and for a mongrel[1] twopence a day; and for two servants for each of them three-halfpence a day; and for feeding the said buck and hare hounds one halfpenny a day for every of them, as also the fees and wages in the king's house, according to the statutes thereof, viz. for the said master 7^{d} a day, and for the said two servants three halfpence for each of them; and for two robes for the said master 40^{s} by the year, and for the said servants or lay keepers 13^{s} 4^{d} a year for each of them, and for shoes and stockings 4^{s} 8^{d} a year for each of them.

Answer: This claim, not appearing to have ever been formerly made, was not allowed, but he was left to sue for justice if he thought fit.

The Lord Rockingham of 1683, though his predecessors had not 'thought fit' to carry the matter any further, was not satisfied with this decision, and again advances the family claim in much the same terms as before, on which again follows practically the same 'judgment:' 'Not allow'd, because not relating to the coronation; but left to take his course at law if he thought fit.' It may be observed that on this occasion thirty-nine claims were preferred, twenty of which were grounded on the tenure of some manor which had originally given a title to the office held. Most of these were allowed. The only claim which exactly corresponded to Lord Rockingham's, and was not allowed, was that of Lord Carnarvon, who claimed in right of being 'Surveyor and Conservator of his Majesty's hawks,' as seised of the manor of Ilmer in Bucks; but his 'judgment' also was: 'Not allow'd, because not relating to the coronation.' The above was the last attempt from Little Weldon.

It has been already said that a place in the coronation procession could scarcely be granted in later times, when there was no record of it in the test case of Sir Bernard Brocas at Richard II.'s coronation; and Sir Pexall Brocas' failure had rendered the claim still more untenable. If indeed every office held by Grand Sergeantry in those earlier days had conferred a claim to a place at modern coronations, the procession would have been interminably long and outrageously

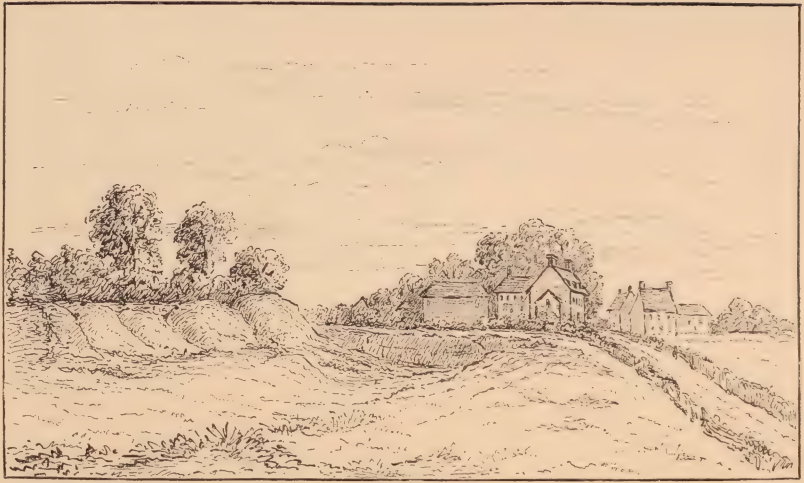
[1] Here is the first and only mention of a 'mongrel,' which, however, was clearly not what we now understand by the term. This we equally perceive by referring to the great mediæval authority on hunting, the so-called 'Dame Juliana Berners' (*Book of St. Albans*). Was the name, by the bye, of the noble family of Berners derived from the office mentioned in these papers? Their origin is lost in antiquity. She tells us that: 'Thyse ben the names of houndes: Fyrste there is a grehound, a bastard, a mengrell, a mastiff, a lemor, a spanyel, raches kenettys, terours, butcher's houndes, dunghyll dogges, tryndell tayles, pryck-eryd currys, and smalle ladyes popees that bere awaye the flees and dyvers smale fawtes.' If anyone wishes to measure the distance which separates us from the date of the earlier notices of the Buckhounds, let him take up the Dame's quaint treatise, which smacks of such a mellow antiquity. This was written rather after than before the middle of the fifteenth century, i.e. in the time of William Brocas and his son. The office had then already been in the family for a century since Sir Bernard Brocas first obtained it.

expensive. It was only under the Hanoverian dynasty that a much-required limit was at last put upon all these things.

It ought to be possible to say who was the last of Lord Rockingham's family that held the above office, paid or unpaid, by right of inheritance. In the absence of certainty on that point we must take refuge in moral certainty. It would be very strange if the series did not come to an end with the celebrated Marquis of Rockingham, twice Prime Minister. Neither record nor tradition helps us in the matter; but we have seen that no payments of salary took place after 1691. It had become absolutely nominal; the Mastership of the Buckhounds in a practical form has been an office of the Household precisely on the same footing as the rest for a great many years; and the cessation of the old hereditary distinction would naturally occur on the death of the Marquis, who, it will be remembered, was the last of the Watsons to hold the Rockingham title. Dying without male heirs, that title came by marriage to the House of Wentworth, Lord FitzWilliam's eldest son taking the title of Lord Rockingham. But the Rockingham estates went on in a collateral line of the Watsons, and have remained ever since in that family.[1]

[1] It is indeed by no means certain that a substantial divorce between the titular office, held by Grand Sergeantry, in connection with Little Weldon, and the actual office as bestowed by the Sovereign from time to time, may not have taken place immediately after the former was vacated by Thomas Brocas, of Beaurepaire. We hear of it for the first time at that date; and if Charles I. himself considered that, the hereditary office having come to an end with Brocas, he was at liberty to confer the title on another person who had certainly nothing to do with the Grand Sergeantry, it might well have been held at subsequent coronations that the Grand Sergeantry had become rather less than nominal. That the appointment by Charles I. was not to a mere title, but to a practical office, may be concluded from the following extract, taken from the unpublished 'Notices and Remains of the Family of Tyrwhitt.' This interesting paper was written by a public-spirited member of the House, and lent to the present writer by Mr. Montagu Tyrwhitt, representative of one of the branches of that ancient family by intermarriage with the Dymokes of Scrivelsby, hereditary King's Champions:

'Robert, the son of Robert Tyrwhitt, of Scotter and Cameringham, Co. Lincoln, and Sheriff of the same county in 1611, was early placed in the Household of Howard, Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain and Treasurer to James I. In 1614 he unfortunately added to the troubles of the illustrious Raleigh, then in the Tower, by fighting a duel with Walter, his eldest son. . . . In 1616 Robert Tyrwhitt was introduced by Lord Suffolk to the service of Charles I., then Prince Charles, and remained in it thirty-two years. He was a dashing horseman, and on the 12th May, 1625, the day that Henrietta Maria landed at Dover, he rode thence with the news of her safe arrival "within half an hour and six minutes, to the king at Canterbury," fifteen miles. (*Finetti Philoxenis*, 1656, pp. 151–153.) These were his fiery days of manhood, and relays probably enabled him thus "in running to devour the way." In 1627 he had a grant of a pension of 100*l.* a year for life. In 1628 he was appointed Chief Ranger of the New Forest, with Sir C. Clark, &c. He was afterwards Master of the King's Buckhounds, and one of those gentlemen of his Household who, before his seizure by Cornet Joyce, were permitted by the Parliament to join him at Holmby House and at Newport. At the time of his royal master's murder, he was what was then termed the "eldest esquier of the horse," answering to the modern term of "principal equerry." This old cavalier died in Hampton Court Palace on January 6, 1651, aged sixty-one, and was buried in the church at Hampton. On its late restoration



RUINS OF SUPPOSED RESIDENCE OF THE BROCAS MASTERS OF THE BUCKHOUNDS IN LITTLE WELDON

From a sketch by Mr. Matthew Bigge, of Oundle, taken in 1885

It has been already said that the memory of the Brocas tenure of Little Weldon has wholly passed away in the locality; so also has that of the Watsons, who succeeded them, in any connection with the Royal Buckhounds. 'Hunter's Coppice,' which, being part of Hunter's Manor, formed one of the last memorials of the old estate, was broken up some years ago. There still remains, however, in Little Weldon the trace of a building which must in former ages have exhibited some pretensions, and is known even yet—the country people know not why—by the name of 'The Castle' or 'The Hall.' It consists of a shapeless mound within a quadrangular ditch, once a moat. Was this the Brocas manor-house?[1] It had no doubt fallen into decay before the old Masters passed away from the place, and the new Masters, the Lords Rockingham, were already provided with a fine residence. We may at least allow ourselves to imagine it was theirs, and standing upon the ruin may conjure up, if we please, the figures of the long line of Hereditary Masters of the Royal Buckhounds, who have been brought upon the historic stage in the previous chapters of this book. It may even add a zest to the sport of those who in the present day follow to the field the noblemen whose office is no longer

the inclosed space round the Communion Table was much enlarged, and the flooring raised, so that the following inscription on a brass plate let into his tombstone (which, *ut vidi* in 1830, appeared on both sides of the railing) is no longer visible. A copy of it, however, as then seen and copied by the writer is here subjoined:

In memory of Robert Tyrwhytt,
Esquire, Master of the Buckhounds,
and eldest Esquier of the Horse to
King Charles, as also of his most vertuous
Sister, Mrs. Jane Tyrwhytt,
Who in wisdom and godlinesse (living
and dying) was a true Patterne to
her sex. She died upon St. Thomas's
Day, the XXIst day of December, 1666,
And is buried in Cameringham
Church, in Lincolnshire, where is
a monument in remembrance of
her and her parents.

On a tablet in the wall still easily found, and in good preservation [c. 1653–1657] is this inscription.' . . . [Then follows the inscription, which, as it does not mention Tyrwhitt's titles, it is unnecessary to copy. He left an only daughter, Isabella.]

Here is another instance, out of thousands, in which a proper respect for monuments would have added to a public knowledge of English antiquities, instead of our being indebted to a chance recovery of a formerly well-known fact through the commendable antiquarianism of a particular member of a distinguished family.

[1] Its site is thought to be rather outside than within the ancient boundaries of Hunter's Manor, but yet it may well have been the chief residence of the owners of the property. This is the place to mention the great obligations under which Mr. Matthew Bigge, of Oundle, has placed the writer in reference to all matters connected with Rockingham Forest and Castle and the Rockingham Papers. The accompanying clever sketch is from his pencil. Nor should the kind help of his cousin, the Rev. H. Bigge, and of the Rev. W. Finch Hatton, be left unmentioned.

hereditary, to reflect that they are taking a place in an historical pageant of which, in all its successive phases, they can perhaps form some slightly better idea from these pages than they could before.

LIST OF THE HEREDITARY MASTERS OF THE ROYAL BUCK HOUNDS BY TENURE *IN CAPITE* OF HUNTER'S MANOR, IN LITTLE WELDON, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

1. [?] Osborne Lovel, Chamberlain to Henry II.
2. [?] William Lovel.
3. Hamon le Venour, by grant from Henry III. in 1216. (?) Resumed and regranted to Lovel.
4. [?] William Lovel.
5. John Lovel, ob. 1316.
6. Thomas de Borhunte, ob. 1340, *jure* Margaret Lovel.
7. William Danvers, ob. 1361, *jure* Margaret Lovel.
8. Sir Bernard Brocas (1363), ob. 1395, *jure* Mary de Borhunte.
9. Sir Bernard Brocas, executed 1400.
10. William Brocas (1), ob. 1456.
11. William Brocas (2), ob. 1484.
12. John Brocas, ob. 1492.
13. William Brocas (3), ob. 1506.
14. George Warham and Ralph Pexsall, joint Masters, 1512–1514, *jure* Anne and Edith Brocas.
15. Ralph Pexsall (1514), ob. c. 1540, *jure* Edith Brocas.
16. Sir Richard Pexsall, ob. 1571 (son of Edith Brocas).
17. Sir John Savage (till 1584), *jure* Lady Pexsall, his wife.
18. Sir Pexsall Brocas, ob. 1630.
19. Thomas Brocas, who, in 1633, sold the manor and office to Sir Lewis Watson.

Titular Masters by tenure.	Actual Masters by royal appointment.
Sir Lewis Watson, afterwards Lord Rockingham, 1633.	Robert Tyrwhitt, c. 1633, ob. 1651.
———	———
———	———
(Salary ceased 1691.)	

CHAPTER II.

THE EXISTING FRENCH FAMILY OF DE BROCAS, AND THE HUGUENOT BRANCH.

In the last chapter of Book III. we were obliged to admit that, with every desire to find a verification of what must be styled the French family legend, it had been impossible to discover the slightest foundation for it. The descent of the present House of De Brocas de Nauze cannot be traced either from the Brocases of Horton, as supposed, nor from the House of Beaurepaire. It may be well first to suggest the method by which the legend took shape, and secondly to indicate the lines upon which research amongst French archives might, if anyone cares to make it, proceed.

The legend which, in the circle of the French family, has taken the definite shape of a descent from a particular member of the English stock in the fifteenth century, has not been inserted in the *Nobiliaire de Guyenne et de Gascogne*. The author has avoided that error, but mixes up the few notices which he gives of the English and French Brocases in so confused a manner, that he plainly suggests some such method of accounting for the rise of the present House as the family have formulated. Not being aware of the interesting and honourable history of the Gascon clan in the thirteenth century, and merely having in his hands Carte's defective 'Catalogue of the Gascon Rolls,' he was obliged to content himself with a general assertion of the antiquity of the family, in which he was indeed amply justified. He then gives a few of the notices with which the reader of these pages is familiar, beginning no earlier than 1317, and gaily leaps over the gulf of the fifteenth century which requires to be bridged.

These vague ideas upon the subject arise from a very natural cause, and cannot be blamed. The English family had become celebrated at an early date, and had established a position on which the English legends were easily based. The French family could not be traced from father to son any higher than to a French gentleman, of whom the earliest and entirely isolated notice occurred in 1495. The general guess that it was the same clan of De Brocas in both countries, both drawing their blood from a common ancestry, was instinctive and

perfectly just; the error was in suggesting or attempting to form a particular mode of connection for which there was no authority whatever. But this was itself the consequence of the English mistake which has been exposed in the early pages of this volume, the merely fabricated legend which had been accepted in England for many generations, and to which an unquestioned place had been assigned by the most respectable authorities. It was not wonderful that such a plausible pedigree should have confused the foreigners, who naturally supposed that the English knew what they were talking about. To them it became a definite and well-outlined English framework into which their own French picture might be inserted. Some vague notion that the Norman chief who came to England with the Conqueror, in 1066, was of Gascon origin before his family became Norman might still exist, but the Norman-English pedigree was the groundwork of the whole scheme; the Gascon connection under Edward III. was a mere accident, such as happened to other English families; the headship of both branches of the family was English; and the highest distinction which the family of De Brocas de Nauze could claim was to be descended from some scion, albeit unknown and obscure, of the great English House.

As to forming the bridge which is required to connect the Anglo-Gascon members of the clan with the present French House, that must be left for further research. It is easier in this case to prove the negative than supply the positive. All we can do here is to point out in the briefest manner where the main piers and foundations of the bridge on either side of the stream are already laid, and to make a guess where the ruins of the piers of the old ruined arches may possibly yet be found.

To begin with the more difficult question: which of the branches of the De Brocas clan are we to connect with the family which we can trace back to some Guillaume de Brocas who was alive in 1495? It has been shown that there is only one portion of the clan which can as yet be traced in any connected way through the Middle Ages, and that only by the help of the Gascon Rolls. This is the portion connected with St. Sever, with its neighbouring commune of Brocas, and with the town and castle of Saut. Let us call them, by way of distinction, the De Brocas of St. Sever. But it does not follow, because this is the only portion which we can trace, that it is the branch from which the present House derives its descent. It seems probable that it is so; and as yet we can say no more. It seems probable for this reason. It is the only branch of the clan that is found, when we come across the name in public records, preserving its connection with the land. Of the others we have only isolated notices which add but little to our knowledge of them, and those notices are not connected with the land. In the Middle Ages, and much later—

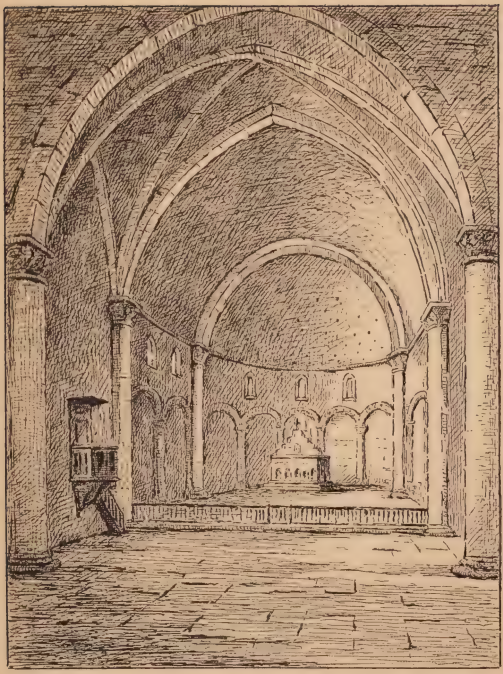
in France and England alike—this circumstance of holding land differentiates the members of a family from one another. There may indeed have been members of what we suppose to have been the earliest settlement of all, who retained a connection with land of which we as yet know nothing, at Brocas, near Labrit. Any researches in that direction would be of great value; but they have not yet been made, and as the small town of Labrit, or Albret, the cradle of the great House D'Albret, and in that sense the cradle of the Bourbon monarchy of France, has long ago fallen into decay, and the commune of Brocas along with it, and both from the same reason—the extreme poverty of the soil of the Petites Landes—it is probable that this cause of decay, operating through so many ages, has extinguished any importance which may once have attached to the inhabitants, and with it any records by which they can now be identified. It is also worth observing, though too much significance must not be attached to it, that the names 'Arnauld' and 'Guillaume' seem to be so common in the branch of St. Sever as to be hereditary and distinctive; and when we take up the known parentage of the existing House from 1495 downwards, these are the names we at once recognise. These things look as if we had found part of the bridge of which we are in search.

It would not, indeed, be surprising if we were some day to discover that the strength of the original settlers at Brocas, near Labrit, was drawn off as early as the twelfth century, or even earlier, to St. Sever and its neighbourhood, where they established the commune of the same name, near Montaut. At any rate, this is the centre of the clan in the thirteenth century, offshoots of the original House being found for many generations at La Réole and Ryons, as simple townsmen. The St. Sever branch again throws off a powerful offshoot to Saut, where they are firmly settled in 1225, are called 'burgenses' or townsmen in 1242, and are found holding the strong castle which protected the town. The name of the place forms their cognomen—'William Arnald de Saut,' &c. One of them is a knight, perhaps others. There they are numerous enough to be spoken of in a contemporary document as a 'genus' or clan, and their history has been already narrated in some detail. At St. Sever they are persons of importance, benefactors of the monastery, and styled, both in 1268 and 1366, in the manner proper to what was called in England 'armiger,' 'esquire,' or 'gentleman;' in France '*noble sans titre*,' or in the Gascon dialect, '*donzet*.' Their title to *terra nobilis* is disputed in 1331, but probably maintained, for they are certainly holding such land in 1366, '*per caverie et gentilesse*.' We have seen that William Arnald de Brocas, ejected from Saut under Edward I., compensated at last by Edward II., and placed at St. Sever in a high military position by Edward III., powerfully strengthened the ties with St. Sever on the one hand, and with

the English kings on the other. Their sufferings and those of the House of Campaine, of a precisely similar character, led directly to the settlement in England of the three cadets of their clan—John, Bernard, and Arnald—as well as of others whom we have grouped around the young Gascon gentlemen at the English Court. We have also noticed the last point of connection between the English House of Brocas and their Gascon clan in 1376, and left the heads of that clan, when the English were expelled from all but the Bordeaux and Bayonne districts, serving in the levies of Gaston Phebus de Foix. We now carry these notices on to another generation by observing, from the *Archives Historiques du Dép. de la Gironde*,[1] that the commune of Brocas formed, in 1400, a portion of the Prévoté de St. Sever, and that the 'Pes Brocar' takes rank at that time as a separate district. 'Lo Casau de Pes Brocar' is reckoned as liable to a tax of nine 'morlans' due to King Henry IV. of England. Possibly the publication of the later Gascon Rolls, which are, however, very scanty, since the Lancastrian kings never themselves visited Aquitaine, may help us with some later dates; but before closing this summary of the condition of the De Brocas branch of St. Sever, one interesting point must be mentioned in connection with their 'Casau de Pes Brocar.'

On a recent visit to St. Sever for the purpose of hunting out traces of the family, the writer of these pages was directed to the existing hamlet near Montaut, which, as already said, is no longer a commune, but which still boasts of a church quite above the level of such a little place, of some reputation in the town as a fine building, and known as having been built by the English in the Middle Ages. On inspection the church was found on the whole to justify this account, though the ancient part consists of little more than the choir and apse, the remainder having been burnt in the struggle with the Huguenots, which was very severe all around these parts. At that time also the monuments were destroyed and the archives lost. The imposing structure which was reared in the place of the ruins in the seventeenth century was not of course architecturally interesting, but the ancient portion, which is of the date of the early Plantagenets, is not without merit, and the whole church has been arranged with more taste than usual by the Curé of Montaut, who serves it, and whom we found engaged in a funeral. When it was over he kindly pointed out to us the remains of the Royal Arms of England in fresco on the outside of the apse, much injured by time, and told us that the whole of them had been quite visible a few years ago. M. D'Aydrein confirmed the tradition that the church was built by the English, and

[1] Vol. xvi. p. 109. The note attached to this notice must surely be erroneous when the Brocas here spoken of as in the Prévôté of St. Sever is identified with the other Brocas, near Labrit. Being now lost in the name of Montaut, the existence of the former seems to have been unknown to the learned editor.



View of the ancient part of the interior of the Church of Brocas : 1885

From a drawing by the Rev. Dr. Boyd

remarked that many families of English descent are to be found in the neighbourhood, of which he believed his own was one, judging, as he said, by the spelling of his name.[1] We also heard from him and the intelligent 'aubergiste' of the hamlet, who acted as our guide, that the name of Brocas has been perpetuated in a gentleman's family named Brocas-Perras, within a mile of the place, but that he had recently died, leaving his inheritance to females. It may also here be remarked that the vitality of the name is equally shown by its being found at Sault de Navailles, both in the person of a 'propriétaire' in the place, and the name of an ancient house, now occupied by people in humble circumstances.

Thus the passionate loyalty to the English of the De Brocas of St. Sever and its neighbourhood accurately corresponds with the similar loyalty of the town itself, the 'Cap de Gascogne,' and with the bold assertion of English patronage by which the church of 'Pes Brocar' is so peculiarly distinguished. We have to account, just at the time of the passing away of this English connection, for the transference, if our speculation is correct, of the clan (leaving behind, it may be, some portion, of which we find at present the above traces) to Casteljaloux and its neighbourhood.

The period comprising the end of the fourteenth century and the whole of the fifteenth is exactly that during which we should expect to find difficulties upon such a point as this. It is like those of the Wars of the Roses and of the Commonwealth in our own country. The difficulty is that we never hear of Casteljaloux in connection with the De Brocas of St. Sever; but then, as a matter of fact, we never hear of them at all after the fourteenth century. Nor do we ever hear of St. Sever in connection with the later family settled at Casteljaloux. It is useless to minimise this difficulty. We can only speculate. The suggestion has been already offered that the descendants of the family which had been so thoroughly English were not unlikely, when their friends were withdrawn, to shelter themselves under a timely obscurity; nor would they be averse to changing the scene of their ancient exploits for one in which they could begin afresh, as French patriots, without attracting too curious observation. Such an opportunity offered in connection with the eastward movement of the House D'Albret, which gradually fixed itself at Nérac, where their chiefs built a fine palace-castle, the ruins of which are still strikingly visible. As the original Brocas, near Labrit, had been once tenanted by the family who were the nearest vassals of the Sieurs D'Albret, and who, at St. Sever, still looked up to them as their chiefs, so Casteljaloux, which was one of their dependencies, not far from Nérac, becomes the centre of the De Brocas family, whose history is quite definite in the sixteenth

[1] It is to this good man that the writer is indebted for some architectural drawings of the church, from which the talented Principal of Hertford College, Dr. Boyd, has prepared the interior which forms the illustration.

century. We can only put the two things together. This House D'Albret was swelling year by year during the interval into the first and leading House of France. Marrying into the Royal Family in the fourteenth century, it gradually absorbs Foix, which had already absorbed Bearn, and acquiring the throne of Navarre, advances, under Henri Quatre, to the throne of France. The family of De Brocas de Nauze shares its elevation, as it had fought its battles. It merges its English character in its devotion to the hereditary chiefs who had, like themselves, but in a far higher degree, once been the supporters of the English government of Aquitaine. They are now entirely French, lord and vassal. The theory is supported by the social rank of the family when we find it in its new seat. It is the rank of '*nobles sans titre*,' as before, gentlemen with coat armour, marrying into noble families, and honourably employed in the armies of the State. But all this is still theory. We cannot bridge the gulf with names and dates; and until we can, the present House of De Brocas de Nauze must be content with the general assertion of antiquity claimed for it in the '*Nobiliaire*,' and with the moral certainty that the inability to make more accurate claims proceeds only from the failure to find documents which must once have existed and may yet be discovered.

There are two notices before 1495 which might perhaps be followed further. A William de Brocas founded in 1461 a chapel in the church of St. Seurin de Ryons, and an Arnaud de Brocas makes one of a body of men-at-arms and archers reviewed at Nantes by the Sieur D'Albret on April 15, 1491. Here we have a William and an Arnauld de Brocas, one of whom is a man of substance enough to found a chapel, and the other would seem to be a vassal of the Sieur D'Albret. No lineage has, however, been as yet traced in connection with these personages. But in 1495 the William de Brocas from whom the present House is distinctly traced comes on the stage as one of Charles VIII.'s newly raised Guards, and is styled in the '*Nobiliaire*' 'Noble Guilhem de Brocas.' The document by which his date and rank is ascertained is in the possession of the Comte de Brocas, almost illegible but perfectly genuine. It is signed '*Genouillac*,' '*mille quatre cens novante cinq*,' and grants a '*congé de passeport pour quatre mois au seigneur Guilhem de brocas chevau legere*,' charging various officers '*de laisser passer et repasser ledist Guilhem de brocas sanz luy porter aucun trouble*.' Nothing is known as to the wife or the domicile of this 'seigneur,' but he is recognised as the father of 'Noble Arnaud de Brocas,' who married his first wife, Marie de Bouffon, of Casteljaloux, in 1517. Thus we find the family firmly settled at Casteljaloux in the sixteenth century, and the reader may be referred to the '*Nobiliaire*' for the rest. It is enough to mention that Colin de Brocas, son of the above Arnaud, was one of the captains of Henri Quatre in the War of

Religion, and that several letters from Henri to him, couched in the friendly terms which that great warrior knew so well how to use, are still extant. Some are in the king's own hand (remarkably well written), and signed 'Vostre bon amy Henry.' Colin received the king on different occasions in his house at Figuès, or Iguère, near Casteljaloux, and his son and grandson had the same honour—the first in the person of Louis XIII., and the second in the persons of the young Louis XIV. and his mother, Anne of Austria. The ruins of the ancient house in the Rue de Veyries, Casteljaloux, which the family once occupied, are still to be seen by the inquiring visitor, who finds it difficult to believe that the bakery which now occupies the premises could ever have received the later sovereigns above mentioned, until he discovers the remnants of an exterior, lined with a row of battered medallions, in bas-relief, of the sixteenth century. The Revolution seems to have swept heavily over these places, as the religious wars had almost ruined them in the previous century. It has certainly left its mark visibly enough on the church of the place, the doorway of which is still surmounted by 'Liberté, Egalité, et Fraternité,' inscribed in staring letters of that period. The settlement of the family at Carnine, five miles distant, appears to have been consequent on the excesses of the Revolution.

The distinguished alliances of the family, as well as the descent which has been summarised from the '*Nobiliaire*,' rest on the unimpeachable authority of the official documents which were issued by the Royal Commissioners of the Council of France in the time of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. The edicts for the registration of the French nobles, professing to be levelled against the usurpers of the 'titre de noblesse,' extend from 1696 to 1717. The result in the present case is that the various branches of the De Brocas family (all proceeding from 'Guilhem de brocas') who put in their claims to be recognised, are 'maintenus dans leur ancienne noblesse d'extraction et qualité d'écuyers.'

The intimate connection with the struggle of Henri Quatre, as the head of the House whose vassals they had been for centuries, cemented as it was by blood poured out and estates sacrificed, drew the De Brocas family of course into the ranks of the Huguenots. When the branches of the family had multiplied, and their great chief had changed his religion to pacify his people and obtain a crown, the example, as might be expected, found imitators amongst the old vassals and new subjects of the Royal House. The individuals and the dates cannot be traced with the desired accuracy; but a few facts stand out plainly enough, and have a special interest for the readers of these pages, since amongst the French refugees driven forth by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes are some of the Casteljaloux family of De Brocas, and they make their way to England and Ireland; thus

forming, after an interval of nearly four centuries, a second colony from the same family in these islands. That this is a singular case it would be rash to assert, but it certainly cannot be a very common one.[1]

Colin de Brocas, the comrade and friend of Henri Quatre, had three sons, who founded separate families. That of the eldest, Jean, Seigneur de Tampouy, &c., seems to have remained Protestant, but became extinct in the last century. That of the second, Gabriel, afterwards known as Seigneurs de la Nauze, changed their religion; and the present Comte de Brocas, taking his title, it is believed, from the barony of Montpouillan, is his descendant. He now represents the family of Castéljaloux. That of the third son, Antoine, Seigneur de Vila, or at any rate the descendants of Alexandre de Brocas, his son, who was also in his turn Seigneur de Vila, &c., were divided. Alexandre's family became, by the failure of the lines of his elder brothers, the representatives of this branch; and his eldest son, Gabriel La Motte de Brocas, carrying with him his sister Marie, took refuge in England at the Revocation. Many members of this branch were officers of the French army, and thus we are not surprised to find Gabriel serving in the English ranks under William III. in Ireland. Before that, however, he had tasted the bitterness of the domestic conflict. His father being dead, his mother (Anne de l'Eglise) disinherited him 'pour être sorti du Royaume contre sa gré,'[2] an ironical way of stating that as he could no longer safely exercise his religion in France, he found himself forced to fly. Thus the lordship of Vila, which should have been his, went to his younger brother, Jean, who remained at home. Pierre de Brocas, his cousin, and perhaps companion, was of the family of Hontespleares, or Houdepleus, near Castéljaloux, and was minister of the latter place when, being denounced in 1683 by the Superior of the Capuchins in that town, he was condemned by the Parliament of Bordeaux to perpetual banishment. He had been previously minister of Clairac, and is mentioned as such when, in 1685, he is 'authorised, with his wife and one of his children, to quit Bordeaux.'[3] He first fled to Holland, but settled in England, though he does not seem to have been naturalised. We trace the poor man by the petitions to the Archbishops and Bishops of England in which his name occurs. In a very eloquent Latin document of this sort[4] his autograph signature stands fifth in a list of twenty-six distressed ministers; and to a later one, in which his wife, two sons and four daughters, are mentioned, the following note is appended:

[1] No tradition exists to show that the refugees were in any way indebted to the members of the old English branch for assistance.

[2] *Nobiliaire de Guyenne &c.*

[3] *Archives Hist. du Dép. de la Gironde*, vol. xv. p. 515.

[4] *Rawlinson MSS.* 984, f. 263.

'A long time ago this poor man came to England with his family. He has served his brethren with assiduity throughout this affair. This year he has been engaged in extraordinary expenses, &c.'[1]

On this occasion he was forced to accept 60*l.*; but he had for some years (1705–1710) been one of the members of the committee who distributed charitable funds[2] to the more needy. Further than that the name of his wife was Anne Laville, we know no more of the banished 'pasteur,' who was thus obliged for conscience sake to beg his bread.

Gabriel La Motte de Brocas, on the other hand, was the founder of an English, or rather Irish family, represented in the present day by the Rev. W. Brocas Lindesay, of The Abbey, Tipperary, fifth in descent (through his grandmother) from Gabriel. Gabriel's son warmly cherished the recollection of the House from whence he sprang, as he showed by endorsing the copy of the Royal Commissioners' judgment, already mentioned, in the following words: 'Authentick Attestation of the noblesse of our Family. This ought to be preserv'd. The. Brocas: Feb. 8, 1768.' The collation of his copy with the original is signed 'Berauld, *Ecuyer Conseiller Secrétaire du roÿ maison Couronne de France Controlleur en la Chancelerie près la Cour des aydes et finances de Guienne.*' The family of Berauld was closely connected with that of De Brocas. Gabriel's aunt by marriage was the daughter of Anne de Beraud, and in 1703 he himself married Jane Berauld, who was already living in London, a refugee like himself. They were married by 'Mr. Brocas, a French minister' (no doubt Pierre de Brocas, of Hontespleures), at St. Mary Magdalen's, Knight Rider Street, both parties belonging to the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields.[3] Like so many of their countrymen at this time, Gabriel and his wife turned their backs for ever on an infatuated king and country. Thus we find him taking out his English naturalisation in 1702. Unlike the large majority of the refugees, men to whom England has been profoundly indebted for a considerable part of her modern prosperity, he and his 'relatives, the Champagnes, Maturins, Letubleus, and others,'[4] afterwards settled in Ireland. In the case of Gabriel La Motte de Brocas, it was natural enough that he should adopt an Irish home, for it was there that he fought and bled during the critical struggle between William III. and James II. From April 1, 1689, to March, 1699, he served as ensign and lieutenant in the regiment of Cambon and Lisfard, having been wounded on all

[1] *Rawlinson MSS.* 984. *f.* 276. The writer is indebted for this reference to Mr. H. Wagner, as also for the date of Gabriel Brocas' will.

[2] *La France Protestante*, a dictionary of names of French Protestants, with some account of each.

[3] From a MS. belonging to Mr. Alfred Gatty, *Rouge Dragon, M.R.* vii. *f.* 31.

[4] *Brocas-Lindesay Papers.*

occasions when his regiment was engaged, and in no slight manner, for he seems to have lost one arm at the siege of Limerick and the other at the battle of Aughrim.[1] For his services he received a pension of two shillings a day—not too much for an officer who had been badly wounded. Yet he lived on for half a century afterwards, and became a captain in the regiment of Lisfard and Vimar in 1706, settled in Dublin, and left behind him, when he died there, an honourable memory. From his will, dated June 1741, we glean a little information.[2] He leaves 10*l.* to the French church in Lucy Lane, Dublin, 'for the support of their poor refugees.' He charges his son and heir, Theophilus, to continue the same support as he has always himself bestowed upon his sister Mary; gives his wife, Jane, 900*l.*, to be taken out of what part of his fortune she pleases, as also his house in Conean Lane, plate, furniture, &c., constituting her his 'executrice,' his sister his 'executeur,' and his son his residuary legatee. M. Lamotte Brocas, along with Theophilus Vigneau and Charles Dumas, are the witnesses. This will, from every point of view, presents an amiable picture of the noble old man who should have been Lord of Vila.

These particulars as to Gabriel have been given, since, though not very important, they are entirely unknown; and, in the brief notice to be found in Smiles' 'Huguenots,' the author, misled by a family paper, supposed Theophilus instead of his father to have been the refugee,[3] thus making it impossible to graft the Franco-Irish family on to the French stock of Casteljaloux. How, though disinherited and sadly mutilated, Gabriel was able to leave so good a fortune we know not; but as his son, Dr. Theophilus Brocas, Dean of Killala and Vicar of St. Anne's, Dublin (for both which preferments he was indebted to the Crown), received the Freedom of Dublin City in a gold box for—in the words of the address—his 'laudable endeavours in the service of this kingdom, and the promoting its arts and manufactures,' we may conjecture that Gabriel had paved the way for him by the establishment of some French improvement of a profitable nature to himself as well as his son, and through him to his adopted country. There is some reason to think that it was the Irish linen manufactory which was thus indebted to the Brocas refugees. Dean Theophilus, the Irish benefactor, died in 1770, and was succeeded in the Deanery of Killala by his only son, Dr. John Brocas, Rector of Monkstown, &c., who died in 1806, leaving a son, the Rev. Theophilus Brocas, Rector of

[1] Extracted from the Public Records at Dublin by Mr. La Touche, Chief Clerk of the Office, for the Rev. W. Brocas Lindesay.

[2] Proved by Theophilus Brocas on February 1, 1747, at Dublin. Mary, the sister of Gabriel, must by that time have followed her faithful brother to the grave, since Jane, the widow, is alone mentioned in the record of the Court. The will is in French. Theophilus formally lodges a translation.

[3] Mr. Smiles was also led to suppose that the whole family of the De Brocas had become extinct in the male line; but it will be seen that this only applies to the refugees.

Strabane, on whose death, in 1815, the male line of the junior branch of the Casteljaloux family became extinct.[1]

There may be some who will hold these Huguenot refugees to be by no means the least valuable members of the family whose history is comprehended in this book. They may like, therefore, to know that there was yet one more sufferer for conscience sake, who, though not one of the family, was doubtless one of the original clan. His name was Jean Broca, and he enjoys the distinction of having been '*un des derniers pasteurs du Désert arrêtés en vertu des lois de Louis Quatorze.*'[2] Born at *Pujols*, near *Villeneuve sur Lot* (at no great distance from Casteljaloux), in 1750, his history illustrates the sturdy resolution common to so many of those who bore the name, even though unsupported by the family traditions which attended the devolution of rank and titles. The name in this form is still found in many parts of the Southern Departments of France.

[1] *Brocas-Lindesay Papers.*

[2] *La France Protestante, sub verbo.*

BOOK VI.

THE BROCAS DEEDS: WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTICES OF THE CHIEF FAMILIES MENTIONED.

[The order of date at which the estates of the Brocas family were acquired by Sir John de Brocas and Sir Bernard, his son, would seem to be the natural arrangement of these deeds; but, to avoid confusion, that method has been here subordinated to the arrangement by counties. It so happens that both plans can be adopted without much interference with one another, as Sir John de Brocas invested his fortune almost entirely in Windsor and the neighbourhood, while almost the whole of the Hampshire estates were acquired by his son. Of these latter, the deeds concerning the properties which came to Sir Bernard Brocas with Mary de Roches are grouped together, including, as a permissible exception, the single estate of Bromley, in Dorsetshire. The Hampshire estates acquired by the Brocas family, independently of these, form a second group. The Surrey deeds, which are chiefly those of the Rector of St. Nicholas', Guildford, Sir John's brother, have a separate place of their own. The Yorkshire and other estates are more or less isolated, and their deeds fall under the general heading, 'Miscellaneous;' while those connected with the Mastership of the Buckhounds, by no means the least interesting, bring up the rear. The numbers attached to the deeds have no further significance than as enabling them to be identified for purposes of reference. The method pursued in printing the deeds is to give the date and a short summary of each at the head, and such notes as are necessary at the foot, pursuing the history of each estate from the first to the last deed in the chest, stopping however with the Tudor Dynasty. All the technical verbiage has been struck out, except at the commencement of a series, where a specimen may be required, or in a case of peculiar importance; all the antique contractions have been expanded, Roman numerals have been uniformly supplied, and some little aid to readers has been afforded by means of punctuation. The simple abbreviations used to save space will explain themselves.

In a large number of cases nothing seemed to be necessary but a short abstract. No names, however, have been omitted. Here and there a document which was necessary for a proper understanding of the family history has been inserted amongst the deeds, but very sparingly, since it was only possible to bring the collection within reasonable limits by referring the reader to the Record Office, or other places, where he might pursue the subject further. It would have been extremely easy to enlarge the bulk of this book to several volumes. An Introduction or Notice precedes each set of deeds, giving some account of the estates and families mentioned. The antiquary is requested to make allowance for the 'sketchy' form in which these Notices are conveyed. To him that form will suggest the need of better County Histories,—perhaps provoke an effort to supply the need. By those who are not antiquaries, the writer hopes that even a few words concerning the 'makers of England' will be kindly accepted as better than nothing.]

CHAPTER I.

THE BERKSHIRE ESTATES.

SECTION I.

GENERAL NOTICE, INCLUDING A SKETCH OF THE FOXLEYS OF BRAY AND BRAMSHILL.

The existing county and town histories of the Royal Shire have made but little pretension to deal with the antiquities of its families and smaller properties, partly because there are so few old families in Berks to serve as threads and links between the ages. Mr. Evelyn Shirley, in his 'Noble and Gentle Men of England,' gives only one county family which retains its lands by male descent from old times; and even when Fuller wrote, he tells us that 'few remain here of great store.' Proximity to London may account in some degree for the fact, and no doubt the absence of any great city with municipal records seriously affects the history of a county. One might imagine other reasons. If, therefore, the subjoined deeds are of no further use to the antiquary, they will at least supply him with very many names of persons who formed a society of which there is now no record whatever, and of the properties with which they were connected.

One would at first sight suppose that Windsor would have formed an exception to the above remark, but the Royal Borough is only 'New Windsor' ('Old Windsor' being a mere village), and amongst the muniments of the borough there are no earlier documents than those which contain the proceedings of the Borough Court in the reign of Edward IV. The early history of the Castle itself, the premier castle of England, is shrouded in obscurity, and, as already said, the familiar names, 'The Brocas,' 'Brocas Clump,' and 'Brocas Street,' have been a perennial puzzle. The preceding pages will have made it obvious that this special oblivion has arisen out of the circumstance that the Brocas family sold their Berkshire estates to Sir Reginald Bray as far back as the reign of Henry VII., and that owing to the Reformation, which was the glory of the next reign, the Brocas Chantry in Clewer Church no longer bore witness to the piety of the founder, as then understood, while the family property being gradually reduced to the limits of Hampshire, and its owners losing their old importance, nothing survived at Windsor and Eton but the name of a portion of their ancient estate, wholly dissociated from even a legendary personality.

It may serve to make the following documents more intelligible if we

dwell a little longer than was possible in Book II. on their significance in connection with the life of Sir John de Brocas, of which the reader has already had a sketch. Some notice must also be taken in this place of the Foxley family, with which Sir John's career at Windsor was so closely associated.

Bearing in mind, then, the date at which we first hear of John de Brocas, viz. 1314, when, as a very young man, he was taken into the household of Edward II., and that in 1321 he was gradually rising at the Court and a married man, from which position he emerged into knighthood in 1340, though still unable to support a knight's estate without help from the king, we are prepared to find him and his wife Margaret making purchases of land on a small scale at the outset of their career. He acts like a prudent Gascon, resolved to make a home for the family of which he was the youthful head, under the immediate shelter of the Sovereign, and so to obtain a protection which was more likely to be useful to them, when close at hand, than in Gascony, where, as we have seen, the best intentions were easily frustrated. The constant union of the names of husband and wife in these transactions suggests that she was English, and that she was a person of some local importance. The marriage was, perhaps, brought about by the king. If we might hazard a guess, we should take her from the family of Whithors, a member of which we find settled in marriage by Sir John out of his own estate at Clewer-Brocas, perhaps the same who, in 1370, was a member of the household of Edward III. But, on what authority does not appear, it has been asserted that she was the daughter of Sir Walter de Thorpe.

'John Le Barber' was the owner of the land which we can best identify among these small purchases, for he sells to John de Brocas two portions of La Shete, a name still preserved in 'Shete Street' (no doubt derived from the old English word 'shete,' a corner, or angle, and in constant nautical use as the 'sheet,' or rope, attached to the corner of a sail). La Shete (called a 'campus,' or field, in Deed 55) seems to have been a part of, or contiguous to, the large piece of ground called 'Le Worth,' which we find in possession of Sir Bernard Brocas and, after his death, of his widow Katharine. It is thus described in the 'Annals of Windsor:' 'Between Sheet Street and Peascod Street, and at the rear of the houses towards the south end of High Street, lay a large field or tract of common land called "Le Worth," or "The Worth." It appears to have been gradually reduced in size by the encroachment of gardens and slips of land on its edges.' 'It includes "Pitt's Field," now called "The Bachelors' Acre."' To this may be added that a portion of it remains still unenclosed, as it was six centuries ago. It is popularly known as the spot where bull-baiting lingered on at Windsor to the last, and as the site of the Windsor Fair. In 1393 we find a 'Great Shete' and a 'Little Shete' (see Deed 63). The boundaries of the properties thus sold are marked by the tenements of humble people — Adam the gardener, Richard the franklin, John the shepherd, Alice the nurse, and Robert the plumber.

Some years later we find the Brocases in possession of a shop and a cellar, which, as Sir John is by that time a person of importance, may indicate that, like other men of position, he was engaged in the wine trade;

especially as we have a subsequent notice of a vineyard at Clewer (Inq. ad q. d. 43 Ed. III. No. 12), and indications of the same sort in some farm accounts. Perhaps he was concerned in some enterprise for naturalising the growth of the Bordeaux vines, for which his relations with Gascony would offer special advantages. Not that we are actually bound to consider these purchases in any other light than as investments for the purpose of securing an annual rent, not likely to suffer from change of fashion, for in the neighbourhood of the Castle there would be a great demand for and much trade in wine. The extent to which Gascon wines were drunk in the south of England may be judged by the incidental fact that, in Richard II.'s reign, on an alarm of invasion, the best look-out station that could be invented for a certain spot on the coast of England was an enormous pile of empty casks—Gascon casks, of course.

It will be seen that it is not till 1324, when John de Brocas would be a man of about thirty years old, that we find these small and early investments extending from New to Old Windsor, and then, a little later, to Clyware, or Clifware [Clewer], and to Bray. Before he becomes a knight he has obtained possession of some hundreds of acres of land in these places, of which a part is formed into the separate manor of Clewer-Brocas (held of the family of Syfrewast, who held of the Crown), with a manor-house; and a part into the manor of Wencles at Bray, where also was a manor-house. Part of it, called 'Etonmede,' is 'The Brocas' of to-day, with a lane or street leading to it out of the town. Part of it consisted of lands belonging to Windsor Forest, for which rent was paid to the Constable of the Castle. The land in 'Bray south-east' was formed out of the grant of 'purprestures,' or encroachments on the king's lands. Soon after he becomes a knight we find Sir John obtaining permission to have a licensed chapel in his house, on the manor which he now calls 'my manor of Clewer in Berkshire;' and we are soon invited to witness the whole process by which he gradually becomes lord of the small manor of Didworth-Mansell, adjoining Windsor, which had belonged to a family named Reuede, Reod, or Roed.[1] The last of his transactions in Berks is the assignment of eight acres of land in Clewer and Didworth to Adam de Steynlee and his heirs, on condition of their supplying annually two pounds of wax 'for God and the chapel of John Brocas at Clewer, on the Feast of Pentecost.' Where the 'mansion' (at which Sir John died) and chapel were situated we could not of course expect to ascertain in the present day. The modest provision thus made for religious service by Sir John is, of course, wholly unconnected with the foundation of the Brocas Chapel and Chantry in Clewer Church, made by Sir Bernard Brocas for the spiritual welfare of himself and family, a full account of which will be found in the following deeds.

The disposition of Sir John's Windsor property at his death has been dealt with in a previous Note, from which it will be seen that, though his own career was concerned to the last with the property which he had spent the early part of his life in acquiring, he contemplated the settlement of the

[1] The seal of Elys de Reued forms one of the accompanying illustrations. This was evidently a Gascon family like the De Brocas. In the new volume of the *Gascon Rolls* we trace an Elias Ridellus, in 1242 and 1253, as Lord of Brigerac and Gentiac, as a wine-merchant, noble, and warrior, in close relation to the English Government.

family in Hampshire rather than Berks. His surviving son was thus only fulfilling his father's intentions in making that the home of the Brocases; and in doing so, both father and son were probably influenced by the example of their relatives, the Foxleys, who gradually relinquished Bray for Bramshill.

Of all the families with which the first two generations of the English Brocases were mixed up, this is the one with which they were most intimately connected. It thus demands a little history of its own, especially as the relationship with the Warbeltons springs out of that connection, as well as with the Syfrewasts, already mentioned. All these families, after leaving their names in various places, soon became extinct; nor will any but an antiquary find it easy to recover the few traces of them which time has not altogether obliterated.

THE FOXLEYS OF BRAY AND BRAMSHILL.

The relationship between the Brocas and Foxley families was known to antiquaries (but not to the Brocas pedigree) through Sir John de Foxle's will in Wykeham's 'Register,' and through the monument in Bray Church, to be presently mentioned; but it began at an earlier date than was ever suspected, till the discovery of a document which must here be described. So early indeed was the date of the marriage between John de Foxle and Matilda, the daughter of John de Brocas, that they must have been merely boy and girl at the time; and that may be the reason why it was not celebrated in the parish church of Bray, but somewhere else, we know not where. For his daughter to have been even fourteen years old in 1332, John de Brocas himself must have married in 1317; which, indeed, is the very year in which he receives his first grant from Edward II.—perhaps in connection with the event.

A very large collection of most valuable MSS., the spoils of monasteries treasured up in different places, had come to the Bodleian Library from Bishop Tanner in the early part of last century, had been submerged in the Thames by the upsetting of the barge in which they travelled, and, from that date up to quite recently had remained unsorted, illegible from water-stains, and inaccessible. In the year 1878, however, their arrangement and restoration by a chemical process were completed—an excellent work, too long delayed. Amongst the names of persons mentioned in the collection was that of Matilda Brocas, occurring in a document which had come from the muniments of Sarum diocese. This was the remission by Robert, Bishop of Sarum, of a sentence of suspension from his functions for a year of a priest named William de Handloo, who had been 'concerned in the solemnization of a marriage between John de Foxle and Matilda Brocas, outside the parochial church and mother parish of Bray in our diocese, and without the license of our Diocesan Office.' After the lapse of some part of the time of suspension, that punishment is commuted for another, 'so that from this time forward he may lawfully minister as before.'

From this it is plain that Matilda ought to have insisted upon being married in her parish church; but it was evidently what we now call a 'run-away-match,' for which the too-compliant priest suffered the temporary loss of his faculties. It is observable that the first purchase of land at Bray by John

de Brocas, the bride's father, took place in this very year, and that the bridegroom's grandmother, Constantia Foxle, who died a year later, was at this time in possession of the Bray manor house, while his father was Constable of Windsor Castle; so that imaginative persons have all the materials of a mediæval romance ready to hand—an earlier 'Merry Wife of Windsor' and an earlier 'Vicar of Bray.' We are at least free to give the young couple credit for bringing the influence of their parents to bear upon the Bishop, in mitigation of sentence on the friendly priest. Who were these Foxles?

The first member of the family who can be traced is Sir John de Foxle, Foxlee, or Foxley, Baron of the Exchequer in 1308–9. There is nothing to show any connection between him and the ancient house of Foxley, of Foxley and Blakesley, in Northamptonshire, for the arms are quite different; but some confusion might easily arise from the circumstance that both families were headed by a John de Foxley at the same time. The Baron of the Exchequer was certainly the founder of his family at Bray in Berks and Bramshill in Hampshire; the latter place having come to him with Constantia his wife. A long legal career, and the favour of kings, had brought wealth to the Judge. Towards the end of that career we find him administering the estate of the magnificent Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham.[1] In 1320 he obtains leave to impark 'a certain place in Pokemere [Puckmere, near Foxley Farm], in the parish of Bray, within the bounds of Windsor Forest.'[2] Resigning office in 1322–3, he is found at his death, two years later, in possession of considerable property in Bray and Bramshill, besides other estates in Bucks and Hants.[3]

Thomas de Foxle, the Judge's only son, who succeeded his mother at Bray in 1333, was also a trusted servant of the Crown. We have seen that he was Constable of Windsor Castle from 1328 to his death in 1361, and associated with Sir John de Brocas and Oliver de Bordeaux in the Commission for rebuilding it. Under him both the family properties took a great development. In 1341 he and Katharine, his wife, daughter and coheir of Sir John Ifield, receive permission 'to hear divine service' in his manor of Ynhurste[4] [Iwhurst, where his father had received a grant of land in 1317], in Bray parish. In 1347 his Berks estates are charged with the supply of 120 archers for the war;[5] and this is the county which he represented in Parliament in the years 1327, 1332, and 1337. But the chief interest connected with his name, besides his share in building Windsor Castle, lies in the present day in the erection of the noble mansion of Bramshill, considerable remains of which still exist, being worked up into the structure of the present house built by Lord Zouch in 1601–12. It was erected in the style of the period, round a court 100 feet long by 80 broad, with walls of great thickness, the vaulting of the cellars and other parts being precisely similar to what may be observed in the steward's room and servants' hall at Windsor Castle, and the workmen employed by Foxle at the royal palace being presumably the same as those engaged in the erection of Bramshill. These details are taken from an interesting account of 'Bramshill: its History and Architecture,' lately published by Sir W. H. Cope, Bart., the representative

[1] *Rot. Parl.* 12 Ed. II.
[2] *Patent Rolls*, 14 Ed. II.
[3] Inq. p. m. 18 Ed. II.
[4] '*Oratoria ex Rob. Wyvill registro*' (*Bodl. Lib.*).
[5] *Fœdera.*

of the family which has owned this fine place for the last two centuries.[1] He also observes that Hatfield House, built by John Thorpe, the architect employed at Bramshill, is a sort of expansion of the latter house, the difference being that at Hatfield the architect started afresh, while at Bramshill he attempted to convert an 'inside house,' one surrounding a court, with windows looking inwards, into an outside house with windows looking outwards, 'by pushing back the two subordinate wings till they nearly met;' and he quotes Mr. Ferguson for the remark that Bramshill is of exceptional interest from the circumstance of the Edwardian mansion of the Foxleys having been thus converted into a splendid specimen of Elizabethan or Jacobean architecture, or rather, as we should now say, English Renaissance. On the death of the last member of the old family of De Port, to whom the fee had formerly belonged, and who still must have had some claim on it, Foxley obtained license[2] to enclose 2,500 acres of land in Bramshill and Haseley, in order to make the park which still exists, and which shares with High Clere the reputation of being the finest in Hampshire.

Besides the relationship between the Foxleys and Brocases, and the intimate connection which is displayed in the following documents, the two families had a common link in the friendship of William of Wykeham, growing, no doubt, out of his employment under them in the early period of the erection of Windsor Castle. This has been already traced in the case of the Brocases: it is equally marked by the great Bishop's selection of Thomas Foxley as one of three persons for whose benefit mass is daily to be said in the chapels of Winchester and New Colleges; by the will of Sir John, son of Thomas Foxley, in which he directs his executors to be guided in certain matters by the 'ordering and consent' of the Bishop, to whom he leaves a valuable ring; and by the legacy left by the Bishop to the later John Foxley.

As Thomas Foxley remained to the last Constable of Windsor Castle, this magnificent residence at Bramshill would seem to have been built rather for his family than for himself. Sir John Foxley, his son, Matilda Brocas' husband, resided and died there. He was the third of the family in succession to hold high office under the Crown, being in 1365 made first Constable of 'Sheppey Island Castle' [or Queensborough], for life, and in 1376 Constable of Southampton Castle, as well as Warden of the King's Manor and Park of Lyndhurst, of the King's New Forest, &c. In that year he was one of nine who were to set the county of Berks in array, and in the next obtained from the king the grant of a house in Fleet Street, London.[3] That he had been a favourite with Edward III. is shown by his having received from him a splendid bugle-horn mounted with gold, the insignia

[1] In this book will be found some interesting notices of the contest between the first Sir John Foxle, the Judge, and the Rector of Eversley, the parish in which Bramshill stood, now celebrated as Charles Kingsley's home. These refer to the chapel which the Judge had attached to his house. An appeal to the Metropolitan on the subject of the priest's fees issued in favour of the Judge against the Rector, who was backed up by his Bishop. But the affair ended honourably, in the building and endowment of a new chapel for the district by the successful appellant. It has long passed away.

[2] *Rot. Chart.* 21 Ed. III.

[3] *Patent Rolls*, 39, 50, and 51 Ed. III.; and *Fœdera*.

of the Wardenship of the New Forest, which he leaves to King Richard.[1] At the opening of the new reign he died, having sat in nine Parliaments at the end of Edward's reign—seven times for Berks, and twice for Hampshire.

The date of Matilda's death is unknown. Her married life must have been chiefly spent at Woodcrych, or Woodcroft, a manor belonging to her husband, in the parish of Bray, where he had permission long before his father's death to hold divine service;[2] but though she may have lived to share her husband's high position at Court and the grandeur of the house and park at Bramshill, the following circumstance suggests painful reflections. She bore him a son and two daughters, but after her death Sir John married a certain Joan Martin, by whom he had already had children, the eldest of whom (Matilda's son, William, having died before his father) succeeded him at Bramshill as '*bastard aisné*.' Matilda's daughter Katharine, however, made a marriage which was important for the Brocases, as it brought the Warbeltons of Sherfield, their near neighbours at Beaurepaire, into relationship, and it was her granddaughter, Elizabeth Warbelton, who married into the ancient family of Syfrewast.[3] Bray Church still contains the monuments which witness to these marriages, though the Foxley Chapel, once established there, has entirely disappeared under modern 'restorations.'

The fine brass, still to be seen placed upright in the wall of Bray Church, in memory of Sir John de Foxley and his two wives, has been admirably represented in Waller's 'Monumental Brasses.' It has a double interest in relation to our subject. Arnald Brocas, the founder of the Compton branch of the family, was Foxley's chief executor; and anyone may observe how exactly the minute directions given in the will were carried out under the 'ordination' of the testator's 'most reverend lord,' the Bishop of Winchester. On the surcoat of the knight are his arms, gules, two bars argent; on his helmet the crest of the fox's head. At his right appears Matilda, whose dress displays the same arms, impaling her paternal coat of Brocas, sable, a lion rampant, or; while Joan Martin bears the arms of Foxley alone. The family died out in the male line with the *bastard aisné* Thomas Foxley, who, like his father, was buried at Bray, and, like him, is represented on a brass in the church between his two wives, Margaret and Theobalda.[4] His daughter Elizabeth, by Margaret Lytton, carried the Foxley properties to her husband, Sir Thomas Uvedale, of Wickham, in Hampshire.[5]

[1] *Archæological Journal*, vol. xv., where the whole will is printed, with useful remarks by Mr. Gunner.

[2] '*Oratoria*,' *ut supra*.

[3] *Topographer and Genealogist*, vol. iii. p. 17.

[4] This brass was not visible in 1884, being, it is said, hidden under a flooring; but it is believed to exist.

[5] Sir William Cope is of opinion that it was through one of Elizabeth Uvedale's daughters (since her son died in his father's lifetime) that Bramshill came to Thomas Rogers, who is found there in 1487. But some of the Foxley estates were in possession of William Warbelton in 1452, soon after Elizabeth Uvedale's death; and at that date his nieces, of whom Sibella, daughter of Elizabeth de Warbelton, is one, are named as his next heirs. This was the case with the manor of Bray, along with lands in Bray, Cookham, and Benfield, or in other words, the manor of Foxleys. If this estate descended to the Warbeltons on the death of Elizabeth Uvedale, it is reasonable to suppose that Bramshill accompanied it. But at any rate, very shortly after the disappearance of William Warbelton's generation, it passed finally out of the descendants of the Foxleys.

Perhaps the fact best known about Bramshill is the misfortune of Archbishop Abbot, who, while on a visit to Lord Zouch, aimed at a stag but shot the keeper. Few incidents have had more important effects on the history of Church and State; for it was the opportunity long sought by the ecclesiastical party to which the Archbishop was opposed, and gave them at last the upper hand.

We may conclude this notice of the Foxleys and their property by the remark that the tie between their family and that of Brocas must have been close and real, or it would not be found existing after such long intervals of time. It was forty-six years after Matilda's marriage when Sir John Foxley makes Arnald Brocas his chief executor, and leaves him a silver cup called a 'bolle,' one of two which he had been accustomed to carry with him on his travels. In 1447—seventy years later still—William Brocas holds a place as one of the feoffees of Apuldrefield, a Kentish manor inherited by the Foxleys from Sir John de Ifield, and which had passed to the Warbeltons; while few persons are more frequently named in connection with the business transactions at Beaurepaire in the fifteenth century than 'my kinsman William Warbelton,' great grandson of Matilda Brocas.

SECTION II.

DEEDS : BERKSHIRE.

14 Ed. II. June 14, 1321. **52.** *Lease for ten years by John Le Barber to John and Margaret de Brokas of a rent in New Windsor.*

Hec est convencio facta inter Johannem Le Barber de Nova Wyndesore ex una parte et Johannem de Brokas et Margaretam uxorem ejus ex altera parte; videlicet quod predictus Johannes Le Barber dimisit et concessit cisdem Johanni de Brokas et Margarete duas solidatas redditus cum pertinentiis et omnibus proficuis dicto redditui quoquomodo spectantibus, percipiendis de quodam tenemento quod Johannes Le Bercher tenet in Nova Wyndesore jacens inter tenementum predicti Johannis Le Barber ex utraque parte: Habendum et tenendum predictis Johanni de Brokas et Margarete et heredibus suis predictis duas solidatas redditus de predicto Johanne Le Barber et heredibus suis a data presente usque ad finem x annorum proxime sequentium: Et predictus Johannes Le Barber concedit pro se et heredibus suis ad warantizandum predictas duas solidatas redditus prefato Johanni de Brokas et Margarete uxori sue et heredibus suis usque ad finem predictorum x annorum. In cujus rei testimonium partes huic scripto bipartito sigilla sua alternatim apposuerunt, hiis testibus Johanne de Tyele, Rogero atte Berne, Gilberto filio suo, Thoma de Shawe, Thoma de Upenore, Roberto de Dachete, Wilielmo de Camera, Roberto de Pershore, et aliis. Datum apud Novam Wyndesore die Dominica proxima post festum Sancti Barnabe Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi quarto decimo.

(some of whom are afterwards found in Sussex), and escheated to the Crown, whence by a remarkable turn of fortune, it came round again to the heirs in the female line of the old House of De Port in the person of William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester. Kerry's *Hundred of Bray* contains some information about the Foxleys and their monuments.

14 Ed. II. June 14, 1321.

53. *Grant by John Le Barber to John de Brekas and Margaret his wife of an acre of land in La Shete, New Windsor.*

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Joh^{s} Le Barber de Nova Windesore dedi, concessi, et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Joh^{i} de Brokas et Margarete uxori ejus unam acram terre cum suis pertinentiis in Nova Wyndesore jacentem in La Shete inter terram Ade Le Gardiner et terram Ric^{i} Le Frankeleyn: Habendum et tenendum pred^{o} Joh^{i} de Brokas et Margarete uxori sue et heredⁱ dicti Joh^{s} de Brokas pred^{m} acram terre cum suis pertinentiis de capitalibus dominis feodi per servicia que inde de jure debentur libere quiete bene et in pace in perpetuum: Et ego pred^{s} Joh^{s} Le Barber et heredes mei pred^{m} acram terre cum suis pert^{s} predatis Joh^{i} de Brokas et Margarete et heredⁱ pred^{i} Joh^{s} de Brokas ut pred^{m} est, contra omnes gentes Warantizabimus in perp^{m}. In cujus rei test^{m} huic presenti carte sigillum meum apposui: hiis test^{s} [same as in 52, and on the same day].

(Seal: a Thistle slipped. Legend: fragment of 'John le Barber.')

Undated ? 14 Ed. II.

64. *Copy of a Grant by John Fordwyne to John and Margaret de Brocas of 4s rent charged on a cellar in New Windsor, belonging to Lawrence and Alice Schereman.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Joh^{s} filius et heres Joh^{s} Fordwyne de Nova Wyndesore dedi &c. Joh^{i} Brocas et Margarete uxori ejus iv^{s} redditus cum pert^{s}. in Nova Wyndesore quas quidem iv^{s} redditus percipere solebam de Laurencio Schereman et Alicia uxore ejus per annum pro quodam selaro cum pert^{s} jacente inter selarum Joh^{s} de Brompton ex parte una et tenementum quondam Wil^{i} de Assheby ex parte altera in latitudine, et extendit se a Cimiterio S^{ti} Joh^{s} Bapt. usque Regiam Stratam in longitudine quod de me tenet ad terminum vite sue: hab^{m} &c. redd^{o}. inde annuatim michi et heredⁱ meis unam rosam ad festum S^{ti} Joh^{s} Bapt.: Concessi eciam pro me et heredⁱ meis quod pred^{m} selarium &c. quod pred^{i}. Laurentius et Alicia tenent ad term. vite sue, et post decessum eorundem ad me revertere debeat, ad pred^{m} Joh^{m} et Margaretam et ad heredes dicti Joh^{s} remaneat: hab^{m} &c. In cujus rei, &c. [witnesses not given]. Datum per copiam.

(This is a contemporary copy of a deed, made on coarse paper; and, as such, is an early specimen.)

15 Ed. II. Nov. 3, 1321.

6. *Foot of a Fine by which William and Gunnora de Langenherst sold to John Bataille a house and land, &c., in Clewer, Windsor, Didworth, and Bray.*

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia Regis apud Westm. in crastino Animarum, an. r. r. Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi xv^{o} coram Wil^{o} de Bereford, Joh^{e} de Mitford, Wil^{o} de Herle, Joh^{e} de Stonore, et Joh^{e} de Bonsser, Justic^{i} et aliis, &c., inter Joh^{m} Bataille querentem, et Wil^{m} de Langenherst et Gunnoram uxorem ejus deforciantes de uno mesuagio, xc acris terre, ii acris prati, et vi^{s} et viii^{d} redditus . . in Cliware, Wyndesore, Dideworth, et Braye: unde &c.: habendum, &c. [Clause of Warranty]. Et pro hac concessione . . . idem Joh^{s} dedit pred^{s}. . xl marcas argenti.

18 Ed. II. 1324. **54.** *Lease by John and Avis Tiele to John and Margaret de Brocas of land in Old Windsor.*

Hec est convencio facta inter Joh^m de Tiele de Veteri Wyndesore et Aviciam uxorem ejus ex una parte, et Joh^m de Brocas et Margaretam uxorem ejus ex parte altera; vid^t quod pred^i Joh^s de Tiele et Avicia uxor ejus dimiserunt &c. dictis Joh^i et Marg^e viii acras terre &c. in Vetere Wyndesore jacentes in Le Hamme ad term. vii annorum continue sequent. et plenarie complet., incipiendum ad finem S^ti Mich. an. r. r. Edwardi fil. Regis Edwardi xviii^o . . . [Warranty]: . . test^s Rog^o atte Berne, Hen^o Le Parker, Rob^o de Dachette, et aliis.

19 Ed. II. Feb. 8, 1326. **55.** *Grant by John le Barber to John and Margaret de Brocas of a piece of land in La Shete, New Windsor.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Joh^s Le Barber de Nova Wyndesore dedi &c. Joh^i de Brocas et Margarete uxori ejus pro servicio suo unam peciam terre cum pert^s jacentem in campo dicto Le Shete inter mesuagium Joh^s Le Shepherde ex una parte et mesuagium Alicie La Nurice ex parte altera; et extendit unum caput super Regiam Viam dictam Shetestrete, et aliud caput super terram Ric^i de Horisull et terram Rob^i Le Plomer prout certe mete condonant: hab^m &c. [Warranty]: . . test^s Joh^e de Brumptone, Joh^e de Bedeford, tunc Ballivis, Rob^o de Pershore, Simone de Wodeham, Wil^o Paste, Wil^o Le Sy, Ric^o de Horisull clerico, et aliis. Datum apud Novam Wyndesore, viii^o die Febr. an. r. r. Edwardi fil. Regis Edwardi xix^o.

19 Ed. II. March 15, 1326. **56.** *Grant by Walter Chynal to John and Margaret de Brokas of a piece of land called Kybescroft, in New Windsor.*

Sciant &c. . . quod ego Walterus Chynal de Wyndesore dedi &c. Joh^i de Brokas et Margarete uxori ejus pro quadam summa argenti michi premanibus soluta unam peciam terre cum pert^s in Nova Wyndesore jacentem in campo dicto Kybescroft inter terram Joh^s de Brumptone et Regiam Viam in lat. cujus unum caput se extendit super croftam Joh^s Golde, et aliud caput super La Burne usque ad terram Oliveri de Burdeaux in long. sicut certe mete et divise condonant, et undique proportant: Hab^m &c. . [Warranty]: test^s Thoma de Openore, Simone de Wodeham, Rob^o de Dachetto, Rob^o de Pershore, Ric^o de Horesulle, et aliis. Datum apud Wyndesore die Sabbati prox. ante Dominicam in Ramis Palmarum an. r. r. Edwardi fil. Regis Edwardi xix^o.

20 Ed. II. July 20, 1326. **57.** *Grant by John and Alice Le Blount to John and Margaret de Brocas of a house, lands, &c., in New Windsor, Old Windsor, and Clewer, with minute accounts of the various holdings.*

Omnibus X^i fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Joh^s Le Blount et Alicia uxor mea salutem in Dom^o: Sciatis nos concessisse et per presens scriptum reddidisse Joh^i de Brocas et Margarete uxori ejus unum mesuagium xviii acras et unam rodam terre, ii acras et unam rodam prati,

xiv^{s} et v^{d} redditus cum pert^{s} in Nova Wyndesore, Veteri Wyndesore, et Clyware, que tenementa teniuimus in liberum tenementum predicte Alicie tota vita ejusdem Alicie: Et de quibus Joh^{e} filius Wil^{i} de Assheby recognovit pred^{a} mesuagium, xviii acras terre, ii acras prati et xiv^{s} redditus coram justiciariis Dom. Regis apud Westm. esse jus ipsius Joh^{e} de Brocas: Et jacet dictum mesuagium inter mesuagia dictorum Joh^{e} et Alicie ex utraque parte in Nova Wyndesore: Et iv acre et dimidium terre jacent super Stonhull in eadem villa: una acra et dim^{m} terre jacent subtus La Doune in eadem villa: et una acra, tres rode prati jacent in quodam loco dicto Beterlake in eadem villa: et vii acre et una roda terre jacent in La Hamme in Veteri Wyndesore: et dimid. acra prati jacet super Quenegrane in eadem villa: et iv acre et dimid. terre jacent in campo dicto La More in Clyware: et una dimid. acra terre jacet super Le Stanhuttes in eadem villa: et xiv^{s} v^{d} redditus percipienda sunt scilicet de Rob^{o} Frankun pro ii acris terre in La Hamme in Vet. Wyndesore xv^{d} solvend. ad term. consuetos; de Radulpho atte Legh pro una acra terre iiii^{d}; de Agneta La Causere pro uno mesuagio viii^{d}; de Wil^{o} in La Lane pro una acra prati vi^{d}: de Wil^{o} Le Sy pro una acra terre v^{d}: de Joh^{e} Golde pro dimid. acre terre iii^{d}: de Joh^{e} de Tyghele pro una acra terre iiii^{d}: de Rob^{o} atte Broke pro una acra terre in La Hamme iiii^{d}: de Joh^{e} de Feltham pro uno mesuagio iiii^{d}: de Alex^{o} le Peyntour pro una acra in La Hamme iiii^{d}: de Rog^{o} atte Berne pro quodam placea mesuagii sui in eadem villa de Vet. Wyndesore i^{d}: et de Rad^{o} Bulgar pro mesuagio suo in Nova Wyndesore v^{s} solvend. ad term. pred^{s} consuetos: de Thoma le Forester pro uno mesuagio et uno curtilagio ii^{s} et viii^{d}: et de Simone de Wodeham pro quadam parte gardenii sui ii^{d}: de Joh^{e} Adam pro uno curtilagio ii^{d}: de Hen^{o} Meynin pro uno curtilagio viii^{d}: de Joh^{e} Noreys pro uno mesuagio in predicta villa de Nova Wyndesore viii^{d}: Hab^{m} &c. [Warranty]: . . test^{s} Joh^{e} de Brumptone, Joh^{e} de Bedeford, tunc Ballivis, Simone de Wodeham, Rob^{o} de Pershore, Thoma de Openore, Alex^{o} le Peyntour, Phil^{o} le Mareschal, et aliis: datum apud Novam Wyndesore die Dominica xx^{o} die Julii in festo S^{te} Margarete Virginis an. r. r. Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi xx^{o}.

4 Ed. III. June 3–11, 1330.

58. *Foot of a Fine between John and Margaret de Brocas and John de Assheby (before the Justices Stonor, Travers, and Willoughby), by which the former gave the latter* 40 *marks for his Quitclaim as to the lands in New and Old Windsor and Clewer, mentioned in Deed* 57.

5 Ed. III. Sept. 29–Oct. 9, 1331.

1. *Foot of a Fine by which Ambrose of Newbury conveyed to John and Margaret Brocas two hundred acres of land, &c., in Bray, New Windsor and Clewer.*

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia Dom. Regis apud Westm. in Octav. S^{ti} Mich. an. r. r. Regis Edwardi III. a Conq. v^{o}, coram Wil^{o} de Herle, Joh^{e} de Stonore, Rob^{o} de Malberthorp, Joh^{e} de Cantebrigge, et Joh^{e} Inge, Justiciariis, et postea in Octav. S^{ti} Mich. an. regni ejusdem regis vi^{o}, ibidem concessa et recordata coram pref^{s} Wil^{o} Joh^{e} . . . . Joh^{e} de Chardelowe et Ric^{o} de Aldeburgh Justic. et aliis Dom. Regis fidel^{s} tunc

ibi presentibus: inter Joh^m Brocas et Marg^m uxorem ejus querentes et Ambrosium de Novo Burgo deforciantem de uno mesuagio, ii toftis, cc acris terre, viii acris prati, et vii^s et vi^d redditus cum pert^s in Braye, Nova Wyndesore, et Cliware: unde placitum conventionis summum fuit inter eos in eadem Curia, scilicet quod pred^i Joh^s et Marg^a recognoscunt pred^a ten^a cum pert^s esse jus ipsius Ambrosii, et pro hac recognitione, fine, et concordia idem Ambrosius concessit pred^is Joh^i et Marg^e pred^a ten^a . . . et illa eis reddidit in eadem Curia . . . [Warranty].

5 Ed. III. Nov. 15, 1331.

7. *Grant for life from Thomas Upnor to John de Brocas of his marlpit, close to Windsor Castle (for use on De Brocas' own land).*

Sciant &c. quod ego Thomas Upenor de Nova Wyndesore dedi &c. Joh^i de Brocas ad totam vitam suam tantam marleram in marlera mea juxta Castrum de Wyndesore capiendam pro voluntate sua vel assignatis suis ad totam terram suam propriam apud Clyware, Novam Wyndesore et Braye in Com. Berks marliendam cum libero introitu et exitu ad eandem: habendam et tenendam, levandam, petendam, et carriandam dict^m marleram dict^o Joh^i de Brocas seu attornatis suis vel assignatis cum hominibus, carris, carucis, et equis, quandocumque et quotienscumque voluerit et voluntate eorum pro terra ipsius Joh^s de Brocas &c. [Warranty]: . . test^s Osberto le Tavernir et Hamone Smoud, tunc Ballivis Ville de Wyndesore, Joh^e de Bedeforde, Simone de Wodeham, Alexandro le Payntour, Thoma Routour, Ric^o de Horesulle, et aliis: data apud Wyndesore die Ven. prox. post fest^m S^ti Martyn Episc^i. an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii a Conq. v^o.

(Seal: a Pelican 'in her piety;' probably the seal of Richard de Horesull, clerk.)

6 Ed. III. Sept. 29–Oct. 6, 1332.

59. *Foot of a Fine between John and Margaret de Brocas and William and Emma de Chesewyk (before the Justices Herle, Stonor, Malberthorpe, Cantebrigge, and Inge), by which the latter give the former* 20 *marks for* 19 *acres of land in New and Old Windsor and Clewer, apparently the same as mentioned in Deeds* 57 *and* 58.

7 Ed. III. Nov. 6, 1333.

8. *Grant by John le Forester of New Windsor to Richard de Horesulle, clerk, of land in Clewer.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Joh^s le Forester de Nova Wyndesore dedi &c. Ric^o de Horesulle clerico unam acram terre cum pert^s in Clifware jacentem apud le Hale inter terram dicti Ric^i et campum de Cranle in lat. et extendit se a terra dicti Ric^i usque campum de Suthelce in long. sicut certe mete con donant et proportant: hab^m &c. [Warranty]: . . testibus Joh^e de Lifforde, Joh^e de Bedeford, Joh^e de Purlee, Joh^e Le Despencer, Wil^o Hauteyn, et aliis: datum apud Clifware die Sabbati in festo S^ti Leonardi an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii post Conq. vii^o.

(Seal: same as No. 7).

8 Ed. III. June 27, 1334. **44.** *Receipt from Elys de Ruede, Lord of Tirlyngton, to John de Brocas for 5 marks due for the lease of the Manor of Didworth Mauncel.*

A touz iceaux qe ceste lettre verrount ou orrount Elys de Ruede seigneur de Tirlyngtone salutz en Dieu: sachiez moi avoir resceu de Johan de Brocas quink mars de bons et loeaux esterlyngs en les queux il me fust tenuz par la ferme du manoir de Didworthmaunced del an du regne le Roi Edward Tiers apres le Conquest oytysme, de les queux quink mars dargent ico me tienk apaie e le vaunt diet Johan de Brocas quites a tous jours: en tesmoignaunce de quele chose a ceste lettre daquitaunce iay mys mon seal. Done [donné] a Clyware le Luyndy prochein apres la feste del Nativite Seint Johan Baptiste en lan susdist.

(The seal is mentioned in p. 280. The arms are perhaps those of the Gascon lords of Brigerac.)

10 Ed. III. June 23, 1336. **61.** *Grant by Philip Creppyng of New Windsor to John and Margaret de Brocas, of a shop and cellar in New Windsor.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Philippus filius Simonis Creppyng de Nova Wyndesore dedi &c. . . . . Johi de Brocas et Margarete uxori ejus unam shoppam cum celario et suis pertⁿ que habui ex dono et concessione Johⁿ Mawardyn parcario et Dionisie uxoris ejus in Nova Wyndesore jacentem juxta Cimiterium Ecclesie Sᵗⁱ Johⁿ Bapt. inter shoppam dictorum Johⁿ et Margarete, et Regiam Viam in lat. et long. prout &c.: habᵐ &c. [Warranty]: . . testᵉ Phiˡᵒ le Mareschal, Osberto le Taverner, tunc Ballivis Wyndesore, Johe Godefray, Johe de Lyford, Johe de Purle, Simone de Wodeham, Wiˡᵒ Neel clerico, et aliis: datum apud Novam Wyndesore xxiiiᵒ die Junii an r. r. Edwardi Tercii a Conq. xᵒ.

11 Ed. III. June, 1337. **2.** *Foot of a Fine by which John and Isabella Artant conveyed to John and Margaret de Brocas 26 acres of land in Bray for 20 marks.*

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia Dom. Regis apud Eborᵐ a die Sancte Trin. in xv dies an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii a Conq. xiᵒ coram . . . Justicᵉ Johe de Stonore, Wiˡᵒ de Shareshull, Johe Inge, Johe de Shardelowe, Ricᵒ de Aldeburgh, Rogᵒ Hillery, Wiˡᵒ Scot, et Wiˡᵒ Basset . . . inter Johᵐ de Brocas et Margaretam uxorem ejus querentes et Johᵐ Artant et Isabellam uxorem ejus deforciantes de xxvi acris terre cum pertⁿ in Braye: unde &c. scil. quod pred. Johⁿ Artant et Isabella recog. predᵐ terram &c. esse jus ipsius Johⁿ de Brocas ut illam quam iidem Johⁿ et Margª habent de dono predᵐ Johⁿ Artant et Isabelle: habᵐ &c. [Warranty]: . . et pro hac recognitione . . . iidem Johⁿ de Brocas et Margareta dederunt predⁿ Johi Artant et Isabelle xx marcas argenti.

12 Ed. III. April 5, 1338. **9.** *Appointment of attorneys by Oliver de Bordeaux to give seisin of lands which he grants to Henry and Lucy Bataille in Clewer.*

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Oliverus de Burdeaux salutem in Christo: Sciatis me attornasse loco meo dilectos

meos in Christo dominos Rad^m atte More personam ecclesie Bekenesfeld et Joh^m de Pakyngton capellanum meum conjunctim et divisim ad liberandam plenam seysinam Hen^o Bataille et Lucie uxori ejus de omnibus illis terris et ten^s cum pert^s que iidem Hen^s et Lucia habent de dono meo in Clyfware prout in carta eisdem confecta plenius patet. In cujus &c.: datum apud Novam Wyndesore v^o die Aprilis an. r. r. Edwardi III. a Conq. xii^o.

12 Ed. III. Oct. 20, 1338.

10. *Grant by John de Brocas to William Mogenhed of land in Wyganescroft, saving Suit of Court to 'my manor of Clifware.'*

Sciant &c. quod ego Joh^s de Brocaz dedi &c. Wil^o Mogenhed juniori de Clyfware unam rodam et dimid., unam perticatam, et dimid. perticatam terre cum pert^s in Clyfware jacentes in quodam loco voc. Wyganescroft juxta terram Nich^i de Bysshop sicut hayis et fossis includuntur: hab^m &c. redd^o inde ann^m . . . ix^d argenti . . . salva tamen . . . secta curie ad manerium meum de Clifware bis per ann., cum pro rationabili summ. fuerit, et eciam salvis &c. releviis . . . [Warranty] : . . test^s Joh^e de Shobenhangre, Joh^e de Sonynghull, H^o Bataille, Joh^e de Purle, Joh^e de Lyforde, Rob^o Wytchin, Rob^o Bullok, et aliis: dat^m apud Clifware xx^o die Oct. an. r. r. Edwardi III. a Conq. xii^o.

21 Ed. III. August 2, 1347.

26. *A mutual bond between Sir John Brocas and three brothers, James, John, and Robert Barry, by which they agree to pay* 1,000*l.* *to Walter Whithors, and Sir John to pay the same Walter and Isabelle, sister of the Barrys, a rent of* 20*l.* *from his manor of Clewer—(a marriage settlement, on conditions which appear in the accompanying deed, executed two days afterwards, between Sir John, Walter Whithors, and Isabella Barry.)*

A tous ceux que cestes lettres verrount ou orrount James Barry, Johan Barry, et Rob^t Barry, saluz en Dieu: Sachez nous estre tenuz et chescun de nous par ceste indenture fait fermement oblige a Wauter Whithors en mille livres desterlinges de bone et loial moneye a paier a dit Wauter ses heirs et ses executeurs a la fest de la Nativ. Seynt J^no le Bapt. estleyn avenir apres la fesaunte de cestes a Londres, a quel paiement bien et loialment faire a jour et lieu avaunt dit, nous les avaunt ditz James, John, et Rob^t obligeons nous, nos heirs et nos executeurs et chescun de nous en lentier biens et chateux en qilsqils soient trovez. En tesmoignaunce de quele chose nous les avaunt dits a ceste notre obligacion avoms mys nos seals. Donne a Londres le seconde de Eaust lan du r. le r. Edward tierce apres le Conq. d'Angl. xxi^e et de France viii^e: r r r in rotulo factum in partibus Francie anno supradicto.

A tous ceux que cestes presentes lettres verrount ou orrount moi Johan de Brocas, chiv^r., salutz: sachez moi avoir graunte pour moi & pour mes heirs a Wauter Whithors & pour la soere James Barry et a les heirs a touz jours une annuele rente de vynt livres a prendre de mon manoir de Clewar en Barkshire annuelement de an en an a la feste de la Nativ. nostre S^r, et ico le dit Johan voille et graunte . . . la dite rente de xx^li en partie

ou en tout . . . [Clause of distraint] . . . Done a Clewar le seconde Faust lan du regne ut supra xxi^e et de France viii^e.

21 Ed. III. August 4, 1347.

47a. *Indenture between Sir John de Brocas on one part, and Walter Whithors and Isabella Barry on the other part, reciting grant by the former of* 20*l. rent in Clewer, and conditioning it on the marriage of these persons; but that it is only to come into effect after marriage if they lose the several properties in Nottinghamshire which he had given them (deed not found), and if they have made every effort at law to defend themselves against any claim of the brothers of Isabella.*

Ceste endenture faite perentre Mons. John de Brocas dune partie et Wauter Whithors et Isabelle le soere James Barry dautre partie tesmoigne que com le dist Mons. Joh^n ad graunte as ditz Wauter et Isabelle et a les heirs une annuele rente de xx livres a prendre annuelement de an en an a la feste de la Nativ. nostre Seign^r de son manoir de Clewar en Barkshire com plus playne apiert par le fait du dit Mons. Joh^n del dite rente faite as ditz Wautere et Isabelle, les ditz Wauter et Isabelle voillount et grauntount pour eux et pour les heirs que taunte com eux et lor heirs de leur deux corps en loial matrimoigne engenerez puissent bien et paisiblement tenir et defendre solome la loi de la terre d'Engleterre les terres et les rentes queux ils ount du feffement le dit Mons. Joh^n en la ville de Keworth, Bassingfeld, Lambecoote, et Boghton en le comtee de Notyngham ensemblement ove lavowsone del eglise de la dite ville de Keworth en mesme le comtee solome le purport du fait et feffement du dit Mons. Joh^n fait as ditz Wauter et Isabelle, que la dite rente de xx^li cesse; et sil aviegne, que Dieu defende, que les ditz Wauter et Isabelle ou lor heirs . . . perdont les terres, rentes, ou ladvowson de l'eglise . . . queux ils ount de le feffement du dit M. Joh^n, par ascun droit ou cleyme que James Barry, John, et Robert ses freres . . . ount ou desores en avant pourront avoir, ensi que les ditz W^r et Isab. et lor heirs . . . faccont tiel defense de les ditz terres . . . com ils poent faire par la loi, adonques le dit M. Joh^n voel et graunte que les susditz W^r et Isab. . . . pussent lever la dite annuele rente de xxli de son dit manoir de Clewer solome le purport du fait de la dite rente: ensi totes voies salvez que le dit Wauter piergne a femme Isabelle la soere le dit James Barry: et le dit Wauter voet que sil ne face qil perde accord des covenauntz susditz a touz iceux. En tesm. &c. par cestes tesmoignes, Mons. Guy de Brian, Mons. Thom. de Colvile, Thom. de Colnay, Joh^n de Padbury, Thom. de Missendene, et Wil^m de Hawarden et autres. Done a Clewer le quarte jour de Eust lan du r. le Roy Edward Tierce puis le Conq. d'Angleterre xxi^e et de France viii^e.

(The seal of Walter de Whithors appended to this deed appears as one of the illustrations. Sir Ralph Whithors, Knight, witnesses a Brocas deed at Clewer in 1393 [Deed 48], and the family house at Windsor is mentioned in Deed 63. In 1354 we find an Adam Barry, bailiff of the Borough of Nottingham [*Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, Rames and Stephenson]. The name of Thomas de Missendene occurring in this early deed confirms the statement made at p. 117, that he was the first husband of Isabella, daughter of Sir John de Brocas, and not of a daughter, as previously supposed, of Sir Bernard Brocas.)

22 Ed. III. Feb. 20, 1348. **45.** *Grant by Thomas de Reod [sic] lord of Didworth to Sir John de Brocas of the stock and crops on the manor of Didworth, and of the lands of the manor for a certain sum.*

Sachent toutes gienz moi Thomas de Reod Seigneur de Dideworth avoir done et graunte a Mons. Johⁿ de Brocas, chivʳ, tout mon estor que iai en le manoir de Dideworth susdite ensemblement ove les bledz eressantz al jour de la fesaunce de cestes, ove les terres apartenanz au dit manoir pour un certein some dargent a moi paie: et nel estor ensemblement ove les bledz susditz ie quitclaym pour moi, mes heirs, et mes executeurs au dit Mons. Johⁿ as ses heirs et as ses executeurs pour tous jours. En tesmoignaunce, &c. Done a Cleware le xxᶜ jour de Feb. lan du r. le R. Edward Tiercz apres le Conq. xxiiᶜ.

22 Ed. III. Feb. 29, 1348. **62.** *Receipt by Thomas de Roed of Didworth to Sir John de Brocas for* 40 *marks paid in advance by Sir John for a property in New Windsor of which the rent or 'farm' was* 5 *marks a year.*

Pateat universis me Thomam de Roed de Dideworth recepisse de Johᵉ de Brocaz milite xl marcas sterlingorum in persolutionem annue firme v marcarum michi annuatim debite pro terris et tenˢ que idem Johˢ de me tenet ad firmam in Wyndesore Nova, scil. pro viii annis prox. futuris post datam presentium: de quibus xl marcis in persolutionem totius firme pro viii annis predˢ fateor me fore pacatum per presentes sigillo meo signatas: datum apud Clyware ult. die Feb. an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii a Conq. Angl. xxiiᵒ et Francie ixᵒ.

22 Ed. III. Jan. 26, 1349. **11.** *Grant by Nicholas and Isabella Serjaunte to Sir John and Margaret Brocas of a house and acre of land in Clewer for a certain sum.*

Sciant &c. quod nos Nichˢ Serjaunte et Isabella uxor ejus dedimus &c. Domᵒ Johⁱ Brocas mil. et Margᵉ uxori ejus et hredˢ ipsius Johᵉ et Margᵉ pro quadam summa pecunie premanibus soluta unum mesuagium cum curtilagio simul cum una acra terre jacente in villa de Clewere inter terram predicti domⁱ Johˢ ex parte occident. et austr., et Regiam Viam que ducit usque Wyndesore ex parte borcali et orient. sicut fossata et haya undique includuntur: habᵐ &c. [Warranty]: . . testˢ. Hugone Normanvyle, Johᵉ atte Mulle, Johᵉ Mogenhod, Osberto Le Taverner, Wilᵒ Chesewyke, et Thoma le Sauser et aliis: datum apud Clewere die Lune in crastino Conv. Sᵗⁱ Pauli an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii a Conq. xxiiᵒ.

23 Ed. III. Feb. 10, 1349. **12.** *Quitclaim by Isabella, widow of Nichˢ Serjeaunte, to Sir John and Margaret de Brocas, for the above property.*

Pateat universis &c. quod ego Isabella filia Ade de Hacche de Clyware in pura viduitate mea et plena potestate remisi et omnino de me et hredˢ meis quietum clamavi domᵒ Johⁱ de Brocas militi et Margarete uxori ejus &c., totum jus et clamum quod habeo &c. in uno mesuagio cum curtilagio et in una acra terre adjacente de Clyware quod quidem mesᵐ. &c., iidem Johˢ et

Marg^a habuerunt de dono et feoff^o Nich^i Serjeaunte quondam viri mei et meo &c. Ita tamen [Warranty] : . . test^r Ric^o Bataille, Hugone Normanvyle, Joh^e atte Mulle, Joh^e Mogenhode, Ric^o Normanvyle, Thoma Colles et aliis : datum apud Clyware x^o die Febr. an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii a Conq. xxiii^o.

Undated, but apparently c.1235.

43. *Grant by Sir Peter le Loreng to Adam de Cruchefeld of a half-virgate of land in Dideworth at a rent of 5s.*

Sciant &c. quod hec est conventio facta inter Dom. Petrum Le Loreng et Adam de Cruchefeld videl. quod ego Petrus de L. concessi &c. Ade de Cruchefeld totam illam dimidiam virgatam terre cum omn^s pert^s suis in Dideworthe quam Wil^s Molendinarius tenuit : hab^m &c. red^o inde annuatim &c. v^s &c. et forinsecum serviciu quantum pertinet ad dimid. virgatam in Dideworth. Preterea sciendum est quod dictus Ada et heredes sui falcabunt et levabunt prata mea et fena mea et cariabunt fena mea quantumcumque sufficit ad prata mea et fena falcanda et levanda et cariandа in Dideworthe. Preterea dictus Ada et heredes sui venient ad primas preces Domini in autumpno cum tota familia sua salva uxore sua, et ad secundas preces Dom. cum duobus hominibus; et ad cibum Dom. ad predictas duas preces. Si vero dictus Ada vel heredes sui ab aliqua parte predictorum operum se subtraxerint vel subtrahere voluerint, pred^s Ada et heredes sui respondebunt, et jure stabunt in Curia mea, et in Curia heredum meorum de Dideworthe per judicium illorum hominum qui talia opera in prato faciunt ut dictus Ada et heredes sui faciunt. Si vero contigerit quod aliquis clamum jure hereditario in pred^a dimid. virgata terre poneret pred^s Ada nec heredes sui nec aliquis per illos me Petrum nec heredes meos ullo modo provocabunt ad pred^m terram warantizandam. Pro hac autem concessione dedit michi Petro pred^s Ada c^s. In hujus Rei test^m et securitatem ego Petrus Le Loreng presens scriptum pro me et hered^s meis sigilli mei appositione corroboravi. Testibus istis Domino Wil^o Banastre, Domino Hen^o fratre suo, Osmundo Hockley, Ædmundo fratre suo, Walt^o de Huppenore, Nic^o Goman, Rog^o de Purle, Ric^o de Netthamstude.

(A fine deed with a fine seal of green wax, which forms one of the illustrations. It seems to convey title to the part of the Didworth property mentioned in the next deed.)

25 Ed. III. April 1, 1351.

46. *Grant and restoration by William de Craunforde to Sir John de Brocas of a half virgate of land in Didworth with 2 acres in that place which he had for life from Sir John.*

Pateat &c. quod ego Will^s de Craunforde concessi &c. Dom^o Joh^i de Brocas illam dimidiam virgatam terre cum pert^s que quondam fuit Will^s de Dideworthe in Dideworthe, exceptis tribus rodis terre que Joh^s atte Hawe tenuit et una acra et dimid. prati ejusdem virgate terre que jacent in le Reyemede. Concessi eciam &c. eidem Dom^o Joh^i duas acras terre cum pert^s in Dideworthe que quondam fuerunt Joh^s Spakeman quam quidem dimid. virgatam terre et predictas duas acras terre cum pert^s alias habui

Seal of Sir Peter le Loreng, A.D. *c.* 1235

(See p. 294)

Seal of Walter Whithors, A.D. 1347

(See p. 292)

Seal of Sir John de Brocas, A.D. 1363

(See p. 295)

ex concessione pred^{i} Dom^{i} Joh^{s} ad term. vite mee reverc̃ione predictarum dimid. virgate terre et duarum acrarum terre ad pred^{m} Joh^{m} post mortem meam pertinente: hab^{m} &c.: . . . test^{s} Rob^{o} de Wakham, Rob^{o} de Dachete, Hugone de Normanville, et aliis: datum apud Cliware i^{o} die Apr. an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii a Conq. xxv^{o}.

(Seal: two figures with hands joined; between the figures a tree upheld in their hands. Legend illegible.)

28 Ed. III. May 27, 1354.

13. *Grant by Sir John Brocas to his brother Bernard and John Chapman of all his lands in Clewer, Bray, Didworth, and Polyngfold, in trust.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Joh^{s} Brocas miles dedi &c. magistro Bernardo Brocas clerico, fratri meo, et Joh^{i} Chapman omnia illa ten^{a} et terras que habui in villis et campis de Cleware, Braye, Dideworth Maunsel, et Polyngfold, cum omnibus suis pert^{s} vid^{t} in redditibus, serviciis, tam liberorum quam nativorum, boscis, pratis, pascuis, et pasturis, haiis, franchordiis, curiæ sectis, et aliis pert^{s} quibuscunque pred^{a} terras et tenementa qualitercunque contingentibus: hab^{m} &c. . . . [Warranty]: . . test^{s} Dom^{o} W^{o} Trussel, mil., Olivero de Burdeaux, Thoma de Foxlee, Rogero Cifrewast, Roberto de Waltham, et aliis: datum apud Cleware die Martis prox. post fest. S^{ti} Augustini Anglorum Episcopi an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii a Conq. xxviii^{o}.

37 Ed. III. July 15, 1363.

14. *Grant by Sir John Brocas to John Foxlee and Bernard Brocas, his son, of all his property in Berks, Bucks, and Southampton, in trust.*

Sciatis &c. quod ego Joh^{s} Brocas miles dedi &c. Joh^{i} Foxlee et Bernardo Brocas filio meo militibus, omnia terras et tenementa, redditus et servicia mea in villis de Clyware, Didsworth Maincel, Nove Wyndesore, Veteris Wyndesore, Eton, Daunye, Bovencye, et Froille in com. Berks, Boks, et Suth^{n}.: hab^{m}. &c. . . . [Warranty] &c.: . . test^{s} Wil^{mo} de Molyns, Hugone de Derewyk, mil^{s}, Johanne Syfrewast, Roberto Bullok, Johanne Henaud, Rogero Coleryde, Joh^{e} atte More. Datum apud Clyware xv^{o} die Julii an. r. r. Edwardi tertii post Conq. xxxvii^{o}.

(Seal: fragment of the Brocas Lion, with part of the name; this forms one of the illustrations.)

37 Ed. III. Sept. 14, 1363.

29. *Grant of land by Sir John Brocas to Alan de Steynlee on condition of his supplying* 2 *lb. of wax yearly to his chapel at Clewer.*

Hec indentura testatur quod cum Joh^{s} Brocas miles dederit &c. Alano de Steynlee vi acras terre, unam acram prati cum pert^{s}, jacentes in campis et pratis de Clyware et Diddeworth sicut in carta feofamenti pred^{o} Alano inde confecta plenius continetur, pred^{s} Alanus vult et concedit pro se et hered^{s} suis et assignatis quod ipse, heredes &c. solvant annuatim Deo et capelle dicti Joh^{s} Brocas apud Clyware in festo Pentecosti duas libras cere [Clause of distraint]: &c. . . test^{s} Magistro Joh^{e} de Shareshulle, tunc Rectore ecclesie de Clyware, Joh^{e} Oncfold, Joh^{e} atte Bourne, Galfrido Mogenhod,

Joh^e Potager, Phil^e Strowenhale, Alex^o atte Mulle, et aliis: datum apud Clyware in festo Exaltationis S^te Crucis an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii a Conq. xxxvii^o.

(Seal: a horse's head affronté, or perhaps a beetle, with letter 'D.' Legend: 'De War.')

Undated,[1] but certainly 1363.

22. *Balance Sheet of the Receipts and Expenditure for the manor of Clewer-Brocas, presented to Sir John Brocas by his bailiff James de Colewelle (much damaged).*

Feast a remembrer de les resceiptes de James de Colewelle, Bailiff de Clyware, de la maner Sir John Brocas—cest a saver.

[The receipts 'par les meins de mon S^r Joh^n Brocas,' and 'par les meins de Rob^t de Schyngelton'—the family lawyer—amount to 22*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, including rent from Eve Mogenhod, 6*l.* from Robert Hurtle, and a sum (illegible) for the pasture of Etonmede. Two payments are noted as made on days of the week 'apres le sepulture de mon S^r Oliver Brocas.']

Despencez sur le dist resceiptz.

		Li.	*s.*	*d.*
Premierement paie a Joh^n de Sonninghull pour merim				
	[merrain, timber] de luy achate . . .	—	xvi	—
Item: paie a ii siours [reapers] pour xxxviii journees par				
"	checun de eux le jour iiii^d	i	ix	viii
—	pour iiii dornailles	—	ii	—
—	— un peyre des wollene weel [stuffed part of a collar][2] et i peyre de bryddes [cart-wheels] .	—	vi	viii
—	— lyer les distez bryddes	—	i	viii
—	— clowes et cloutez [plate on axletree] pour meme	—	—	ix
—	— i exeltre [axletree]	—	—	ii
—	— un peyre de treyes [trees for a wheel] achate .	—	ii	—
It^m	en blank quir [leather] pour amender harneys de charettes		[torn]	
—	— un coler achate	—	—	xvi
—	pour le bois de un seale [exterior of collar] p^r charette	—	—	iv
—	— pikforkes [N^o. torn]	—	—	iv
—	— les dispences de charettors querants x bosselles de furmit' [wheat] a Guldeforde . . .	—	—	viii
—	— un verge de wadmol [coarse woollen cloth] .	—	—	iv
—	— un exeltre	—	—	ii
—	— iiii cheppeles [tilts or covers] achates pour charettes	—	—	ix
—	— xi ^c. clowes et lathes, et v ^c. de standisnails .	—	vi	viii
—	— iiii ^c. spykynges	—	ii	viii
—	— iiii ^c. dornail	—	ii	—
—	— v ^c. wyndounail	—	—	xx
—	— livere a Seign^r en mailes [in small coin] .	—	—	viii
—	a dist Seign^r pour denere a Overores . . .	—	—	iiii

[1] As the death of Sir Oliver Brocas, which occurred in 1363, is mentioned, its date may be certainly assigned to that year, in which Sir Oliver's wife also dies.

[2] The writer has been kindly assisted in assigning a meaning to this and some other very uncommon words by the Rev. A. L. Mayhew, author of *Glossaries to the 'Faery Queene.'*

		Li.	*s.*	*d.*
Iun	en xxxvi euwes achates a feire de S^{t} Laurent par le pece iii^{d} ob	—	x	vi
—	pour ii shares noveles achates pour le charue [plough]	—	iii	viii
—	— xvii faldhurdles achates	—	iii	—
—	— un galon de tarr	—	—	vi
—	done a gent aydaunt Peare Peyn	—	—	iii
—	en un clef [torn] dun cerure [lock]	—	—	iii
—	paie pour oynons et altres choses a la terement del dame Mon S^{r} Oliver	—	—	xii
—	paie a Adam Balle pour ly et sa charette querant buche	—	—	xii
—	en despenses de James Baillif achataunt les distes euwes a feire de Waltham	—	—	iiii
—	en fauchure de pree que est appele Etonemede [' The Brocas ']	—	xi	x
—	en fauchure de ii acres a Underore, iii dimid. acres al Reye, et vii acres et iii rodes a Westmede	—	vii	iii
—	pour fere Etonmede	—	v	viii
—	— baile a charetters al [torn] a Londres pour querer vin	—	—	xx
—	— baile a Porcher et a Jakke Coke [torn] porcz a Guldeforde	—	—	vii
—	a charette alaunt a Aumodesham querantz breese [malt]	—	—	x
—	a charette queranz un altre pipe de vin a Londres	—	—	xx
—	en quatre boefs achates le xiiii jour apres le feste de S^{t} Matthie [March 9]	—	xlviii	i
—	en ii quarters et ii busselles de furment, prix bussel ix^{d}	—	xiii	vi
—	pour iiii boefs achates le jour de Seint Leuk [Oct. 18]	—	li	—
—	— fesure dun cultre [coulter] feat de fer de Seingneur	—	—	xii
—	en vi li. de fer achatez pour amender un altre cultre	—	[torn]	
—	pour ordinge et fitheringe [edging and feathering] de scheres	—	iii	vi
—	— ii hercis [harrows] amender de [torn] fer . .	—	vi	vi
—	— v quarters de furment achates	—	xxxi	—
—	paie a carpenters pour leur gages amendant les messouns [maisons] au Cliware . . .	—	ii	—
—	pour Livere a Watte atte Style et a Joh^{n} Carpenter .	—	x	—
—	— clowes et lathes p^{r} les dist mesouns . . .	—	vi	—
—	— lathes achates	—	iv	—
—	en despences Walter atte Cuchene et James Bailif vers Warneburwe	—	—	xiv
—	pour iii quarters de brees	—	—	ix
—	— iiii charettes querantz vin a Londres . .	—	—	xx
—	— ii hommes chassauns [driving] porcz de Guldeford a Clewar	—	—	vii
—	— feare hayez envirom pasture du Seig^{r} . .	—	iii	i ob

			Li.	*s.*	*d.*
It^{m}	pour iii q^{rs} i buss. de furment achatez . . .		—	xx	—
—	— vi q^{rs} furment achatez (iii mars) . . or		—	xl	—
—	— dim. q^{r}. furment		—	—	xl
—	— paie a le manere de Braye p^{r} rente . . .		—	vi	v ob
—	— iiii liens de fer p^{r} le charette kaunt le vin fust carie ala place Madame de la Norhampton .		—	xii	—
—	— ii cartcloutes a dist charette		—	—	iv
—	— ii lynces [linch-pins]		—	—	vi
—	— iiii solers [souliers, shoes] de chivaux a meme le temps		—	—	viii
—	— solers p^{r} ii affres [light carthorses] p^{r} quere vin a Londres			[torn]	
—	— remeuinges de solers dez chivaux . . .		—	—	ii
—	— vytheringe de un schar		—	—	iiii
—	paie a Stevene Mogenhod p^{r} son lower [hire] . .		—	v	—
—	paie a John le Rede, Bercher de Wencles . .		—	v	—
—	— vi peires des gauns a servauns p^{r} haust [? Aust, for Lammas festival]		—	—	xii
—	paie a Rob. atte Hawe p^{r} lower		—	v	—
—	a Joh^{n} le Cok		—	v	—
—	pour cervoyse [beer] achate de Cristine atte Wode xii galons		—	—	vi ob
—	— xiiii galons de memez oeste Cristine . .		—	—	xvi
—	de Margaret Wodeward p^{r} xiiii galons . . .		—	—	xiiii
—	de Margarie Crowenhale p^{r} xxviii galons . .		—	iii	iv
—	pour ferure dun cheval neyr de Wenkles [torn] le dist vin fust mene de la Northampton . .		—	—	vi
—	paie a Richard le Smythe p^{r} ferre de chevaux . .		—	ii	iiii
—	livere a Rob^{t} le Soun p^{r} quere bestez de Guldeforde		—	—	iiii

(Some few items have suffered by wear and tear, so that the sum total cannot be balanced with the receipts; but at the foot is noted 'Excedit xi^{s} vi^{d} ob qu.' It is evident that this estate included a vineyard, as we discover from other sources, and we may suppose that the shop and the cellar in Windsor were connected with it. London and Northampton afford the market. Figs and other beasts come from Guildford, where wheat finds a market; ewes find a market at Waltham Fair, malt at Amersham. The two estates being so different, there are not many points of comparison between prices at Clewer in 1363 and Beaurepaire in 1358 (See Chap. II. part 2); but it is observable that the price of an ox is precisely the same in both cases, viz. 12^{s}, taking the price at Clewer in March; while, taking it in October, the price at Beaurepaire is slightly less. The price of wheat is 9^{d}. a bushel at Clewer in 1363, 11^{d}. at Beaurepaire in 1358. Possibly experts may discover in the above list of prices some trace of the Pestilence of 1362. It ought to be possible to identify the localities mentioned above; but Underores alone is to be found in the 'Annals of Windsor.')

40 Ed. III. Feb. 24, 1366.

15. *Indenture witnessing that Sir Bernard Brocas has delivered to Robert Hertle, Constable of Windsor, all his muniments concerning Clewer, Windsor, Didworth and Bray, on the death of his father.*

Ceste endenture tesmoigne que Mons. Bernard Brocas chivaler, ad livre a Robert Hertle conestable del chastel nostre Seign^{r} le Roy de Wyndesore al [word illegible] nostre dit S^{r} le Roy le jour de fesaunce de cestez,

touz les muniments de Clyfware, Wyndesore, Dideworth, et Braye suthest partez ; ceste a savoir de Clifware cynquante chartres, dis endentures, et cynke roles de compte ; de Wyndesore trente [illegible] chartres, cynk endentures ; de Dydeworth, quatouse [quatorze] chartres, treis endentures, et treis Roles de court ; et de Braie, cynq chartres, tresse endentures : fesaunte protestation que mon dit S^r^ Bernard nad en sa garde plus de chartres ne des altres muniments que touchent le dit manoir nostre S^r^ le Roy de Clyfware. En tesmoignaunce de quele chose auxi bien lavant dit mons^r^ Bernard come le dit Robert a ceste endenture ount entrechangeablement mys leur seals a Wyndesore le mardi prochain apres la feste Saint Piere Cathedra l'an du regne Roy Edouard tierce apres la Conq. xl^e^.

Date unknown; but of the 14th century.

25. *Inventory of deeds contained in a certain box belonging to the Brocas family.*

En ceste boyste sont les monumentz quex sont contynuz en ceste bille ceste assavoir—

(1) un chartre perentre Joh^n^ Brocas et Joh^n^ Colles le junior, de Clewar, de terres et ten^s^ en Clewar.

(2) Item : un chartre perentre Mons^r^ Bernard Brocas et Joh^n^ Spelle, de terres en Wyndsore.

(3) Item : un chartre perentre John Brocas et Will. Mogenhode, junior, de terres en Clewar.

(4) Item : un endenture perentre Mons. Joh^n^ Brocas et Ambrose de Pemborgh de les terres et ten^s^ en Clewar, Dydeworth-Maunsel.

(5) Item : un chartre perentre Wil. de Chesewyk et Emma ux^m^ ejus et John Brocas de terres et ten^s^ en Clewar.

(6) Item : un chartre perentre Joh^n^ le Blount, Alice sa feme, et John Brocas et Margarete sa feme, de terres et ten^s^ en Novelle Wyndesore et Veyle Wyndesore et Clyware.

(7) Item : un endenture perentre John Brocas fitz Mons^r^ John Brocas et Alice que fust la feme Wil. Jordan de Braye, pour la dowere de dit Alice.

(8) Item : un autre chartre perentre Joh^n^ fitz Wil. le Barber de Novelle Wyndesore et Joh^n^ Brocas, de terres et ten^s^ Novelle Wyndsore.

(9) Item : un monument perentre Joh^n^ fitz Will. Barber de Novelle Wyndesore et John Brocas et Margarete sa feme, de terres et ten^s^ en Nov. Wyndesore.

(Of these, four only, viz. 5, 6, 8, and 9—i.e. deeds No. 59, No. 57, No. 52, No. 53, are in the existing collection. On the other hand, there are many in the latter which are not mentioned in this inventory, though that indeed includes only a small portion of the original deeds, as shown by the document immediately preceding this.)

47 Edw. III. 1373.

16. *Grant by Sir Nicholas Lillyng and his wife Isabel, formerly wife of Sir John Brocas, of her dower in Clewer to Sir Bernard Brocas for sustenance of his half-brother, Oliver Brocas. If Isabel survives Oliver, it is to be restored to her for her life.*

Ceste evidence faite perentre Mons. Nichol Lillyng Chivaler et Isabel sa femme, jadis femme à Mons. John Brocas, Chivaler, dune part et Mons.

Bernard Brocas Chiv^r, dautre part, tesmoigne que les avant ditz Mons^r Nichol et Isabel ount graunte a mon dit S^r Bernard tot leur droit qu'ils ount ou avoir pourront en le dowere del maner de Cleware ove les appurtenances come de droit la dite Isabel apres la mort le dit Mons^r J^ue Brocas, jadis son mari, avoir et tenir tout leur dit droit a dit Mons^r Bernard a terme de la vie Oliver Brocas, frere au dit M. Bernard, si la dite Isabel si longement soit en vie, pur norer et susteigner le dit Oliver durant tot la vie de dite Isabelle, & le dit Mons. Bernard voet et graunte par costes si le dit Oliver devie et la dite Isabele survie quadonque tout le dit droit que les avantditz Mons^r Nicholl et Isabele avoient ou avoir pourront come de droit la dite Isabele en la dower avant dit del manoir de Cleware ove les appurtenances entierement retourne a dite Isabele avoir et tenir a terme de sa vie sanz contredire de dit Mons. Bernard ou ascunes des soens. En tesmoignance de quelle chose les parties avantditz a costes endentures entrechangeablement ont mis leur seals. Donne a Pety Billyng lundy proschein duraunt la feste de Saint Deonys lan du reigne nostre S^r le Roi Edward tierce puis le Conquést xlvii^e. Par ceux temoignes Mons. William la Zouche de Braunfeld, Mons. Thomas de Preston, Mons. Thomas Griffyn, Mons. John Paveley, Mons. William Barre, chivalers, et autres.

(A fine seal: crest of the Moor's head, and Brocas shield. See Note upon Gildesburgh for the Lillyngs.)

3 Rich. II. March 25, 1380.

30. *Copy (on paper) of a grant by William de Northlech, chaplain, to Alexander atte Mulle of an acre of land in Clewer to pay for keeping a perpetual lamp alight in Clewer Church for the souls of Sir Bernard and Mary Brocas and others.*

In festo Annunc. B. M. an. r. r. Ric. sec. a Conq. iii^o Wil^s de North Lech, capel^s, dedit &c. Alex^o atte Mulle unam acram terre in Clyware jacentem apud Folyfure inter terram ejusdem Alex^i ex utraque parte in lat. et extendit se in uno capite super terram Rog^i Wodward, et in alt^o capite super Reg^m Viam in long. sub hac forma; et idem Alex^r, heredes et assignati sui solvent capitali domino feodi illius per an. vi^d pro redditu &c. ac etiam invenient unam lampadem ardentem cotidie in cancello ecclesie de Clyware coram summo altare in perpet^m dum Divina ibidem et per totam ecclesiam celebrantur . . . [Clause of forfeiture (which, if levied, is to be used for the fabric of the church) of xl^s, if the lamp is not kept burning; and also clause of distraint] . . . test^s Dom. Joh^e Cyfrewast, milite, domino de Clyware, Dom. Joh^e Pusemere tunc Rectore ibidem, Magistro Wil^o Wynford, Rob^o Honesworth, Joh^e Honesworth, Joh^e Gardiner, Alano Stanle, et aliis: datum apud Clyware die et an. supra dicto, pro animabus Domini Bernardi Broccas mil. et Marie uxoris ejus, et aliis in libro in ecclesia de Clyware.

Undated, but certainly 1383.

3. *Order from the Sheriff of Berks to the king's bailiff to deliver up to Sir Bernard Brocas the family property, which had been recovered by him in the King's Court from Wynford, in Bray, Clewer, and New Windsor.*

Joh^s Hulcote Vicecomes Berks Joh^i Kyngesmull hac vice Ballivo Dom. Regis et suo Itineranti in Com. pred^o salutem. Sciatis quod Bernardus

Brokas miles in Curia Dom. Regis coram Justic[s] Dom. Regis apud Westm. per considerationem ejusdem curie Regis recuperavit seisinam suam versus Wil[m] Wynford de uno mesuagio, duobus toftis, ducentis acris terre, octo acris prati, et vii[s] et vii[d] denarata redditus cum pert[s] in Braye, Clyware, et Nova Wyndesore. Et idem tibi precipio ex parte dicti Dom. Regis quod eidem Bernardo de pred[s] tenementis cum pert[s] sine dilatione plenariam seisinam habere facias. Et quid inde feceris michi in castro Oxonie constare facias indilate cum hoc mandato.

(John Hulcote of Barcot, Buckland, was Sheriff of Berks and Oxon both in 7 and 9 Ric. II. The date of this transaction is limited to the former date by the circumstances mentioned in the text and in the following documents.)

7 Rich. II. June 12, 1384.

36. *Grant by Sir John Syfrewast, as Lord of the Manor, to Sir B. Brocas and others of a rood of land in Clewer, for* 3[d]. *rent.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Joh[s] Syfrewast miles dedi &c. Bernardo Brocas mil. Joh[i] de Chitterne cler[o]. Petro Golde et Hen[o] Holte quandam placeam terre continentem unam rodam terre cum pert[s] in Clywaresthrop que quidem placea jacet in long. inter terram mei dicti Joh[s] Syfrewast ex parte orient. et Viam Regiam que ducit versus molendinum ex parte occid., et in lat. inter mesuagium Thome Pynke ex parte austr. et Regiam Viam que ducit versus ecclesiam ejusdem ville ex parte boreali: hab[m] &c. red[o] inde michi et hered[s] meis . . . tres denarios pro omn. serviciis &c. [Warranty]: . . test[s] Ric[o] Abberbury, Joh[e] Kenwode, Rog[o] Curson, militibus, Rob[o] Hertle, Walt[o] Sanghurst, et aliis: datum apud Clyware xii[o] die Junii an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. vii[o].

7 Rich. II. June 20, 1384.

33. *License from Sir John Syfrewast to Sir B. Brocas and others to assign* 14½ *acres of land in Clewer for the foundation of the Brocas Chantry in Clewer Church.*

Omnibus ad quos &c. Joh[s] Syfrewast miles sal[m] &c. Noveritis me concessisse et licenciam dedisse pro me et hered[s] meis dil[is] michi Bernardo Brocas mil., Joh[i] Chitterne, cler., Petro Golde, Wil[o] Hermyte, et Hen[o] Holte quod ipsi xiv acras terre et dimid. cum pert[s] in Clyware que de me tenent dare possint et assignare cuidam Capellano et successoribus suis divina singulis diebus in ecclesia parochiali de Clyware imperp[m] celebraturis; et eidem Cap[o]. quod nostram terram predictam cum pert[s] a prefatis Ber[o], Joh[e], Pet[o], Wil[o] et Hen[o] recipere possit et tenere sibi et successoribus suis predictis imperp[m] sicut pred[m] est, Statuto de terris et ten[s] ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito non obstante . . . Datum apud Cleware xx[o] die Junii an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi vii[o].

8 Ric. II., Nov. 20, 1384.

34. *A more detailed license from Sir John Syfrewast to Sir Bernard Brocas and others to grant a house and* 14½ *acres of land in Clewer for the foundation of the Brocas Chantry in Clewer Church.*

Noverint &c. me Joh[m] Cifrewast mil. concessisse et licentiam dedisse pro me et hered[s] meis quantum in me est Bernardo Brocas mil. Joh[i] de Chitterne,

clerico, Petro Golde, Wil° Heremyte, et Henr° Holte, quod ipsi unum mesuagium xiv acras terre et dimid. cum pert[s] in Clyware que de me tenentur dare possint et assignare Capellano cujusdam cantarie in ecclesia parochiali de Clyware per prefatos Bernardum, Joh[m], Pet[m], Wil[m], et Henr[m] de novo fundande: quarum quidem xiv acras et dimid. Wil[s] de Northlech tenuit in feodo de Dom° de Clyware in la Hale viii acras: apud Westgate jacent iii acre: juxta Rectoriam jacet una acra et dimid.: et una cet perprestura vocata Bataille Rudyng, una acra et dimid., et una parva grana continens dimid. acram, prout dicte parcelle proportant et condonant: habend[m] et ten[m] eidem Capell° et successoribus suis Capell[is] Cantarie predicte imperpet[m], Statuto de terris et ten[s] ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito non obstante: salvis michi hered[s] et assignatis meis redditibus et serviciis inde debitis et consuetis . . . Datum apud Clyware xx° die Nov[s] an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. viii°.

(The seal of this deed forms one of the illustrations. In the Deed of Foundation, a few months later, it will be observed that the King's License in Mortmain there recited mentions that Sir Bernard Brocas had given 94 acres of land, while the deed itself only mentions 72; but the Inq. p. m., 8 Ric. II., confirms what is stated in the King's License, and reports that the messuage and 14½ acres in Clewer mentioned in the above deed are held by Sir Bernard Brocas of Sir John Syfrewast; that the 7½ acres which make up the 22 acres are held by him of the Prior of Bustellesham; and that Sir Bernard can endow the chantry at Clewer without damage to his power of performing the services due to the King for the manor of Clewer-Brocas, which he holds of the King *in capite*. But it is strange that these 22 acres do not appear in the Deed of Foundation. The licenses for granting the lands in Hanyngton and Eldstoke are to be found in Deeds 290 and 37. It may be noticed that William of Wykeham does not give his license for Eldstoke till *after* the Foundation Deed is executed, and then gives it 'regia licentia mediante.')

Ric. II. Feb. 6, 1385.[1]

27. *Foundation of the Brocas Chantry in Clewer church by Sir Bernard Brocas.*

Universis Sancte Matris Ecclesie ad quorum noticiam presentes litere sive presens scriptum indentatum pervenerint seu pervenerit Bernardus Brocas miles, Johannes Chitterne clericus, Petrus Golde, Willielmus Hermite, Henricus Holt Salutem in Domino et memoriam perpetuam rei geste. Cum, inter cetera reparationis humane remedia missarum officia in quibus pro salute vivorum et requie defunctorum patris filius immolatur, iram redemptoris nostri potissime mitigent et veniam impetrent salvatoris, nos Bernardus Brocas, Johannes, Petrus, Willielmus, et Henricus volentes diem messionis extreme Deo placitis operibus prevenire, ac pro dicti domini Bernardi ac Marie, nuper uxoris sue et patris et matris suorum, et omnium fidelium defunctorum expiatione peccaminum Domini cultum salubriter augmentare—unam Cantariam perpetuam unius presbiteri perpetui in ecclesia parochiali de Cleware juxta Wyndesore Sarum diocesis ad altare Beate Marie in parte australi ecclesie predicte in perpetuum, missas et alia divina officia temporibus congruis et opportunis celebraturi de licencia serenissimi principis et domini nostri domini Ricardi Dei gracia Regis Anglia illustris, ac venerabilis patris domini Radulphi Dei gratia Episcopi

[1] This and three of the following deeds are dated '1384' old style.

Sarum loci diocesani necnon de consensu et assensu omnium aliorum quorum interest vel interesse poterit in futurum pro dicti Bernardi statu et incolumitate dum vixerit ac pro anima dicti Bernardi et animarum predictorum venia salutari—In nomine sancte individue Trinitatis patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti et gloriose virginis Marie ac omnium sanctorum curie celestis ordinamus, facimus, et constituimus per presentes, ac volentes et ordinantes Capellanos perpetuos dicte Cantarie successivos et in ea proficiendos et instituendos de bonis nostris a Deo nobis collatis sufficienter dotarium pariter et dicare, et pro dictorum capellanorum sustentatione sufficienti providere, de licentia dicti domini nostri Regis Anglie primitus obtenta, prout in ipsius domini nostri regis inde confectis literis quarum tenor inferius describetur plenius continetur, dedimus, concessimus, et presentibus scripturis patrocinio confirmavimus, domino Thome de Colyngham capellano perpetuo in dicta Cantaria instituendo et ejus successoribus Capellanis ibidem perpetuo celebraturis, unum mesuagium, sexaginta et duodecim acras terre cum pert[s] suis in Eldestoke in Com. Suth[n] et unum mesuagium cum pert[s] in Cleware in Com. Berks, et sex marcatas annui et quieti redditus cum pert[s] exeuntes de manerio nostro de Hanyngton in predicto Com. Suth[n] percipiendos de nobis et assign[s] et hered[s] nostris vel aliorum quorumcunque ad quorum manus seu possessionem dictum manerium cum pert[s] devenerit, ad duos anni term[s] vid[t] in fest. Pasche et Mich[s] Arch[li] singulis annis in perp[m] per equales porciones in ecclesia parochiali de Cleware pred[a] fideliter persolvendum : hab[m] et ten[m] &c. . . tenor vero literarum et licentie dicti domini regis talis est :

Ricardus Dei gratia &c. Sciatis quod cum nuper per literas nostras patentes concesserimus et licentiam dederimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis fuit dilecto et fideli nostro Bernardo Brocas militi, Joh[i] Chyterne, clerico, Petro Goold, Wil[o] Hermyte, et Henr[o] Holte quod ipsi terras, tenementa et redditus cum pert[s] ad valorem quadraginta librarum per annum in perpetuum verum valorem eorundem que de nobis non tenentes dare possunt et assignare quibuscumque personis voluerint tam Religiosis quam secularibus hab[m] et ten[m] eisdem personis et eorum successoribus divina singulis diebus pro salubri statu nostro et ipsius Bernardi et Katerine uxoris ejus dum vixerimus, et pro animabus nostris cum ab hac luce migraverimus, et animabus domini Edwardi nuper regis Anglie avi nostri, et Marie nuper uxoris dicti Bernardi et animabus patrum, matrum et aliorum antecessorum predictorum Bernardi et Marie, ac animabus fratrum, sororum et omnium benefactorum dicti Bernardi et omnium fidelium defunctorum celebraturis, et ad alia opera pietatis juxta ordinationem predicti Bernardi faciendum in perpetuo, Statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito non obstante, prout in literis nostris predictis plenius continetur. Nos volentes concessionem nostram predictam effectui debito mancipari concessimus et licentiam dedimus pro nobis et hered[s] nostris quantum in nobis est, eisdem Bernardo, Johanni, Petro, Willielmo, Henrico quod ipsi quandam Cantariam unius Capellani in ecclesia parochiali de Cleware divina singulis diebus in ecclesia predicta pro statu et animabus predictis juxta ordinationem predicti Bernardi fundare possint in perpetuum : ac etiam quod ipsi duo

mesuagia, xciv aeras terre cum pert^s in Eldestoke et Cleware, et vi marcatas redditus exeuntes de manerio de Hanyngton cum pert^s que de nobis non tenentur et que quidem mesuagia et terra valent per annum in omnibus exitibus juxta verum valorem eorundem xxxiv^s et viii^d sicut per inquisitiones inde per escaetores nostros in Com. Suth^n et Berks de mandato nostro captas, et in Cancellaria nostra retornatas est, computum dare possint et assignare eidem Capellano; hab^m et ten^m eidem Capell^o Cantarie predicte et successoribus suis divina singulis diebus in ecclesia predicta pro statu et animabus predictis celebraturis juxta ordinationem predicti Bernardi faciendum ut predictum est in valorem x marcarum per annum in partem satisfactionis xl^li terrarum, tenementorum, et redditurum predictorum in perpm. Et eidem Capell^o quod ipse mes^m terram et redditum predicta cum pert^s a prefatis B. J. P. W. et H. recipere possit, et tenere sibi et successoribus suis predictis divina singulis diebus pro statu et animabus predictis celebraturis juxta ordinationem predictorum in perp^m sicut predictum est tenore presentiarum. Similiter licenciam dedimus specialem Statuto predicto non obstante. Nolentes quod predicti B. J. P. W. et H. vel heredes sui, aut prefatus Capellanus, seu successores sui, ratione Statuti predicti per nos vel heredes nostros seu ministros nostros quoscunque inde occasionentur in aliquo seu graventur. Salvis tamen capitalibus dominis feodorum illorum serviciis inde debitis et consuetis. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westm^m viii^o die Februarii an. r. mei viii^o.

Volumus eciam nos B. J. P. W. & H. et tenore presentiarum statuimus, et ordinamus, quod dicta Cantaria non nostrum omnium set dicti Bernardi Brocas dumtaxat de cetero nuncupetur ac eciam reputetur. Et ut idem Thomas officii sui debitum in divinis in dicta Cantaria liberius valeat exercere, nec ob defectum ornamentorum necessariorum in hac parte a celebratione divinorum suorum, vel aliquis successor, quomodo se excuset, ego Bernardus Brocas in augmentum sustentationis predicte Cantarie et releviamen oneris dicti Dom^i Thome Capell^i et successorum suorum predictorum eidem domino Thome Capell^o et successoribus suis res et bona contuli infrascripta vid^t unum missale et unum portiforium de usu Sarum, et unum calicem argenti, duo vestimenta sacerdotalia, scilicet duas casulas, duas albas, et duas amitas cum stolis et phanonis et quatuor tuaylis sive manutergiis, duo corporalia et duas mappas pro altari, unum superaltare consecratum: que omnia et singula prefatus Dom^s Thomas Capell^s et ipsius singuli successores Capellani predicte Cantarie in ipsorum Inductione in possessionem dicte Cantarie per indenturam recipere, et ea conservare et sustentare, ac quociens opus fuerit sumptibus eorum propriis emendare, et eadem suis proximis successoribus per se vel per eorum executores fideliter liberare teneantur: ad que facienda necnon de non alienando eadem bona statim post suam institutionem loci diocesano vel alteri potestatem habenti dictum capellanum instituendum corporale prestet tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis juramentum quociens vero contigerit predicta bona et res usu solito, vetustate, vel aliter quovismodo imposterum devastari, alienari, subtrahi, vel consumi, quod capellanus qui ibidem erit pro tempore hujus res bona

alienata, devastata, subtracta seu consumpta suis sumptibus propriis invenire, reparare, et recuperare teneatur. Si vero heredes predicti domini Bernardi, domini manerii de Hanyngton predicti aut alii quicumque predictum manerium pro tempore occupantes in solutione dictarum vi marcarum annui et quieti redditus loco et termino antedictis solvendis defecerint in toto vel in parte, quod tunc bene licebit predº capellº hujus Cantariam pro tempore occupanti in predicto manerio et qualibet parcella ejusdem manerii, ad quorumcunque manus devenerint in futurum, distringere, et districtiones capere, et captas retinere et abducere de comitatu ad comitatum ubicunque sibi placuerit absque contradictione cujuscumque, quousque de singulis arreragiis ac dampnis et expensis dicti Capellⁱ sic prosequentis plenarium fuerit satisfactum. Volumus eciam, ordinamus, et statuimus quod prefatus Bernardus Brocas dum vixerit, et post ejusdem Bernardi obitum Bernardus Brocas, armiger, filius dicti domini Bernardi, et ipsius heredes de corpore suo legitime procreati, sint veri patroni dicte Cantarie et ad ipsam quotiens vacare contigerit imposterum Capellᵐ ydoneum secularem nullum beneficium ecclesiasticum obtinentem infra mensem a tempore vacationis ejusdem in ecclesia de Cleware publice note domino episcopo Sarum sede episcopali plena et ipsa sede vacante decano et capitulo Sarum debeant presentare. Quiquidem episcopus sede plena, decanus et capitulum ipsa sede vacante, dictum capellᵐ instituent in eadem Cantaria et ipsum in ejus possessionem ipsorum auctoritate propria inducent, seu inducí facient corporalem. Si vero contingat dictum Bernardum armigerum filium dicti domini Bernardi sine herede de corpore suo legitime procreato obire tunc volumus & ordinamus quod jus patronatus dicte Cantarie et presentandi ad eandem rectis heredibus ipsius Bernardi, militis, remaneat in perpetuum: debent eciam predictus Thomas Capellˢ ipsiusque successores omnes et singuli eidem Cantarie in prefata ecclesia deservire, et in eadem continuam facere residentiam personalem prout vicarii perpetui juxta constitutiones dominorum Otonis et Ottoboni quondam sedis apostolice in Anglia legatorum facere sint astricti, et nullo alio salarium sive stipendium annuale per quod a celebratione divinorum et officii sui debito in dicta Cantaria quomodolibet retrahantur quovismodo recepturi. Salvo semper quod obsequiis patroni dicte Cantarie qui pro tempore fuerit dum idem patronus in manerio ipsius Bernardi militis de Cleware morari contigerit poterit inherere dummodo interim idem Capellˢ debite cantariam officiet antedictam. Nec erit idem Capellˢ perpetuus parochialis sacerdos neque locum tenens Rectoris ecclesie de Cleware neque alicujus stipendarius. Volumus tamen quod idem Capellˢ in diebus solempnibus et festivis quando cum nota misse et alia divina officia in dicta ecclesia celebrantur condjuvit officiando in dicta ecclesia juxta decenciam sacerdotalem, et etiam inferioris ordinis cum fuerit opportunum, proviso semper quod per hoc ab officii sui debito in dicta Cantaria nullatenus se excuset: prefatusque Capellˢ et successores sui quicumque quolibet die imperpetuum cessante impedimento legitime missam tenebitur et tenebuntur celebrare; et quolibet die post missam suam dicent publice et alta et intelligibili voce Psalmum de Profundis cum orationibus diei consuetis pro animabus supradictis ante altare predictum: dictique Capellⁱ omnes et singuli panem vinum et lumen, et cetera necessaria hujus Cantarie incumbentia sine sumptibus et expensis invenient et

invenire teneantur. Prefatus quoque Capel[s] et ipsius successores omnes et singuli singulis annis dum idem dominus Bernardus miles vixerit diem obitus Marie uxoris sue tenebunt, et postquam idem dominus Bernardus ab hac luce migraverit diem obitus sui necnon dicte Marie obitus diem in die obitus dicti Dom[i] Bernardi dumtaxat insimul anniversarie in dicta ecclesia de Clewar per Capel[m] perpetuum ibidem pro tempore teneri volumus et servari sub hac forma, vid[t] quod dictus Capel[s] eodem die plenum servicium mortuorum juxta modum et consuetudinem temporis anni usitatam, et in crastino missam de Requiem pro animabus predictis si comode poterunt cum nota solemnitate alioquin submissa voce celebrare et dicere teneatur. Dicent eciam dicti Capell[i] omnes et singuli in missa eorum singulis diebus quibus celebraverint, ut prefertur, unam specialem collectam pro defunctis dici consuetam, et aliam pro statu et vita dicti domini Bernardi militis dum vixerit, et cotidie teneantur prefati Capellani dicere pro animabus predictis Placebo et Dirige cum oracionibus in ea parte dici consuetis festis majoribus duplicibus dumtaxat exceptis, seu saltem prout beneficiati provincia Cant. secundum usum Sarum dicere sunt artati. Si vero dicti capellani aut eorum aliquis lapsu carnis vel incontinentie vicio coram ordinario loci qui pro tempore fuerit fuerit legitime ter convictus vel crimen hujus judicialiter confessus, et post correptionem et correctionem ordinarii sui factam ut premittitur trina vice incorrigibilis sit repertus, aut de dilapidatione legitime sit convictus per dominum Episcopum Sarum qui pro tempore fuerit sede plena, et ipsa vacante per presidentem decani et capituli Sarum submoto appellationis obstaculo summarie et de plano a dicta Cantaria perpetuo privetur, et alius ydoneus Capell[s] presentetur, instituatur, ac inducatur ut predicitur in eadem. Item volumus et ordinamus quod quam citius Capel[s] ipsius Cantarie qui pro tempore fuerit ut premittitur sit privatus, vel de dilapidatione notoria sit suspectus, liceat Rectori ecclesie de Cleware predicte qui pro tempore fuerit et quatuor parochianis ejusdem fidedignis et sufficientibus omnia vestimenta et ornamenta predicta et alia, si que imposterum ad usum dicte Cantarie forsitan deputanda, ad manus suas capere et in sua custodia detinere, donec de novo Capell[o] dicte Cantarie canonice sit provisum, vel idem Capell[s] de dilapidatione, ut prefertur, suspectus se purgaverit, vel de fideliter custodiendo eadem et non alienando bona hujus ydoneam Rectori et quattuor parochianis predictis prestiterit convictionem. In quorum omnium premissorum testimonium tam nos prefati B. J. C. P. W. et H. sigilla nostra quam prefatus dominus Thomas Colyngham sigillum suum hiis indenturis ordinacionem dicte Cantarie continentibus alternatim apposuimus et apposuit: datum apud Cleware in Com. Berks predicto sexto die mensis Februarii anno dom. millesimo ccc octagesimo quarto an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. octavo.

[*Special clause at Foot.*]

Prefatus tunc Bernardus miles et heredes sui predictam Capellam Cantarie prenotate sumptibus eorum propriis supportabunt in perpetuum et manutenebunt, et predictus dominus Thomas et successores sui omnes domus Cantarie prefate reparabunt et sumptibus eorum propriis conficient in perpetuum.

(The special clause does not appear in the counterpart, which is sealed with one seal alone, probably Colyngham's, while the deed in which it has been inserted is sealed with

five seals, the first of which is that of Sir Bernard Brocas, a fragment only of which is left—the rest very imperfect. Perhaps the cause of Colyngham's resignation was this very clause. He might not be willing to accept the charge of keeping the houses belonging to the endowment in repair. It was not in his copy of the deed, and this may be why we find that copy in the chest. He returned it at once to the Founder. It is remarkable that the deed itself is dated two days earlier than the License in Mortmain.)

8 Ric. II. March 2, 1385.

37. *License by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winton, to Sir B. Brocas and others to grant a house and 72 acres of land in Eldstoke (which he held of John de Hampton, who held of the See), for the Brocas Chantry in Clewer Church.*

Omnibus &c. Wil[s] de Wykeham Episcopus Wyntonie sal[m] in Dom[o]: Noveritis nos regia licentia mediante concessisse et licentiam dedisse pro nobis et successoribus nostris Bernardo Brocas mil., Joh[i] de Chitterne clerico, Petro Golde, Wil[o] Hermyte, et Henr[o] Holte, quod ipsi unum mesuagium lxxii acras terre cum pert[s] in Eldestoke in Com. Suth[n] que tenentur de Joh[e] filio Thome de Hampton ut de manerio de Eldestoke, et quod manerium cum pert[s] idem Joh[s] fil. Thome de Hampton de nobis tenet per servicium duorum feodorum militum ut de Episcopatu nostro Wynton. dare possint et assignare Capellano Cantarie in ecclesia paroch. de Clewere per pred[m] Bernardum de novo fundate: hab[m] et ten[m] eidem capell[o] et successoribus suis in perp[m]: Redd[o] inde nobis et successoribus nostris xii[d] annuatim in manerio nostro de Overton in Com. Suth[n] &c. quos quidem xii[d] redditus dictus Bernardus, Johannes, Petrus, Wil[s], et Hen[s] nobis et successoribus nostris de mesuagio lxxii acris terre supradictis cum pert[s] percipiendos imperp[m] de licencia Dom[i] Regis concesserunt pro indempnitate ecclesie nostre Wynton. prout in quodam scripto inde confecto plenius continetur. Et eidem Capel[o] quod ipse mesuagia et terram pred[m] &c. a prefatis &c. recipere possit et tenere sibi et succes[s] suis imperp[m] sicut predictum est Statuto de terris et ten[s] ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito non obstante, salvis nobis et succ. nostris redditibus et serviciis de eisdem &c. prius nobis debitis, una cum potestate distringendi, tam pro eisdem redditibus et serviciis, quam pro dicto redditu pro indempnitate concesso ut permittitur: &c. Datum ii[o] die Marcii an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi viii[o].

8 Ric. II. March 2, 1385.

31. *Admission and appointment of Thomas de Colyngham, by Ralph, Bishop of Sarum, as first Chaplain of the Brocas Chantry at Clewer.*

Radulphus permissione divina Sarum Episcopus dilecto filio Thomæ de Colyngham presbytero salutem gratiam et benedictionem:—Ad cantariam perpetuam Bernardi Brocas militis in ecclesia parochiali de Clyware nostre dioces' vacantem ad quam per dictum Bernardum Brocas, Joh[m] Chitterne, clericum, Petrum Golde, Wil[m] Heremyte et Henr[m] Holte nobis presentatus existis, te ii[o] die mens. Marcii an. Dom. mcclxxxiv[o] in forma juris admittimus, et Capel[m] perpet[m] juxta vim, formam, et effectum fundationis et ordinacionis ejusdem Cantarie in omnibus juratum instituimus canonibus in eadem; salvis in omnibus episcopalibus juribus et consuetudinibus ac jure Sarum ecclesie dignitate: datum apud Parcum nostrum de Remmesbury, die et anno Dom. postscripto [for superscripto] et nostre Consec[s] anno x[o].

8 Ric. II. March 15, 1385.

32. *Mandate by Ralph, Bishop of Sarum, to the Rector of Clewer to admit William Heremyte to the Brocas Chantry at Clewer as Chaplain, in place of Colyngham, resigned.*

Radulphus &c. Sarum Episc^s^ dil^o^ filio Rectori Paroch. Ecclesie de Clyware nostre dioc. sal^m^ gr^m^ et ben^m^ : Quia nos Wil^m^ Heremyte presbyt^m^ ad Cantariam Bern^i^ Brocas mil. in ecclesia de Clyware pred^a^, per liberam resignationem Thome de Colyngham Capel^i^ ejusdem, vacantem in persona Thome de Col. presbyt^i^ procuratoris sui in hac parte liberatoris constituti in forma juris, admisimus et Capel^m^ perpet^m^ juxta vim, formam et effectum fundationis et ordinationis ejusdem Cant^e^ in omnibus juratum instituimus canonibus in eadem : Vobis mandamus quatenus prefatum Wil^m^ Heremyte vel procuratorem suum pro eo in corporalem poss^m^ dicte Cant^e^ cum suis juribus et pert^s^ omnibus per vos vel alium inducatis, certificantes nos opportuno tempore cum tenore presentium quid feceritis in premissis : datum apud Parcum nostrum de Remesbury xv die Marcii an. Dom. mcccl.xxxiv, et nostre Consec^s^ an. x°.

8 Ric. II. March 18, 1385.

35. *Induction of William Hermyte by John Pesmer, Rector of Clewer, certified and sealed by the Dean of Reading with the seal of the Deanery.*

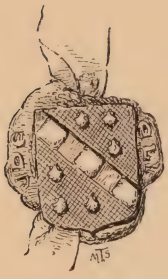
Universis S^te^ matris ecclesie filiis ad quorum noticiam presentes litere pervent^i^ : Joh^nes^ Pesmer Rector eccl^e^ paroch. de Cleware, Sarum dioces., Sal^m^ in eo quem peperit uterus Virginalis : Mandatum Reverendi in X^to^ patris et Domini Domini Radulphi D. Sarum Episc^i^ nuper recepi in hec verba :—Rad^s^ permissione [reciting the foregoing mandate] Cujus autoritate mandati prefatus Dom^s^ Wil^s^ Hermyte presbyterum xvii^o^ die mens. Marcii An. Dom. supradicto in corporalem poss^m^ dicte Cantarie ac juribus et pert^s^ suorum universorum juxta vim, &c. induci corporaliter. In cujus rei test^m^ sigillum discreti viri Decani Decanatus de Radynges dicte diocesis presentibus apponi procuravi. Et nos Decanus Decanatus pred^i^ ad personalem et specialem rogatum dicti Rectoris sigillum nostrum fecimus hiis apponi. Datum apud Wyndesore xviii^o^ die dicti mensis Marcii An. Dom. supradicto.

(The Dean here mentioned is the Rural Dean, who represented the Bishop of Salisbury at Reading, and no doubt had many a conflict with the great Abbey there. It is probably his Chapter which is mentioned in the letters of Pope Innocent III. to the Abbot and Convent in 1207. As his office finds no mention in modern books, and his seal is perhaps unique, it is given as one of the illustrations. Here end the Chantry Foundation Deeds.)

8 Ric. II. Sept. 29, 1384.

17. *Grant by Sir Bernard Brocas to John and Alice atte Ok of Wyganeslond and Tayloreshale in his Manor of Clewer for 4^s^ rent.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Bernardus Brocas dedi &c. Joh^i^ atte Ok et Alicie uxori sue unum mesuagium cum una pecia terre vocata Wyganeslond &c. in villa de Clyware, jacente inter terram Rog^i^ de Wodward ex una parte et terram meam ex alt^a^ parte in lat. Dedi eciam &c. eisdem &c. aliam peciam &c. que vocatur Tayloreshale jac^m^ inter terram Joh^s^ Purley ex una parte, et terram Thome Taylour ex altera in lat. : hab^m^ &c. redd^o^ &c



Seal of Elys de Ruede, a.d. 1334

(See p. 290)

Seal of Sir John Syfrewast (or Cyfrewast) a.d. 1384

(See p. 302)

Seal of the Dean of the Deanery of Reading a.d. 1385

(See p. 308)

iv^{s} &c. et sectam curie in manerio meo de Clyware bis per an. &c. [Warranty]: . . test^{s} Dom^{o} Joh^{e} Cyfrewast mil. Rob^{o} Hertley, Galf^{o} Mogenhod, Alex^{o} atte Mulle, Alano Stanley, Wil^{o} atte Ok, et aliis: datum apud Clyware in fest. S^{ti} Mich. an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi a Conq. viii^{o}.

9 Ric. II. June 5, 1386.

18. *Grant by Sir Bernard Brocas to Robert, Ellen, and Amicia Holte of the cottage and land Robert Holte then occupied in Clewer, for* 8^{s}. *rent.*

Hec indentura test^{r} quod Bernardus Brocas tradidit &c. Rob^{o} Holte, Elene uxori ejus, et Amicie filie eorum unum cotagium cum crofto adjacente in quo idem Robertus nunc moratur in Cleware: et concessi eisdem duas acras et dimid. terre arrabilis jacentes apud le Brome inter terram Wil^{i} atte Ok et Galf^{i} Mogenhod: hab^{m} &c. red^{o} annuatim viii^{s} [Warranty]: . . test^{s} Wil^{o} Hermyte, Wil^{o} atte Oke, Wil^{o} Reynel, et aliis: datum apud Cleware die Martis prox. ante fest. Pentecostes an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. ix^{o}.

15 Ric. II. Oct. 18, 1391.

19. *Grant by Sir Bernard Brocas to Arnald Brocas and William Ermyt of all his lands in Buntingbury and Didworth [in trust].*

Sciant &c. quod ego Bernardus Brocas miles dedi &c. Arnaldo Brocas clerico et Wil^{o} Ermyt omn. ter^{s} et ten^{s} &c. que habeo in Buntingbury et Diddeworth in parochiis de Clewer et Wykefeld cum pert^{s} in Com. Berks: hab^{m} &c. Warranty]: . . test^{s} Rog^{o} Curson, Wil^{o} Fenys, Rad^{o} Whichors, militibus, Rad^{o} Stile, Rob^{o} Hertele, Rob^{o} Andesworth, Joh^{s} Lousell, et aliis: datum apud Cleware xviii^{o} die Oct. an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi xv^{o}.

15 Ric. II. Nov. 30, 1391.

4. *Appointment by Arnald Brocas and William Eremite of John Corlat as their Attorney to receive Seisin of the above lands in Buntingbury and Didworth.*

Noverint &c. nos Arnaldum Brocas cler^{m} et Wil^{m} Eremite cler^{m} ordinasse et in locum nostrum posuisse dilectum nobis in X^{to} Joh^{m} Corlat attornatum nostrum ad recipiendum veram ac pacificam seisinam nomine nostro de omn^{s} ter^{s} et ten^{s} &c. que habuimus ad Buntyngbury et Diddeworth cum pert^{s} in Com. Berks prout in carta per Dom^{m} Bern^{m} Brocas seniorem mil^{m} nobis confecta plenius continetur. Ratum &c. Datum apud Clyfware ultimo die mens. Novemb. an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. xv^{o}.

(Two seals, both belonging to William Ermyte [see deed 48]. [1] Two figures, male and female—a staff or spear piercing a serpent's head, held by the former, who is giving it to the latter. Legend much damaged. [2] The letter 'W.')

17 Ric. II. June 24, 1393.

48. *Deed of Arnald Brocas and William Ermyte (as Trustees) making over Sir Bernard Brocas' lands in Buntingbury, Didworth, and Winkfield to Sir Bernard and Katherine Brocas jointly.*

Sciant &c. quod nos Arnaldus Brocas et Wil^{s} Ermyte clerici dedimus &c. Bernardo Brocas sen^{i} mil. et Katerine uxori ejus omnia ter^{s} et ten^{a} . .

que nuper habuimus ex dono et feoff^o^ pred^i^ Bernardi in Buntyngbury, Dideworth et Wenckefeld cum pert^s^ in Com. Berks: hab^m^ [Warranty]: . . test^s^ Rog^o^ Cursonn, Wil^o^ Fenys, Rad^o^ Whithors, milit^s^, Rad^o^ Tyghle, Rob^o^ Hertle, Rob^o^ Andesworth, Joh^e^ Lousel et aliis. Datum apud Cleware die Martis in fest. Nativ. S^ti^ Joh^is^ Bapt. an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. xvii^o^.

(Seals: [1] Brocas lion in a plain bordure; see Illustration, p. 440. [2] W. Ermyte, as in p. 309.

17 Ric. II. June 24, 1393. **47.** *Deed of the two above-named Trustees appointing attornies to deliver seisin of the above lands to Sir Bernard and Katherine Brocas*

Noverint &c. nos Arnaldum Brocas et Wil^m^ Ermyte clericos ordinasse et in loco nostro posuisse dilectos &c. Thomam Hynewyke cler^m^, et Wil^m^ Taillour conjunctim et divisim ad delib^m^ pro nobis &c. Bernardo Brocas et Katerine uxori ejus in omn^a^. terris &c. que nuper habuimus de dono . . . pred^i^ Bernardi in Diddeworth, Buntyngbury et Wenckefeld &c. Datum apud Cleware die Martis in fest. Nativ. S^ti^ Joh^is^ Bapt. an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi a Conq. xvii^o^.

17 Ric. II. Sept. 29, 1393. **63.** *Grant by Sir Bernard Brocas to Richard Merkham of six acres of land in New Windsor, most of it in La Schete.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Dom. Bernardus Brokas miles dedi &c. Ric^o^ Merkham de Wyndesore Nova tres acras terre arabilis jacentes particulariter in paroch. de Wyndesore pred^a^ unde una acra terre jacet in campo vocato Parvum Schete inter terr^m^ dicti Ric^i^ ex parte austr. et mesuagium quondam Walteri Whichors ex parte boreali in lat.: cuique unum caput se extendit super ter^m^ dicti Ric^i^ ex parte orient. et aliud caput super Regiam Viam que ducit de Wyndesore ad Parcum Dom. Regis et super terram dicti Ric^i^ ex parte orient. in long.: et una acra terre et dimid. jacet in campo vocato Magni Schete inter terram dicti Ric^i^ ex parte orient. et terram Gilb^i^ Saxilby ex parte occid. cujus unum caput se extendit super communem viam agnitatam ex parte austr., et aliud caput super terram mei pred^i^ Bernardi ex parte boreali: et una dimid. acra terre jacet ibidem inter terram mei, &c. terram dicti Ric^i^ Merkham, terram Rob^i^ Catel, terram Gilb^i^ Saxilby, et terram Joh^is^ Haydem ex parte austr. in lat. &c. cujus unum caput se extendit super terram Hugonis Sanghurst ex parte occid., et aliud caput . . . super communem viam agnitatam ex parte orient. &c.: hab^m^ &c. redd^o^ . . . annuatim iij^s^ [Warranty]: . . test^s^ Joh^e^ Lausel maiore ville pred^e^, Joh^e^ Burgeys, Will^o^ Bullock, tunc ballivis, Joh^e^ Pynke ad [illegible] et aliis. Datum apud Wyndesore pred^o^ die Lune in fest. S^ti^ Mich. Archi^i^ an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. xvii^o^.

19 Ric. II. Sept. 29, 1395. **20.** *Lease of Clewer Manor and appurtenances in Windsor Bray, and Cookham to Robert Grisle for six years, for 10l. 10s. a year.*

Hec indentura facta inter Bernardum Brocas mil^m^ ex p^te^ una et Rob^o^ Grisle de Clewar ex altera testatur quod pref^s^ Bern^s^ tradidit et dimisit eidem

Rob° manerium suum de Cleware cum omn^s suis pert^s ut in redditibus, terris arabil., pratis, pascuis, et pasturis in Wyndesore, Braye, et Cokham, cum omn^s suis pert^s, exceptis terris et reddit^s pertinentiis ad manerium de Wencles, heriettis, releviis, wardis, maritagiis, finibus, et eschactis ac eciam redditum de novo recuperando sine [illegible] vel consuetudine aliqua titulo antiquo: . . . hab^m &c. pred^m manerium, &c. . . . a festo S^ti Mich^s an. r. r. Ric^i Secundi a Conq. xix° usque idem festum per vi annos sequentes plenarie completos: redd° inde per an. pro eodem Bernardo capitalibus dom^s feodi illa omnia servicia consueta . . . ac etiam eidem Bernardo per an. x^li et x^s ad duos anni term^r . . . pro omn^s serviciis; sustendando eciam omnes domos manerii pred^i prout aulam, cameras, et coquinam, in adeo bono statu quo illa receperit vel meliori [torn] dimittendo eciam eandem terram warettatam [illegible] et compostatam prout receperit et non faciendum medio tempore aliud vastum in man° pred°; sustentando eciam et inveniendo ibidem unum bercarium tam in liberatione bladi quam in [illegible] et bidentium ibidem, tam in estate quam in yeme, tam in fald quam in buttura, lanacione et tonsione; et ad istas conventiones bene et fideliter tenendum Joh^s Lousel, Joh^s Wayte, et Galf^s Mogenhode obligant se in x^li et quilibet eorum per se et in solidum solvendos eidem Bernardo per tres septimanas post aliquem diem solutionis non pacatum, vel aliquid de pretactis non completum. Et pred^s Bernardus &c. [Warranty]. Datum apud Cleware die et anno supradictis.

(This is the last deed of Sir Bernard Brocas, senior.)

22 Ric. II. April 19, 1399. **38.** *Appointment by Richard, Bishop of Sarum, of William Carter as priest of the Brocas Chantry in Clewer Church.*

Ricardus permis. div. Sarum episc^s dilecto in X° filio dom° Wil° Carter presbitero . . . Ad Cantariam perp^m infra eccl^m paroch. de Clewer mea diocesi vacantem ad quam per nobilem militem Bernardum Brokas verum patronum ejusdem nobis presentatus existis, te admittimus, &c. . . . Datum in hospicio juxta London die xix mens. Aprilis an. Dom. mccexcix°, et nostre Consec. an. iv°.

(Two well executed seals: one over the other, nearly perfect: [1] Crucifix; [2] Episcopal.)

22 Ric. II. April 21, 1399. **50.** *Lease by Sir Thomas de la Mear to his son Robert, of Sperfold for twenty years at 30l. a year.*

Hec indentura facta inter Thomam de la Mear, chiv., ex parte una et Rob^m fil^m et heredem ejusdem Thome ex alt. testatur quod pred^s Thomas tradidit &c. pred° Rob° totum manerium suum de Sperfold . . . una cum visu franc^e pleg^e ac omn^s aliis comoditatibus ad dict^m man^m pert^s in Com. Berks: hab^m &c. usque in finem term^i xx annorum . . . redd° ann^m xxx^li apud Aldermaston . . . [Warranty]. Datum apud Sperfold xxi die Apr. an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. Angl. xxii°.

(This is the only deed which concerns the alliance by marriage between Sir Thomas De La Mare and the House of Brocas. His son, Robert, married Katherine, daughter of the second Sir Bernard Brocas, on January 1, 1398, soon after which this lease is granted him.)

2 Hen. IV. Feb. 10, 1401.

481. *Receipt by Thomas Rothewell, Escheator of Berks, to Johanna, widow, and William Brocas, son of Sir Bernard Brocas, attainted, for part of rents due to the Crown for Didworth and Winkfield.*

Noverint &c. me Thomam Rothewell nuper Escheatorem Com. Berks recepisse de Johanna nuper uxore Bernardi Brocas mil. et Wil° Brocas v marcas viii^{s} et iv^{d} in parte solutionis vii^{li} vi^{s} ii^{d} ob.qu.; unde idem Thomas in scaccario oneratus fuit super compotum ejus pro terris, ten^{s}, et redd^{s} in Dyddeworthe Maunsell, et Wynkefeld in Com. pred°. De quibus quidem v marc. viii^{s} et iv^{d} fateor me fore solutum et pred^{m} Johannam et Wil^{m} inde quietos perpresentes sigillo meo signatos in festo S^{ti} Scolastice an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. ii°.

(This debt to the Crown had occurred from the forfeiture of Sir Bernard Brocas, which had just been taken off; the lands having been kept in hand by Johanna Brocas and her son William.)

4 Hen. IV. April 24, 1403.

482. *Receipt by William Hilton, Escheator of Berks and Oxon, for the remainder of the above debt.*

Pateat &c. me Wil^{m} Hilton Escheatorem Dom. Regis Com. Berks et Oxon. recepisse &c. de Johanna Brokays relicta Dom. Bernardi Brokays mil. et de Wil° Brokays filio suo vii^{li} v^{s} iv^{d} ob. et quadrantem de terris et ten^{s} de Dideworth et Buntyngbury per manus Rob^{i} Grysele et Joh^{s} Merwade de quibus quidem vii^{li} &c. fateor me fore solutum dictosque Joh^{m} et Wil^{m} Brokays, heredes et executores suos erga dom. Regem et quoscumque alios inde fore quietos per presentes imperp^{m} . . . Datum apud Wyndesore in crastino S^{ti} Georgii an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. iv°.

9 Hen. IV. July 2, 1408.

483. *Lease by William Brocas to Thomas Profyt, of Didworth, for twelve years for 5½ marks, wardship and marriage, &c., excepted.*

Hec indentura facta die Lune prox. post fest. Apost^{m} Petri et Pauli an r. r. Henrici Quarti ix°, inter Wil^{m} Brocas ex una p^{te} et Thomam Profyt ex alt^{a} testatur quod pred^{s} Wil^{s} tradidit et ad firmam dimisit dicto Thome manerium suum de Dydeworthe Maunsell cum omn^{s} terris, ten^{s}, red^{s}, exceptis wardiis, maritagiis, heriettiis et releviis; hab^{m} &c. usque in finem xii annorum . . . reddendo inde annuatim . . . v marcas et dimid. Anglice monete . . . et omnia alia servicia dicto manerio incumbentia Dom° Regi pro dicto Wil° et hered^{s} suis dictus Thomas subportabit durante toto term° pred° [Clause of distraint] . . . et dictus Thomas in fine term^{i} pred^{i} dict^{m} manerium dicto Wil° seu heredibus suis dimittet in adeo bono statu quo illud recepit una cum clausuris in sepibus ibidem &c. Datum apud Cleware die et anno supradictis.

(Seal: an elegantly executed Woman's head. Legend broken away, but the last part of it is 'Delmore.')

Undated[1]

23. (24 is a duplicate). *Memorandum from Windsor Castle as to the annual payments due to the Crown for the lands acquired by Sir John Brocas in Windsor Forest.*

Castrum

Mem. quod Wil[s] Brokas arm. solvit de redditibus ad Castrum de Wyndesore de assartis et perpresturis quondam Joh[s] Brokas mil.; vid[t] pro iii croftis vocatis Hertotefeld, Olderuding, et Mancell, et redd[s] inde iii[s] per an. ad festa Pasche et S[ti] Mich. Arch[i] per equales porciones xxxix[s] ix[d] ob.

Mem. quod Joh[s] Brokas miles quondam solvit ad Castrum supradictum de redditibus pro xviii acris terre jacentibus super le feyrfere [fair way, or forest road] juxta croftam Joh[s] Plot xiiii acris iiii perticatis terre in le Busshystrode, xviii acris in secunda fairfere, et xi acris et dimid. iiii perticatis terre in tertia fairfere, mensuratis per perticatam. Responsio: Dandum pro acra vi[d] per an. xxxi[s].

This paper is endorsed as follows:

Thomas Foxle, Const. Cast. Wyndesore.
Wil[s] Hande, Const. ejusdem.
Oliverus Leger, Const.
Simon de Beverlee, Const.
Thomas Tyle, Const.
Petrus Corteney, Const.
Hugo de Waterton, Const.
Joh[s] Stanley, Const.

Et omnes predicti Constabularii computaverunt pro assartis et perpresturis pertinentiis ad Castrum supradictum.

(The list given in this endorsement differs from that given in Tighe and Davis' *Annals of Windsor*. William Hande and Oliver Leger here take the place of Richard la Vache, Thomas Cheyne, and Helming Legatte: Simon de Beverley is the famous Sir Simon Burley: Thomas Tyle and Hugo de Waterton are not found in the above list. Tyle was, we know, not Constable, but Lieutenant of Sir Simon Burley. The others perhaps held the same office, and as such had accepted the above computation. Foxley, Burley, Courtenay, and Stanley alone appear in both lists.)

6 Hen. V. Nov. 1, 1418.

484. *Lease by William Brocas to William Bryxstoke, of Didworth for six years for 5 marks,—including wardship, marriage, &c.*

Hec indentura facta inter Wil[m] Brocas arm. ex p[te] una et Wil[m] Bryxstoke Capellanum ex alt[a] testatur quod pred[s] Wil[s] Brocas tradidit &c. prefato Wil[o] Bryxstoke manerium suum de Dydeworthe Mauncell cum omn[s] terris . . . simul cum omn[s] suis pert[s] wardiis, maritagiis, homagiis, escaetis, et mero redditu tantum excepto: hab[m] &c. ad finem vi ann[m] &c. redd[o] &c. v marcas &c. et pred[s] Wil[s] Bryxstoke faciet et supportabit omnia servicia dicto manerio incumbentia erga capitales dominos et alias personas per totum term[m] pred[m], excepta medietate xv[s] dom[o] Regi concessa sive concedenda et medietate finis pro secta ad [illegible] et ad omnes istas convenciones supradictas &c. . . . Wil[s] Bryxstoke &c. obligat se &c. Wil[o] Brocas in x[li] legalis

[1] But nearly ascertained by the date of the last Constable of Windsor Castle, named on the back, viz. Sir John Stanley. He was appointed in 1400.

monete &c. Datum apud Beaurepaire in fest. Omn. Sanct^m an. r. r. Henrici Quinti vi°.

(There is nothing to illustrate the 'moiety to the King.')

3 Hen. VI. Nov. 12, 1424. **39.** *Grant by William Brocas to Gilbert Brocas of power to appoint to the Brocas Chantry at Clewer any such fit person as he may select.*

Omn^s &c. Wil^s Brocas de Com. South^n arm. patronus perp^s Cantarie in eccles. paroch. de Clewer in Com. Berks ac in plena possessione ad pred^m Cantariam presentandi et dict^m Cant^m donandi existens quoquomodo vacaret salutem in autoritate salutis: Noveritis me pred^m Wil^m dedisse &c. dil^o michi in X^to Gilberto Brocas consanguineo prox^m vacationem dicte Cantarie cum acciderit immediate post decessum Capellani dicte Cantarie nunc ibidem incumbentis, qualitercunque et quomodocunque vacarent, ad promovendum ad eandem admittendum et inducendum talem ydoneum capell^m pro termino vite sue qualem idem Gilbertus nominare, eligere et assignare voluerit devote ibidem ad orandum pro animabus Fundatoris et antecessorom meorum et omnium Fidelium defunctorum &c. Datum xii° die mens. Novemb^s a° iii° Henrici Sexti post Conq.

5 Ed. IV. March 6, 1466. **485.** *Grant by William Brocas* (2) *to Andrew Bannebury of Didworth of a cottage and lands in 'Cleware Brocas' for 5s. 11d. rent.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Wil^s Brocas arm. Dom^s de Cleware Brocas dedi &c. Andree Bannebury de Didworth Maunsell unum cotagium voc^m Wattys et viii acras terre arab^s, cum una crofta voc^a Gonnecrofta &c. hab^m &c. red^o &c. v^s xi^d &c. [Warranty]: . . test^s Wil^o Stanton, Joh^e Chislotte, Wil^o Geffray, Joh^e Robyns, Thoma Geffray et aliis: datum apud Cleware pred^m vi die men. Marcii an. r. r. Edwardi Quarti post Conq v°.

6 Hen. VII. Nov. 3, 1491. **5.** *Court Baron held at Buntingbury-Brocas by Gawun Brocas.*

(*Abstract.*)

Homage is paid by Thomas Chanceller, Richard and John Passemer, Robert Cox, and John Freman. Robert Whcteley has cut down 200 oak trees upon land which he holds at the will of the lord, and is to be prosecuted. John Robyns has also cut down oaks on his land held of the late William Brocas by deed, and the case is to be examined. The names of Thomas Tyrry, John Pulvey, John White, and Robert Fowler also appear in the Roll.

(This and the signature to a deed are the only notices of Gawun Brocas, who might possibly be a son of John Brocas of Beaurepaire. The Roll also shows that the name of the family had become attached to Buntingbury as well as to Clewer.)

10 Hen. VII. Dec. 4, 1494. **40.** *Grant of the next Presentation to Clewer Church by William Brocas* (3) *to William Lothe.*

Omn^s &c. Wil^s Brocas arm. sal^m &c. Sciatis me pref^m Wil^m dedisse &c. dilecto mihi in X^to Wil^o Lothe primam et proximam advocationem ecclesie

de Clewer, Sarum diocesis: hab^m &c. eidem Wil^o Lothe pro prima et proxima vacatione tantum. Ita quod bene licebit eidem W^o Lothe ad eandem ecclesiam cum primo et proximo post datum presentium quoquomodo vacare contigit semel, dumtaxat quamcunque personam ydoneam loci illius ordinare presentare de qua si melius videbitur expedire, ac omnia illa et singula que circa premissa necessaria fuerint seu quomodo libet oportuna agere et perimplere adeo libere plene et integre prout ego facerem seu facere possem si presens concessio inde facta non extiterat &c. Datum iv^o die Decemb^r an. r. r. Henrici Septimi post Conq. x^o.

(This shows that the advowson of Clewer church had come into the hands of the Brocases as well as the Brocas Chantry; but as it is the first notice of the fact, there is nothing to indicate how it came about.)

15 Hen. VII. Nov. 11, 1499.

21. *Sale by William Brocas* (3) *to Sir Reynold* [*Reginald*] *Bray of the Manor of Didworth and Buntingbury, and the lands in Old and New Windsor, Bray, Cookham, and Winkfield, and of the reversion of Brocas* (*or Clewer*) *Manor, for* 220*l.*

This indenture made the 11^th^ day of Nov^r the xv^th^ yere of the reigne of King Henry the VII^th^ betwene Sir Reynold Bray, Knight, of the one part and William Brocas of Beaurepeyr in the Countie of South^n, Esquier, of the other part, Witnesseth that the said William hath bargained & sold to the seid Sir Reynold to have to him, his heire and assignes the Reversion of the manor of Brocas in Clewer in the Countie of Berks, otherwise called the manor of Clewer, which William Langford and Margarete his wife hold or held in the right of the same Margarete for term of her life as Tenant in tail apres possibilite of issue extinte. And on this the seid Wil^m hath barg^d & sold to the seid Reyn^d to have to him &c. the manor of Dedisworth Mauncell and Buntyngbere, & all other londs, ten^ts, rents, reversions, & services with appurtenances which the seid William hath or any other person or persons to his use have in Clewer, Newe Wynsore, Old Wynsore, Cokeham, Bray, and Winkfeld in the same Countie, excepte the patronage & advowson of the Chauntrie in Clewer, which the seid William hath as Advowson in gros & not appendant to any of the premysses. And also the seid Will^m hath barg^d & sold to the seid Sir Reynold all the dedis, chartres, and evidences concerning the premysses, &c. which the seid Wil^m hath in his kepyng, or eny other &c. to his use have. [Then follows William's Covenant to make 'a suere, sufficient, & lawfull estate of the above,' 'agenst the seid Wil^m Brocas' &c.] and also that the same William & his heirs and Edward Brocas and John Brocas, his brethren, shall do, cause, & suffer to be doon all things to make sure the seid manors, londes, ten^ts, & other premysses &c. to the seid Sir Reynold . . . with Warantiez . . . for the whiche reversion of the seid manor of Brocas, otherwise called Clewer, & the other reversions . . . whiche the seid Wil^m Langford & Margaret his wife hold . . . and for the seid estates and suretez so to be therof made & done the seid Sir Reynold hath contented & paid to the seid William Brocas at the sealling of this Indenture cxx^ti of lawfull money of Englond . . . And for the manor of Dedisworth Mauncell and Buntyngbury and the seid other londes . . . and the seid astatez and suretiez therof to be made & done the same Sir

Reynold hath content & paid to the seid Wil[m] Brocas . . . c[li] of lawfull money of Englond . . . [Then follow mutual covenants against disturbance as to the Clewer Chantry &c., a bond of cc[li] on the part of Wil[m] Brocas for the fulfilment of his obligations, and an acknowledgment for a small sum to be paid in addition by Reynold if he has peaceable entry into the lands in Winkfeld parish ' which Thomas Canceller now hath '].

19 Hen. VII. Aug. 5, 1504.

41. *Presentation by William Brocas to Edmund, Bishop of Sarum, of Thomas Nicholson as Chaplain of Brocas Chantry, in the vacancy caused by the death of William Adams.*

(The form of this Presentation is so much like the next and last that it is not necessary to print it. The last of the series has an interest of its own.)

38 Hen. VIII. Sept. 20, 1546.

42. *Presentation by Richard Pexsall of James Ellis, Private Chaplain to John, Bishop of Salisbury, to the Chaplaincy of Brocas Chantry in the vacancy caused by the death of Richard Mathewson.*

Reverendo in X[to] patri et domino domino Johanni permissione divina Sarum Episc[o] suisve Vicario in Spiritualibus Generali &c. Ricardus Pexsall arm., verus et indubitatus patronus perpetue Cantuarie de Clewre in Com. Berks, Vestre Sarum diocesis. Omnimodo Reverciones tantum Rev[do] patri debitas in honore ad Cantuariam de Clewre predictam per mortem naturalem Dom. Ricardi Mathewson ac ultime incumbentis ejusdem vacantis et ad meam presentationem pleno jure spectantes, dilectum michi in X[to] Dom. Jacob[m] Ellis capellanum privatum Vestre Reverend. tenore presentium humiliter supplicans quantum ejusdem Dom. Jacobum Ellis ad perpetuam Cantuariam admittere predictam ipsumque Rectorem in eadem cum suis juribus et pert[s] universis etc. instituere ceteraque peragere que Vestra in hac parte incumbunt officii pastoris dignemini in favore. In cujus rei &c. Datum in manerio meo de Baraper xx[o] die Sept[s] an. r. Henrici Octavi Dei gr. Ang. Fran. et Hibern. Regis, F.D[s] ac in terra ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernie Supremi Capitis xxxviii[o].

Per me Ricardum Pexsall.

Stratfield Mortimer.

3 Ric. II. July 7, 1379.

412. *Grant by Stephen, Vicar of Stratfield Mortimer, and John Whyte of Silchester, to Thomas and Agnes atte Hoke of lands in Stratfield Mortimer.*

Sciant, &c. . . quod nos Dom. Stephanus Vicarius ecclesie de Stratfelde Mortimer et Joh[s] Whyte de Schylchestre dedimus &c. Thome atte Hoke et Agnete uxori sue de Stratfelde Mortimer ad term[m] vite eorum omnia terras &c. que habuimus de dono et concessione de pred[o] Thoma : hab[m] [Warranty] . . Datum apud Stratfelde Mortimer die Translationis S[te] Thome Martyris an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. iii[o] : test[s] Galfrato Hawe, Joh[e] Hastings, Joh[e] Crakeby, Joh[e] Barkesdale, et aliis.

(This seems to have been retained as a title-deed to property which the elder Sir

Bernard Brocas acquired in Stratfield Mortimer, but we have no further information. The estate figures in the Inq. p. m. of 1399 as part of the property of Sir Bernard Brocas the younger.)

2 Ed. IV. Aug. 1, 1462. **413.** *Lease by William Brocas (2) to Thomas Greatham of Thyrwytts, &c., in Stratfield Mortimer.*

Hec indentura facta primo die mensis Augusti an. r. r. Edwardi Quarti post Conq. Ang. ii° testatur quod Wil^s Brocas arm. tradidit &c. Thome Grentham de Stratfelde Mortemer unum toftum terre voc. Thyrwytts cum una terra voc. Reddelonde et Faryscrofte jacentia in Stratfelde predicta : hab^m &c. Redd° . . . xiv^s et 6^d. [Clause of Distraint and Warranty] : . . test^s Barnardo Brocas, John^e Baynton, Wil^o atte More, Joh^e Weston. Datum apud Beaurepaire die et anno supradicto.

(This is probably Bernard Brocas of Bromley and The Vyne.)

3 Ed. IV. March 12, 1463. **414.** *Lease by William Brocas (2) to Robert Champe of lands at Stratfield Mortimer.*

Hec indentura facta inter Wil^m Brocas Dom. de Beurepayr arm. ex una parte, Rob^m Champe de Stratfeld Mortimer ex altera, testatur quod pred^s Wil^s tradidit &c. prefato Rob° duas croftas suas in Stratfeld pred^a voc. Hayecrofte : hab^m &c. redd° &c. iv^s et vi^d . . . [Clauses of Distraint and Warranty] . . Datum ad Beaurepayr in festo S^ti Gregorii Pape an. r. r. Edwardi Quarti post Conq. iii°.

CHAPTER II.

Part I.

THE HAMPSHIRE ESTATES (INCLUDING BROMLEY, DORSET).

SECTION I.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

To give a proper account of the fifty or more county families of Hampshire, the names of which occur in connection with these medieval deeds, would be to write the chief part of the history of the county. Many of them, indeed, called the lands after their own names, and in the designation of many a village and ancient farmstead, remote among the chalk downs and woodlands of Hampshire, those names may be discovered by the inquisitive genealogist; but that is all. With very few exceptions the families which bore them have become extinct, or extinct in Hampshire, and it is high time that there should be some more detailed account of them than is as yet to be found in print, for these people made the county what it was, and what it still, to a great extent, is.

We must content ourselves in these pages with a few brief remarks on those families only with which the Brocases were immediately concerned, either by alliance, friendship, or the transmission of property. These will include in the first place the De Roches, with the families of De Borhunte, De Caune, D'Escures or De Scures, and De Dommer or Dummer (which merged in the Atte Mores), as attendant satellites upon the De Roches. The Brocases, through Sir Bernard's marriage, succeeded to all the De Roches' alliances, and retained a close connection with one of these families for some generations.

The Peeches will demand our attention as the owners of Beaurepaire antecedent to the Brocas purchase of the manor.

The Foxleys of Bramshill and Bray, and the family of Sandes of The Vyne, have found a special place for themselves already in our narrative, since they were intimately related to the Brocases by marriage; and we shall only have here to supply their pedigree.

The pedigree of the ancient family of the Cufaudes, or Coufoldes, was several years ago discovered, stopping the window of a cottage; but instead of impeding the light it will now receive some from the frequent recurrence of the name in the Brocas deeds. Among the treasures of The Vyne may still be seen not only this finely illuminated pedigree, but a beautiful picture of a lady of

the house known as the 'Nun of Cufaud.' A farm near Basingstoke, still bearing the name, alone recalls in the present day the memory of this extinct family.

The Cowdrays, whose name for centuries designated one of the numerous Sherbornes, but the use of which gradually faded away under the overshadowing presence of 'The Vyne,' were also neighbours and friends of the Brocases. Several knights of the family file before us as they serve the office of sheriff of their county, or witness the family deeds of the Lord of Beaurepaire at the Court of his manor or those of Bramley or Sherborne St. John.

The St. Johns, Poynings, and Paulets, successively lords of Basing and peers of the realm, are people of too great importance not to have been already noticed in such county histories as exist. It will be enough to point out, wherever their names occur, to what part of their family those persons belong, and to give a sketch of their pedigree in which the Brocas blood finds a place.

The Warbeltons, Syfrewasts, Uvedales, Dabridgecourts, and Baynards stand on a similar footing, since they also have family connections with the Brocases, not indeed of a very close character, but acknowledged by various indications in these deeds; and thus they also, like the above, will each require a few words.

The Pophams and Fabians close our list. These last families share with the Lords of Basing, the Dummers and Atte Mores, the Cowdrays, Terrys, and Herierds the distinction of running along with the whole period of the De Roches and Brocases in succession from the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. down to the commencement of the Tudor dynasty. The Berkeleys, on the contrary, only make their appearance towards the close of the Plantagenet era, being a branch of the noble family of Gloucestershire, and leading supporters of the Yorkist House. The Paulets are also late comers from the West into Hants, where they found the bride who was to pass them on to the Marquisate of Winchester.

With reluctance we shall find ourselves obliged, through want of materials, to omit from this too brief list the families of Bruyn of Rowner, Montfichet, Wasthuse of Sherborne St. John, Wodelock, Bonfosse, Brayboef of Estrop, Savage, De Swynesbroke, Berkeley of Bisterne, Tybaud, Le Waleys of Sherborne St. John, Bramshot of Bramshot, More of Wyeford, Herierd of Herierd, Payne of Stoneham, Chisenhale of the Isle of Wight, Haywode of Somborne and Stratfieldsay, Gorges of Knighton (Isle of Wight), Helewys (the modern Elwes), St. Philibert (of whom Sir John married Margaret de St. John), De Podenhale (of whom Sir John married a Brayboef), Catewy, Gylot, Norton of Norton, Byflete of Basing Byflete, Hampton of Stoke Charity, Camoys of Eling, Petwardyne of South Warnborough, Hilton (of whom Sir Geoffry married Lady Poynings), Bonville (of whom John married Johanna de St. John), and many others of perhaps, but by no means certainly, less importance in the county. All these were landholders of whom there should be some available history, and many of them served the office of sheriff or knight of the shire; some both. It is observable that the ancient name of Tichborne never occurs in the deeds witnessed by these county families, nor in any other sort of connection,

nor that of Wallop, except in the comparatively late reign of Queen Mary. The name of Hastings occurs both as a Hants family and in the persons of Lord Hastings and his brother Sir Ralph. The first do not appear to have been persons of much importance. With the others the connection was political, though the relations of the Masters of the Buckhounds with Northamptonshire had probably much to do with its continuance, since it was with that county that the Hastings brothers were chiefly concerned.

It may perhaps serve to indicate the place taken amongst these men by the Brocas family if we apply the somewhat rough test of adding up the number of times that the office of sheriff or knight of the shire was held by different Hampshire Houses between the time of the Brocas arrival in the county and the close of the fifteenth century. At that date they merged for a time, through a Beaurepaire heiress, in the Pexalls, who, by the way, themselves held the office of sheriff four times, and probably — for most of the returns of their date are lost — that of knight of the shire. The result of the comparison is as follows: there are only two families in Hants which supplied sheriffs from 1350 to 1500 oftener than the Brocases, viz. those of Uvedale and Berkeley; while two only equalled them, viz. Sandes and Popham; one, the Paulets, came up very close behind. Scarcely any other contributed more than one or two sheriffs each. The office ran in families. Among the knights of the shire the Pophams win the race, the Brocases coming in a 'good second,' while the Uvedales, Sandeses, and Bruyns take up their ground pretty well together in the rear. The Berkeleys were more often sheriffs (mostly in the reign of Edward IV.) than Members of Parliament for Hampshire during this period. They were evidently more useful to Edward IV. in keeping the county together during his jealous and vigilant reign than in London, where he could manage affairs in his own way. Sir Bernard Brocas, on the other hand, though sitting in ten Parliaments, was never sheriff; for he was always about the Court. His grandson William, the county man of business, seems, we might say, to be made for the office of sheriff; but he was also a Parliament man.

These general remarks on the county families of the Plantagenet period mentioned in the Brocas deeds may conclude with a wider survey. The figure of a race for county offices, though perhaps there was often no great desire to win, may be matched by another figure representing the 'staying power' of the acknowledged 'county families' of Hampshire in Plantagenet times. Few who have not studied Mr. Evelyn Shirley's 'Noble and Gentle Men of England' are aware of the extreme rarity of instances in which the ancient county families have retained their county position to the present day in the male line. Though his verdict has often been challenged, the general results are indisputable; nor, if he could have extended his researches to descent in the female line, would he, in all probability, have had to make any large additions to his list. Certainly not in Hampshire; where he excludes all but four families from his select list, and in admitting the Copes of Bramshill has given one too many, for, though an old family, they have only been settled in Hampshire for two centuries. A third may also be now excluded, the Oglanders, whose male line came to an end in 1874; thus leaving only the Tichbornes and Wallops.

A result very similar to the above may be arrived at from the study of a paper given in the 'Topographer' of 1789, with the following title: 'Names of the Nobles &c. of Hampshire, temp. Henry VII., from a MS. in the Cotton Library.' Thirty-three of these families are named in the MS., of which the writer in the 'Topographer' excludes twenty-two as not coming fairly under the description of county families. He adds from his own knowledge ten more, some of which he considers as improperly omitted, and others of them as having come into importance before the end of the sixteenth century, thus extending the survey over the Tudor period.

The eleven names retained from the MS. are as follows: 'Barkley, Ovedale, Brocas, Popham, Zouche, Sandes, Bown (? Brune or Bruyn), Pau'ett, Vaux, Wallop, and Tycheburne.' The ten additional names are Norton, Dabridgecourt, Cowdray, Bramshot, Lisle, Gifford, Fawconer, Whitehede, Philpot, and Warham. Of these the writer names Philpot as already extinct, thus leaving, on the widest construction that could be given in 1789, twenty, or, if we add the Oglanders (strangely omitted), twenty-one old county families at that date. Of these the Tichbornes, Wallops, and Paulets alone are known to hold lands in Hampshire by male descent at the present day; but the last no longer hold the Basing estates of their ancestors. Nor, when we pass from this select and unapproachable list, and extend our search for representatives of old county families to the female line, still requiring, however, present tenure, by descent in blood, of the ancient lands held in Plantagenet times, will there be found many competitors, either amongst the names above-mentioned or any other, for the first place.

SECTION II.

GENERAL NOTICE OF THE ESTATES WHICH CAME WITH MARY DE ROCHES.

The few words with which (in Book II.) it was necessary to introduce the De Roches family, on the marriage of their heiress with Sir Bernard Brocas, must here be supplemented by some account of their property and connections, some light on which has been thrown by the deeds inherited from Mary de Roches by the Brocas family. Two sons were the issue of the marriage of Geoffrey de Roches (the nephew of the famous Peter, Bishop of Winchester) and Emma FitzRoger, the heiress of North Fareham and Bradley. Of these, Martin was the one who identified himself with his county by holding, in 1269, the office of sheriff. His wife's name was Lucy,[1] but we do not know her surname; and he died s. p., seised of the manors of Steventon and Bradley, and of estates in Steventon, Candover, Stoke Charity (Eldstoke), and Husseborne, all in Hampshire. His brother and heir, Sir Hugh, apparently of North Fareham, perpetuated the family by marriage with the daughter and heiress of Roger de Hoo,[2] through whom the manor of that name, a wild tract of land bordering on Bere Forest and Waltham Chase, and held of Sir Richard de Borhunte, was added to the De Roches property. Thus the Houses of De Roches and De Borhunte, afterwards to be united in marriage, were territorially connected as early as the reign of

[1] Close Roll, 14 Ed. I. [2] See Deed 212.

Edward I. We are reminded of the circumstances of that monarch's reign by the peculiar tenure of one of these manors, Steventon, which was held of the King *in capite* by service of finding a man-at-arms and his horse for forty days in Wales.[1] In 1294 Hugh sold certain lands in 'Welde, Assheleye and Retherwyll,'[2] of which we hear neither before nor after this notice. His son, John de Roches, is credited in the Harleian MSS. with one wife only, named Beatrix, who is supposed to have transmitted the descent, and was alive in 1285, 6. But we know that the mother of John's son was Margery, daughter and sole heir of Eufemia, daughter of Sir Herbert de Caune: and we hear of no children by Beatrix; nor do we know the surname of either wife. John de Roches, like his father and son, held his lands by no mere nominal knight-service. Sir Hugh served in Wales in 1282. John was employed against the Scots in 1298, 1300, and 1301. On the first of these occasions, at the Battle of Falkirk, he had a horse killed under him. He and Peter de Roches, presumably his brother, were in the Company of Sir William le Bruyn.[3] At the death of his father and of Lucy de Roches, John came into possession of the manor of North Fareham, which was held of the Bishop of Winchester for half a knight's fee, by service of doing suit to the Bishop upon the soke of Winchester,[4] the manors of Steventon, Bradley, and Hoo, and the Court suits of Meonstoke Hundred, South Fareham, and Overton.[5] He also held the manor of Bromley, Dorset, *jure uxoris*. His exchange, in 1300, of half the manor of Hoo, with the Launceleveses for their life, in return for their share of his grandfather, Roger de Hoo's, tenements in Broxhead, has a special interest in relation to the subsequent history of the Brocas estates, which will be understood from the note attached to the deed. It will be seen that the names of De Borhunte, De Scures, and Popham occur as witnesses to this document. He died in 1312.[6] Several of the family, as might be expected, took Holy Orders and filled the family livings. Hugh de Roches was archdeacon of Winton in 1241. Geoffrey de Roches was Rector of Bradley, and in 1284 of Ellisfield. Roger de Roches was also Rector of Bradley; and in 1305 we have another Hugh de Roches Rector of Ellisfield. (F. J. B.)

But of all the De Roches estates there is none about which the deeds supply us with so much information regarding the family as the above-mentioned Bromley, a manor in the parish of Abbotstoke, Dorset, now called 'Brimley.' The lawsuits and settlements which have come down to us in connection with this humble place are out of all proportion to the size and value of the estate, even in its best days, but are invaluable to those who care to trace in these records the life and character of the men of other times. Nor, indeed, as we cannot expect to recover a single fragment of a literary character at such remote dates, have we anything else which can place the actors before us. Even an obscure light is better than none; and this must excuse a somewhat lengthy account of the contest between the De Roches and the Dummers.

[1] Inq. p. m. 5 Ed. II.

[2] Pedes Finium, 22 Ed. I.

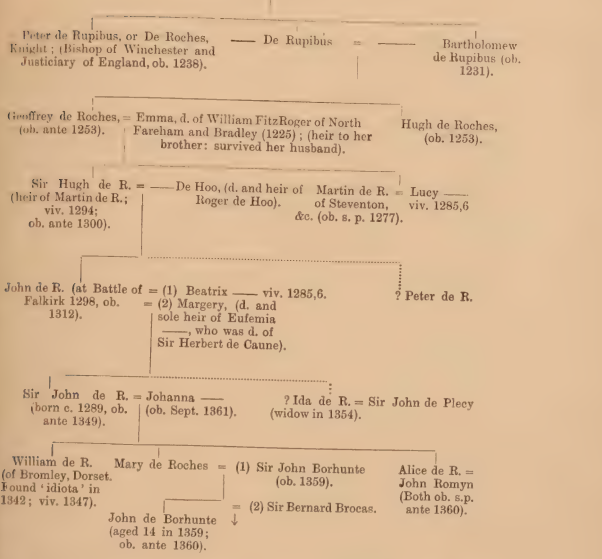
[3] Exchequer Q.R. Army $\frac{23}{50}$, 26 Ed. I. See also 'Parl^{y}. Writs,' *sub nomine*. For a notice of Sir John de Roches' services see the note which follows on the Return made by him as Commissioner of Array in 1326, p. 347.

[4] Inq. ad q. d. 6 Ed. II.; No. 54.

[5] Inq. p. m. 5 Ed. II. No. 44.

[6] Orig. Roll, 4 Ed. II. No. 17.

PEDIGREE OF THE FAMILY OF DE ROCHES.



The De Caunes, in the reigns of the early Plantagenets, were lords of Drayton, near Wherwell, in Hampshire, of Bromley in Dorset, and Ashe Herbert in Somersetshire. The latter property brought them to the same county as that in which the chiefs of the house of Dummer had settled; for as far back as the reign of Stephen the latter had become, by marriage with the heiress of Penne, still retaining, however, their Hampshire lordship, Dummers 'of Pendomer.' Thus, not unnaturally, Sir William de Dummer, of the time of John and Henry III., becomes the husband of Sibilla de Caune, the sister of the Sir Herbert de Caune with whom we are here concerned. A glance at the annexed pedigree will supply all that is required to make the rest intelligible.

PEDIGREE OF DE DUMMER, DE CAUNE, DE ROCHES, AND ATMORE OF DUMMER.

The chief branch of the Dummers of Dummer in Hampshire had become in Stephen's reign the Dummers of Pendomer in Somersetshire.

The De Caunes of Drayton, Hants, Bromley, Dorset, and Ashe Herbert in Sussex.

Sir William de Dummer = Sibilla de Caune. (temp. John and Hen. III.).

Sir Herbert de Caune = —— (temp. Hen. III.).

Sir John de Dummer = —— (M.P. for Somerset 1306 and 1313; monument in Pendomer Church).

sister of Baron Paynel.

Baldwin de C. (ob. s.p.)

Herbert de C. (ob. seised of Drayton 1294).

Eufemia de C. = —— (of Bromley)

Richard de D. (of Kynmore, Sussex, in 1320–1).

John de D. (of Pendomer).

Thomas de D. (of Dummer, Hants).

Johanna (widow in 1317–8).

Margery de C. (d. and heir, ob. s.p.).

Johanna de C.

Margery = John de Roches (ob. 1312).

Sir Edmund de D.

Agnes

Thomas de D. (viv. 1349).

Johanna = —— (ob. ante 1349).

Edmund de D. = Isabel Boton.

Ellen de D. = Sir Nicholas Atte More.

William de R. (seised of Bromley 1316; 'idiota' 1342; viv. 1347).

Mary = (1) Sir J. de Borhunte. (2) Sir Bernard Brocas.

Alice.

Four daughters.

Thomas Atte More (alias Dummer, of Dummer, Hants). = ——

Henry Dummer (held one knight's fee in Dummer). = ——

George Dummer (ob. ante 1510).

Henry Dummer = (1) — Starling. = (2) Alice Franklin.

William Atmore (alias Dummer, Lord of Dummer, b. 1508; ob. 1595 pueris infant.).

John Dummer (ob. pueris infant.).

(Monl. brass, with English verses, in Dummer Church).

Arms of Dummer, Hants:
Az. a crescent between 6 billets, 3, 2, 1, or.

To the accident of the old Somersetshire estate possessing a church, which still contains a fine monument of Sir John de Dummer, the son of the above Sir William, and which recently attracted the attention of the Somersetshire Archæological Society, we owe an interesting paper on this family by Mr. Bond, a paper freely and gratefully used in this sketch. It is, how-

ever, quite incomplete without the documents which the Brocas chest has produced, especially the record of an arbitration between the contending parties, one out of many similar facts which show that such peaceable methods were not reserved for our own enlightened times; and indeed they were much more common in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries than now. The history of Bromley, supplied by the other deeds, forms the link of connection between the various complicated details, which may be united into a consistent whole without doing violence to any literary or legal canon.

By agreement between Sir Herbert de Caune's two sons, Baldwin and Herbert, the family property was settled upon Baldwin's heirs, but he died s. p. Herbert had two daughters, but no son. On his sister Eufemia's marriage (we do not know her husband's name), Herbert endowed her with Bromley, which manor passed to her daughter and sole heir, Margery, the wife of John de Roches. It was inherited by her son, Sir John de Roches, who sold it to his only son William, whom we find in possession just before the lawsuit takes place, in 1316. In the next year, 1317–18, Sir John de Dummer sets up a claim upon Bromley in favour of his family, derived through his mother, Sibilla de Caune, for whom the inheritance is claimed as Sir Herbert de Caune's sister, thus disputing the right of Herbert de Caune, her nephew, to dispose of it to Eufemia. John de Roches and his son William meet this claim by a counter-claim on Johanna, the widow of Thomas, Sir John's youngest son, for half the Hants manor of Dummer. Now John de Roches could have had no direct claim on this half manor (which was all that at this time belonged to the Somersetshire branch of the Dummers). We must therefore suppose that Sir John de Dummer had covenanted to grant it to the De Roches on the death of Eufemia or Margery de Roches by way of compensation for one of the De Caune estates, probably Ashe, and instead of doing so had settled it on his son Thomas and daughter-in-law Johanna. In this very year he also settled Penne on his second son, John, Richard being apparently provided for in Sussex. The claim of the De Roches is allowed in court; but the process which followed is so exactly analogous to what at a much later date took place in a Common Recovery that we might be tempted to suppose it was only a method of passing the estate to the plaintiff; but it is nothing of the kind. Sir John de Dummer does not appear in court to vouch his warrantry, and judgment is then given for De Roches, or at any rate he is to receive lands equivalent to the moiety of Dummer manor. The Sheriff of Hampshire reports that Sir John had no lands in Hampshire; on which the Sheriff of Somerset is ordered to make good the deficiency out of his estates in that county. The order was evaded from year to year, nor was it ever obeyed. The end of Edward II.'s reign was not a favourable time for the claims of justice, and Sir John de Dummer was a great man.

The next step taken by young John de Roches is that so quaintly described in the 'Record of Arbitration,' given below (p. 348). In 1318–19 he persuades his opponents to submit to arbitration, before a Court composed of four knights and four persons of the lineage of Caune, the whole question of the De Caune inheritance. But the Court naturally refuse to act unless both parties will, as a preliminary, bind themselves to abide by their decision. John de Roches and his son William declare their willingness to

do so, and to sign a bond to that effect for 200*l.*—some 4,000*l.* or 5,000*l.* of our money; but Sir John, on the other hand, excuses himself on the plea that he had already made over all his estates to his son Richard, and suggests that the two sons should bind themselves independently of their fathers. This, however, was declined by Richard. As a last attempt to save the honour of the family without doing their duty, Richard produces a deed of agreement which he begs John de Roches to seal, but the latter produces a letter of Richard's, under Richard's own seal, which proved that the agreement would be good for nothing, and on that point the arbitration broke off. The four knights sign this quasi-legal record, along with two others, who are not stated to be, but may have been, of 'the lineage of Caune.' The knights are the leading persons of Hampshire: Sir John de Scures, Sir Richard de Borhunte, Sir Hugh de Brayboef, Sir Richard de Sutton; the 'others' are John de Warbelton, and John de Basing. De Scures, De Borhunte, De Brayboef, and John de Basing, it should be observed, are found as witnesses to the deed of 1316, by which Bromley was assured to William de Roches.

If we may judge by the triple evidence of the lawsuit of 1317, the behaviour of the Dummers before the Court of Arbitration, and the common-sense interpretation of the feudal law, there does not seem to be any doubt that the De Roches were in the right; and it is difficult to understand why they did not come into possession of the other De Caune estates, except that, as they elected to hold Bromley by Herbert de Caune's grant to Eufemia, they may have forfeited their claim by inheritance to the rest. As a matter of fact, we never hear of Dummer, Drayton, or Ashe Herbert as in their possession, though they retain Bromley.

But we have not done with the lawsuits. Thirty years later, Johanna de Dummer's son Thomas, mindful of the ancient feud, brings a fresh suit against the much-harassed Sir John de Roches for the De Caune estates, with a view to the recovery of Bromley. This was in 1346. The result is known no further than we can guess from the fact that Bromley remained with the De Roches, and continued in their descendants for many generations.

It is a remarkable sequel to this narrative of a prolonged family quarrel that the Houses of De Roches and Dummer of Dummer both ended with the daughters of the litigants; that Ellen, the daughter of Thomas, carrying with her no doubt the disputed half manor of Dummer, married an Atte More, of the old Hampshire neighbourhood whence the Dummers sprang; and that a branch of these Atte Mores, settled at Bramley and Pamber, became more entirely associated with the Brocases in various ways than any other Hampshire family of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. The Atte Mores of Dummer took the name of the lady as an alias, and were soon known by no other. Their monuments and heraldic brasses of the sixteenth century are still to be seen in the quaint old church of Dummer, interesting for its baldachino and other peculiarities, but sadly needing the restoration which it may be hoped will not be long delayed.

It is impossible to recover from these deeds alone (and there seems to be no other authority) the genealogy of the Atte Mores of Bramley and Pamber. John Atte More is found at these places in the time of the Pecches, and it is partly out of the property which had belonged to Henry Atte More—pro-

bably the son or grandson of John—that the park of Beaurepaire was formed by Sir Bernard Brocas. We discover this from some papers of Johanna, Henry's widow, who brought a claim for these lands, viz. Herselese, Heyehalewyk, Brodhalewyk, and Le Holemore, against Sir Bernard's grandson, William Brocas, but who gives a quitclaim for them in 1402 (Deed 110). Her claim has been further noticed in Book III. She was, in 1402, the wife, or widow, of one of the Kenne, or Le Kennez, a family of landed proprietors in this neighbourhood, of whom we hear no more in the deeds after her date. The continuous signatures of 'John Atte More' for more than a century denote three generations of members of the family who bore the name. Robert was the contemporary, and perhaps younger brother, of Henry, and Hugh may have been another. Ingelram and his wife Alice belong to a later generation; and the series closes with William, who is a witness in 1463, and who is probably the person who married the widow of William Brocas of Bradley, son of Bernard Brocas of Horton, mentioned elsewhere. Whether the Atte Mores of Bray were related to those of Hampshire is uncertain. It was probably one of these, or perhaps the same John Atte More whom we find in Hampshire at that date, who is one of Sir John Brocas' trustees in 1363, along with Sir Bernard Brocas and Sir John Foxley, a position which proves his intimacy with the family.

The De Roches deeds also suggest a few words as to the wife and sister of Sir John de Roches. Ida, widow of Sir John de Plecy, would seem to have lived at Bromley, Dorset, and acquired some right in the manor during the life of De Roches, for in 1354 she releases her right in it to his widow, to Mary her daughter, and to Mary's husband, Sir John de Borhunte. That it was a close relationship is proved by her seal, which contains three shields joined at the base, one of which is that of De Roches. The six rondelettes or annulets are the arms of Plecy or Plessis, and the three bendlets those of St. Philibert. That she was then living at Exeter is shown by the signature of Spicer, the mayor, and the seal of the city, as well as by the Devonshire names of other witnesses. We may fairly suppose that she was Sir John's sister, to whom, when William became diseased, Bromley was assigned as a residence.

The wife of Sir John de Roches, Johanna, occupies so important a place in the family history that it is strange we are still in the dark as to her family name. It is tempting to regard as a clue the notice which is found of her tenure of a knight's fee, in 1346 (along with John de Scures), in Wykeham Scures, especially when taken in connection with the constant appearance of the name of Escures or Scures in the De Roches deeds, and the close association of the well-known Sir John de Scures, William of Wykeham's intimate friend, with the affairs of Mary de Roches' property, and with that of both her husbands in succession. It was exactly the position her relative would naturally take up on the death of her father, but at present we can discover nothing beyond the tie of neighbourhood. However, it will not be out of place to note at this point, two or three facts concerning a family so closely bound up with the De Roches, especially as the notices in Woodward and Wilks' History of Hampshire, are exceedingly confused. The first important fact is that Roger de Scures received in 1268 the grant of free warren, a market, and a fair, in his Manor of Wyke-

ham, near Fareham, sometimes called in consequence, Wykeham Scures, and famous as the birthplace of the great Bishop, William of Wykeham. Eva de Scures, daughter and heir of his son Matthew, held this manor under Robert de St. John, as one knight's fee; and, having no children by her husband, De Clinton, the manor came into the family of Sir John de Scures, probably a cousin, who held the high position of Custos (Warden or Constable) of the Shire of Southampton and Castle of Winchester, in the last years of Edward II.'s reign. This is the Sir John de Escures or Scures who witnesses the De Roches deed of 1300, relating to the Manor of Hoo, and another of 1316, signed at Winchester, and who takes his place as one of the four knights concerned in the arbitration of 1318-9. He it is who appears on the list of sheriffs of Hampshire from 1321 to 1327, and then from 1327 to 1338, an extraordinarily long tenure of office during a troubled period, that of the last years of Edward II. and first of Edward III. Such a position, added to his permanent office in the county above mentioned, and his seat as knight of the shire in three Parliaments (1309, 1314, and 1322) distinguishes him from all other sheriffs of Hampshire except Peter de Roches and Sir Thomas de Warblyngton, as a sort of viceroy of the southern districts. Indeed as Guardian of the coast, and Chief Supervisor of the Arrays of the Southern Counties he holds that position in all but the name for a considerable period. His son, Sir John, was found seised, on the death of Eva de Clinton, of the Manor of Wykeham, in 1353, with whose daughter Sibilla it passed to her husband, John de Uvedale, and his successors. A further notice of this second Sir John de Scures will be found in connection with the family of the De Borhuntes. The will of the last male of the family, John de Scures, is in Wykeham's Register, an. 1381. He is to be buried at Wykeham, and he leaves 20*l.* for three priests, who are to say Masses for his soul for a year.

To return to the Manor of Bromley, we have (in Deed 68) the amount of stock considered necessary for the farm, along with an interesting notice of the prices for the year 1345. When it comes into Sir Bernard Brocas' possession in 1361, there are free tenants upon it, as well as 'nativi,' or villeins regardant attached to the soil. In 1385 we find its rent is twenty-two marks a year; that wardships and marriages are specially reserved for the lord; and that the tenant is bound to keep in repair the chapel, as well as hall, grange, and cowhouse, while he has permission to cut down oaks and ash trees sufficient for 'housebote, haybote, and husbandry,' and for those purposes only. In 1400 the escheators report the manor to be worth 16*l.* a year.[1] The condition of the tenancy after 1400 affords some light on the effects of forfeiture, and under the prudent William Brocas the estate is supplemented by other properties in the parish of Netherbury. The Court Roll of 1447 supplies an instance of the duties of a churchwarden; for such we must suppose Robert Rawe to be, when the super-altar of the chapel is confided to his peculiar care.

[1] In this inquisition at Evershet, Dorset, Bernard Brocas, aged twenty, is stated to be the 'son and heir' of the attainted Sir Bernard. This is only noticed here to point out the error. Bernard was heir to his father's Bucks estates; but the deeds exhibit William Brocas dealing with Bromley soon after the attainder was taken off, and continuing to do so; while his brother acts as one of the trustees for the estate.

The later history of the place contributes nearly all our information of the Bernard and Philippa Brocas mentioned in Book III.; and, provokingly enough, admits us to the knowledge that there were intimate relations between the Brocases and the Hastings brothers, so famous under the Yorkist kings, without giving us much more than room for a guess as to the origin and causes of them. Here, however, the Bromley deeds stop. The estate disappears without leaving any mark in Sir Richard Pexsall's time, between 1535, when he held a Court at Bromley, and 1572, when, at his death, the place is not found in the list of his numerous manors.

We may now conclude this notice of the De Roches with a few more details than were suitable for Book II. It was there remarked that Sir John and his wife settled their estates upon their daughter Mary and Sir John de Borhunte, her husband. Before this they had suffered a great affliction. William, their only son, had certainly arrived at man's estate without having developed the loss of faculties designated in the Inq. p. m. of 1342, by the term 'idiota.' He could not otherwise have been treated as lord of Bromley, or taken part in the process of arbitration above narrated. The change is marked by the commencement of Sir John's series of fines in 1333, by which he settles his estates, on the death of his wife, upon his two daughters, Mary and Alice, with their two husbands respectively, Sir John de Borhunte and John Romyn, with cross remainders. Bromley is not, however, included in the settlement, being retained for the support of William, now hopelessly diseased. In 1342 Sir John acts as lord of the manor, and it is found in his widow's hands at her death. Before that time Alice de Romyn and her husband had passed away, leaving Mary de Borhunte and her husband sole heirs to her mother. In 1359 that husband also died without having enjoyed any of the De Roches property; for Johanna herself, who is joint owner, survives to 1361, and Mary, as already mentioned, becomes a 'king's widow,' with the result of a second marriage to Sir Bernard Brocas, to whom she brings the whole of the De Roches estates. These are described at the Inquisition on Johanna's death as the manors of Bromley, Steventon, Bradley, North Fareham, Hoo, Brokkesheved, and Eldstoke, with a house and two carucates of land in Steventon, and sixty acres of wood with 5*s.* rent at that place; rents in Husseborne, the Court-suits of Basingstoke Hundred, the Soc and Court-suits of Winchester, and the advowsons of North Fareham, Bradley, and Elsefield, to which may be added that of Steventon, which certainly came through Mary de Roches to the Brocases. Johanna was found to have been seised jointly with her husband in these estates. Her seal, in 1357, contains no arms but those of De Roches—three shields joined at the base, each bearing the two lions passant, gardant.

In sketching the family connections of the De Roches we have noticed three of their properties—Hoo, Broxhead, and Bromley. The deeds relating to Eldstoke (or Old-Stoke, or Stoke Charity) will explain themselves, the chief interest in the estate expiring with Sir Bernard Brocas' assignment of the main portion of it to the endowment of the Brocas Chantry in Clewer church. A similar destination was in store for the manors of Hoo and Hanyngton, which went to found a Brocas Chantry in Southwick Priory Church about the same time. We hear no more of the rents at Husseborne.

It is curious that no deeds whatever exist in reference to Bradley, which remained on, manor and advowson, till we find it sold by Sir Pexall Brocas. The link of connection afforded by this estate between the two branches of the Brocases in the fifteenth century has been noticed. Sir Bernard had an early opportunity of presenting to the living, as we find from Wykeham's Register in 1367 (i. 18). On January 13th of that year William Chapman was instituted to Bradley church, '*ad presentationem Dom. Bernardi Brokas, mil.*' The advowson of Elsefield, near Basingstoke, which remained in the Brocas family through all their vicissitudes, and is still attached to Beaurepaire, came to them from the De Roches in connection with Bradley. In 1387 a moiety of that manor was held of Sir Bernard Brocas, 'as of his Manor of Bradley,' by the yearly service of a pair of spurs, or sixpence for all services. The De Roches presented to Elsefield, or Ellisfield in 1343 and 1349, and Sir Bernard, in his wife's right, in 1866. (F. J. B.)

North Fareham and Steventon now demand our attention. Like Bradley, they are deficient in history derived from ancient deeds; but unlike that manor they occupy a very important place in the Brocas annals: and a good deal being found about them in escheats and other documents, they have been reserved to the last.

The manor of North Fareham, held of the Bishop of Winchester, was one of those which, on the death of Sir William Fitz Roger, the underlord, gave Peter de Roches, in right of his See, the wardship of Emma Fitz Roger, whom he married to his nephew Geoffrey. This has been already mentioned. Round the manor which gradually obtained the alias, and then the proper name, of 'Roche Court,' circled other properties, derived also probably from the See, such as the manor, or more likely the Court suits only of South Fareham, or Fareham proper. Thus early began that connection with the bishopric of Winchester which was strengthened and perpetuated by circumstances of a wholly different kind between the Brocases and William of Wykeham. Many circumstances connected with the families of South Hampshire lead to the belief that the centre of the De Roches' interests, and probably their chief residence, was at North Fareham. Steventon, acquired by Martin de Roches and held of the king, would alone compete with it; but as it happens, while we can only form a guess as to Steventon manor-house, we have, not many years after Mary de Roches' death, evidence of a considerable manorial residence at the former place in the Inq. p. m. held on the death of Lady Johanna Brocas, from which, since the Report of the Escheators of 1429 is too much defaced and torn to be presentable in full amongst the transcripts of deeds, a few extracts may be given here.

Johanna's dower at North Fareham consisted of a third part of the following properties, viz. the manor house, or 'hall, with the houses annexed, the garner, with the house in which the garner was, and [words lost] which leads from the end of a certain barn on the west side of the court to the end of the latrina of the great gate there, the cow-house, the great barn on the south side of the chapel, a garden called Chapel Garden, 18½ acres of arable land on the south side, 17¾ acres of arable land on the north side called Bl. [words lost], a field called Wykes, 6 acres of land lying in the common fields, 2 fields called Horgastus, containing 10 acres of arable land, a meadow called [words lost], 6 acres of wood called Byrchstryc, a heath containing

20 acres, the perquisites of Court, and certain tenants with their rents, viz. Richard Elyot, free-tenant in the same vill, with 2*s*. 3*d*.; and bond-tenants, viz. Geoffrey D [lost] with 13*s*. 10*d*. rent, William de Putle with 40*d*., John Elyar with 40*d*., Robert Davy with 6*s*. 8*d*.; also the advowson of a certain free chapel called Whypstride.' A dove-cot is mentioned in the summary.

At the Inquisition held a few years earlier, at the time of the forfeiture, the annual value of the whole is said to be 16*l*. 2*s*. 6*d*. Sir Bernard Brocas had at that time (A.D. 1400) the following amount of stock in the grange: 20 quarters of wheat, price 100*s*.; 20 quarters of barley, price 5 marks; 20 quarters of oats, price 40*s*.; and one parcel of hay, price 26*s*. 8*d*.

Independently of the light thrown by these items on the modest establishment of such people as the De Roches, and the few items which show the price of farm produce, the notice of Whypstride, or Whipstrode Chapel has a special interest of its own, for one of the sources of the Roche Court income at the present day is the 'Whipstrode tithes.' The advowson of the 'Free Chapel' at North Fareham is mentioned in various ancient escheats, but not the name, which has survived only as representing a certain money value. These tithes are legally described as follows: 'The Chapelry or Rectory Impropriate of Whipstrode St. James, in Fareham and elsewhere, in the county of Southampton, and certain glebe lands, tithes, and rent-charges in lieu of tithes belonging to the said Chapelry.' It is so long since this chapel has passed away, that not the faintest tradition of the site it occupied has survived; but it is evident that the 'Free Chapel of Whipstrode' was close by the Hall or Court; and there is every reason to think not only that the original Hall or Court was on the site of the present house, but, as already said, that a part of the old house still survives in the Tudor reconstruction. A 'Free Chapel,' though it had no parochial territory, and therefore no parochial rights or duties attached, was by no means the same thing as a private chapel, for it was intended for the people of the estate, and the endowment granted by the De Roches was a public matter, just like the endowment of a parish church. At the Reformation the chapel passed to the Crown (in 1545) by the surrender of the incumbent, and was pulled down; while the tithes and glebe lands (once in possession of either Bernard or Arnald Brocas in the fourteenth century) were impropriated by the Pexsalls, the heirs of the original donors. For some generations the name has been a mystery; for the size of the little hamlet has never, in modern times, been such as to suggest the need of a special chapel, and no such name is anywhere known.

Only one notice of Roche Court occurs in any early deeds, and that is of no importance. In 1378 Alice Taylour is mentioned as tenant for life of certain properties there, which she held under Sir Bernard Brocas. Lastly, only one portion of any Manor Court Roll of Roche Court has come to hand — the mere extract already mentioned, dated September 5, 1506. The only names we get from it are those of Ralph Pexsall, William Love, Thomas Launde and Thomas Lee; and the only properties those of Cristenmanslonde and Hawyslonde.

The absence of any records of leases or other transactions till we hear of Roche Court in the time of the Pexsalls, seems to indicate that the family used it as a sort of dower-house, in which dowagers and younger sons

were planted out and found their living. It was certainly used in that capacity by Elizabeth Cotton, one of Sir Richard Pexsall's daughters by Lady Elinor Paulet, who died there in 1581; the old house which had done service for so many centuries having been, apparently, reconstructed by her father or grandfather. The latter would have had an attraction towards the place in consequence of his possession of a house on the estate in the early part of his career.

It is not indeed till the time of the Pexsalls, and in consequence of the division of estates which grew out of his will, that Roche Court takes the leading place which it afterwards held in the family. That has been sufficiently explained in Book IV. As if by way of revenge for the absence of early Roche Court deeds, there are many more than enough of them in the seventeenth century, for there are no less than seventeen in one year, 1656; while the total number of that period still remaining amounts to fifty-eight. The result of this rich feast of the lawyers has been given above, and there is nothing further to interest the general reader. The limits of the estate have advanced and receded several times during its later history, but are very much more extended than in the time of the De Roches.

To judge by the extant deeds, it must have been pretty well cleared of the forest character, which it no doubt retained in those earlier days, by the time of the Pexsalls. The names of the fields and meadows remain very nearly what they were then.

Steventon.

The absence of any early Steventon deeds, except one in 1448 (of little consequence), may be accounted for by its sale in 1648, when the Brocas chest was cleared of every paper which was required for title. However, a continuous series of Steventon escheats, taken on the death of each tenant *in capite*, and other public documents, supply information about the families of De Roches and Brocas, much of which has been incorporated in the preceding Books, and a brief summary of the history of the place may be of some interest.

General History of the Manor.

Steventon, in Basingstoke Hundred, was held of King Edward the Confessor by Elfelin, and of William I. by Elsi. It contained five, but was only taxed for three hides. It was worth 4*l.* per annum.[1]

We do not hear of it again till 1253, when it appears that the sons of Robert de Stiveton and Agnes de Domer were holding land in the manor.[2]

It came to Martin de Roches before 1274; for in that year he holds it of the king in chief for 2½ hides of land by grand serjeantry of finding a 'serviens' in the king's army for forty days.[3] At his death he was holding two carucates of arable land containing 360 acres, each acre being worth 4*d.* a year. He had also in rent of freemen 5*l.*, of villeins 3*l.* 12*s.*; in the labour of these men 2*l.* 10*s.*; and 300 sheep on a common pasture (value in the whole about 20*l.*, or some 400*l.* a year of modern money.)[4]

In 1285-6 Hugh de Roches grants the reversion of the manor on the

[1] Domesday Book, *f.* 50b.
[2] Hundred Rolls, Co. Southampton.
[3] Coram Rege Rot. 37 & 38 Hen. III.
[4] Inq. p. m. 5 Ed. I.

Seal of Jane, Lady Gardiner (daughter and heir of Robert Brocas of Beaurepaire)
A.D. 1691

Seal of Sir Brocas Gardiner of Roche Court
A.D. 1734

death of Lucy, widow of Martin, to his son John, and John's wife Beatrix.[1] In 1337 Sir John de Roches levies a fine by which Steventon is settled, after the death of himself and his wife, on the Borhuntes, &c., as already stated. In 1341 the endowment of the church is returned as one messuage, one carucate of land, a dove-cot, and rents to the value of 76*s.* 8*d.* The tithe of cheese, &c., with oblations and mortuaries, is worth 4*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.* in addition.[2] It was thus, we see, a very good living.

In 1361, on the settlement upon Sir Bernard and Mary Brocas, the value of the property is thus stated: a capital messuage, and divers buildings worth nothing [by way of rent] beyond reprises, 2 carucates of land, each containing 120 acres at 2*d.* per acre, pasture for 6 horses, 12 oxen, and 300 sheep worth nothing [by way of rent] because lying in common, 60 acres of wood, of which the underwood is worth 4*s.* per annum, rent of assize of free tenants and bondmen 6*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.* per annum, pleas and perquisites worth 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum. The advowson is worth nothing, but the church is worth 100*s.* per annum. Sir Bernard has to give 100*s.* to make the settlement.[3]

In 1395 the escheator, on Sir Bernard Brocas' death, reports the manor to be worth 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, beyond the 100*s.* chargeable on it to Thomas Byflete in fee.

In 1400 the attainted Sir Bernard was holding a lease of the manor for eight years, at 50*l.* per annum, of which the remainder of the term belonged to his widow Johanna, as the king had granted her the forfeited goods and chattels of her husband.[4]

In 1456 William Brocas was holding Steventon manor and advowson of the bailiffs of Basingstoke, Robert Bernard and Nicolas Bayly.[5] In 1483 it is worth 10*l.* per annum, and is still held of the bailiffs of Basingstoke, Morgan Kidwelly and Edw. Cooke. In 1535–6 the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* gives a clear value of 11*l.* 4*s.* 4½*d.* to the Rectory.[6]

It has been mentioned in Book IV. that Steventon became, during the Pexsall period, of more importance to the family than it had ever been before in preceding centuries. Sir Richard Pexsall preferred it to Beaurepaire, and his will, as we have seen, attests the fact that he was engaged in rebuilding the manor-house when he died. He enjoined the completion of it on his wife; but we may be sure that the handsome Elizabethan structure which has served for a farm-house, and is now used for stabling and domestic offices, was never much more complete than it is now. He had evidently intended to build another wing, like the existing building, and to join them by a front or rear structure (so completing three sides of a quadrangle), the ragged wall of which, covered with ivy, is still existing. The present owner, Mr. Harris, began to build upon a plan which would have utilised the house, but found it impracticable, and ended in the erection of a new mansion, in the grounds of which the old house ornamentally stands, thoroughly repaired and preserved for the future. If Sir Richard had lived to complete the edifice, it would have ranked among the best of the few ancient mansions of Hampshire now existing. Among the woods on this fine estate is still to be found, at a distance of a mile from the house, one

[1] Close Roll, 14 Ed. I. m. 2.
[2] Inq. Nonarum.
[3] Originalia Roll, 35 Ed. III. No. 50.
[4] Inq. p. m. 1 Hen. IV. p. 1, No. 17.
[5] Inq. p. m. 34 Hen. VI. No. 9.
[6] 27 Hen. VIII. 2, 15.

which goes by the name of 'Brocas Coppice,' a name conveying as little idea to the uninitiated neighbourhood as the more familiar localities at Windsor and Eton.

The Borhunte Estates.

These will conclude our notices of the estates which came with Mary de Roches. Though there is but one deed in the Brocas chest directly relating to these estates, the Borhunte family plays so important a part in the Brocas annals, and has been, like the De Roches, so much neglected in county histories, that a sketch of it, though necessarily imperfect, may not be unacceptable.

The village from which they derive their name, mentioned in Domesday Book as held by Earl Roger, nestles in the northern slopes of the Portsdown Hills, not far from Southwick. With that place it has had a special connection for centuries, through the relations with Southwick Priory with which our narrative is now concerned, and since the Reformation, through the union of the spiritual cures of those places. It is still interesting from its possession of a little Norman church, sadly wanting a proper restoration. The name has been long spelt 'Boarhunt,' and its derivation supposed to indicate the chase of the wild boar. But though no doubt that animal often fell before the spear of the hunter in the deep forest which formerly covered those slopes, the form of 'Burghunte' or 'Burhunte,' which we generally find in early days, designates a tower or building of some sort for hunting, rather than the boar itself; and it may be remarked that the local pronunciation appears to have been 'Burrunt,' not 'Borrunt.'

PEDIGREE OF THE DE BORHUNTES OF BORHUNTE.

Sir Herbert de Burhunte = Matilda ——
(sued by the Prior of Merton, ante 1258).
Sir Herbert de Burghunt = ——

1288.

Sir Richard de Burhunte (M.P. for Hampshire in 1306). = Matilda (d. of Roger de Molton of Henton, whose other d. Ann = Almaric de Kaunville).

Henry de Burhunte Herberd, or Herbelyn (ob. ante 1320). = ——

1314.

Thomas de Borhunte (Master of the Royal Buckhounds *jure uxoris*; born c. 1292, ob. 1340). = Margaret Lovel (d. and heir of John Lovel, Master of the Royal Buckhounds), who = (2) William Danvers, (ob. 1359.)

Gilbert de B. (ob. 1334). = Johanna —— (who = (2) Thomas de Kenyngworth.)

1337.

Sir John de B. (born c. 1322, ob. 1359). = Mary de Roches (d. and heir of Sir John de Roches), who = (2) Sir Bernard Brocas (viv. 1380).

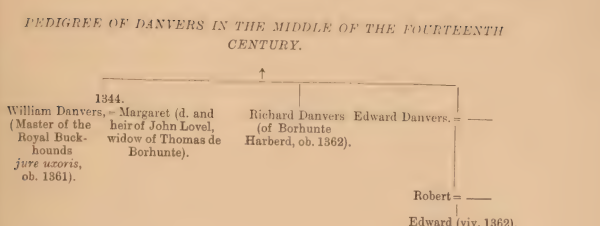
? Roger de B. viv. 1333[1]

Thomas de B. (born c. 1319. ob. unm. 1343).

John de B. (born c. 1345, ob. c. 1360).

[1] Ped. Fin. 7 Ed. III.

PEDIGREE OF DANVERS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.



The Brocas deeds introduce us, in the middle of Henry III.'s reign, to Sir Herbert de Burhunte, knight, as witness to a grant made by Robert, son of William de St. John, to Bartholomew Pecche.[1] The family had been settled at Borhunte for some generations, but with Sir Herbert we begin to obtain light from the Public Records. Not long before his time the Austin monks appear to have removed from Porchester to their immediate neighbourhood at Southwick, and in the course of a few years the Priory had absorbed their estates. Sir Herbert may be styled eponymous, a second Borhunte being formed in his time with the addition of his name, found, later on, in various corrupt forms, Harberd, Herbelyn, &c. He and his wife, Matilda, are sued, in 1258–9, by Giles, Prior of Merton, for services and customs alleged to be due from them; and Giles being dead, Robert, the new Prior, was to obtain a fresh writ.[2] In 1312 (March 26) the 'Parliamentary Writs' introduce us to a Sir Herbert de Burghunt, who was one of thirty-two persons whom Edward II. desired to repair to Gaveston and assist him in transacting his affairs,—a sort of much-needed council, by means of which the King hoped to save his favourite at the last moment from his enemies, but it was too late. Three months later he was a murdered man. This second Sir Herbert was probably the father of the two De Borhuntes whom we find settled, Sir Richard at Borhunte, and Henry at Borhunte Herberd, in the time of Edward I., and whose descendants we can trace for two generations side by side. Of course it is possible that there may have been a Herbelin as well as a Herbert de Borhunte, but the notices seem to apply to the same person. A William de Burhunte is also found amongst the records; but he stands isolated, and does not occur in the deeds.

Of Sir Richard there are several notices both in the deeds and at the Record Office. In 1288 he married Matilda, apparently the daughter of Roger de Molton, who settled on her and her husband, in that year, a house and carucate of land, &c., in 'Henton next Katerington.'[3] In 1300 and 1316 we find him witnessing De Roches deeds, and in 1318–9 he is one of four knights who form part of the Court of Arbitration between John de Roches and Sir John de Dommer. In 1305,[4] we find him settling, for his

[1] Book vi., chap. ii., part 2.
[2] *De Banco Rolls*, No. 9, m. 12. Trin. 33 Hen. III.
[3] Ped. Fin. Southn. Easter, 16 Ed. I.
[4] Ped. Fin. Southn. Mich. 33 Ed. I.

own life, the manor of Borhunte on his son Thomas, and in 1314,[1] on him jointly with Margaret Lovel, his wife, in fee. In 1306 he is Knight of the Shire for Hampshire, which, as Parliaments had only commenced eleven years previously, marks him as filling a distinguished place in the county; and the 'Parliamentary Writs' disclose him to us as performing constant service in its government. In 1312 we find him lord paramount of the Manor of Hoo. We may be sure Sir Richard was the eldest son, and proceed to trace his descendants before dealing with Henry (whom we suppose to be his brother) and Henry's descendants.

The position of Thomas, son of Sir Richard, has been sufficiently laid down in reference to his post as Master (in right of his wife) of the Royal Buckhounds. In 1320 we find him M.P. for Wallingford. We have his inquest in 1340,[2] when he is found holding a messuage and lands in Weldon Parva, besides the Manor of Benham Valence (also from the Lovels), Borhunte manor, his paternal inheritance, lands in Southwick and Porchester, and the Court suits of Basing. Though not mentioned in the inquest, he had also acquired the manor of Hanyngton (near Kingsclere), and rents in Prallingworth (a manor in the parish of Tichfield), and had passed them to John de Launcelevee and his wife, as trustees, who settled them in 1333 on Thomas and Margaret, with remainder to John and Mary, de Borhunte.[3] In this settlement a Roger de Borhunte is mentioned as remainderman after the last-named couple, but his name does not occur again.

Sir John de Borhunte's career has also been sketched, and that of Mary de Roches, whom he married in 1337. Though not Master of the Buckhounds, he was the most distinguished member of the family; for we find him commanding a company at the Siege of Calais, and can hardly doubt that he had fought at Crecy. At the Inquest upon him, in 1359, he is found seised of lands in Southwick, Wanstede, Wymering, Shepewashe, Porchester, West Borhunte, Fareham, and Hameldon. The Manors of Borhunte and Henton he and his wife had jointly made over, in 1344, to his mother, Margaret, who had taken for a second husband William Danvers;[4] but in 1359 she was dead, as a separate Inquest reports that these manors had come back to John and Mary. They had a son, aged fourteen, at his father's death, named John,[5] but he must have died immediately afterwards, for in 1363, John, the son of Herbert de Borhunte, a cousin of the deceased Sir John, is spoken of as holding the reversion of the life-estate of Mary, by that time the wife of Sir Bernard Brocas, and he had made it over to Valentine atte Mede, of Bromden.

The Borhunte deed (of 1363), already mentioned as in the Brocas collection, is concerned with the action of the Trustees for Valentine atte Mede in this matter. They covenant that Sir Bernard and his wife shall not be disturbed in the possession of the five manors of Borhunte, Henton, Hanyton, Ædmundsthrop, and Prallingworth during the life of Mary. In 1367 Valentine himself[6] passes all the other estates which are not named by

[1] Ped. Fin. Southn. Trin. 7 Ed. II.
[2] Inq. p. m. 14 Ed. III. 1st Nos. 122.
[3] Ped. Fin. 7 Ed. III.
[4] Ped. Fin. Southn. Mich. 18 Ed. III. No. 33.
[5] Inq. p. m. 33 Ed. III. 2nd Nos. 103.
[6] *Close Roll*, 41 Ed. III. m. 3d. This deed was witnessed by John de Warbleton, Henry de Popham, Peter de Bruges, Walter Haywode, Thomas Warner, Richard Paunce-fote, Stephen Haym, and others.

the above trustees to William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, in trust, no doubt, for Southwick Priory, viz. the lands in Southwick, Wanstede, Wymering, Shepewash, Porchester, West Borhunte, Farcham, and Hameldon; and as, in 1365, Sir Bernard and Mary levy a fine, by which they pass their estate in Borhunt, and in Southwick, Wanstead, Wymering, Porchester and Hameldon to William of Wykeham, we have here no doubt the endowment of Southwick Priory with nearly all the Borhunte lands, the various interests being bought up for his favourite institution by William of Wykeham. Thus we find, as we might expect, in 1369, that Southwick Priory presents a vicar to 'West Burhunte,'[1] and in later times we find 'West Burrunt' and Hannington paying rents to the Prior and convent, as well as 'Burrant Harbert' and Hoo.[2] The latter manor and that of Hannington were the gift of Sir Bernard Brocas to the Priory, for the service of his Chantry, in 1384. Borhunte manor, it will have been seen, appears to be distinguished both from Borhunte Harberd and West Borhunte, which would show that both of the latter had been taken out of the original manor. Some lands, however, in the old manor, now probably much reduced, as well as the manor of Prallingworth, certainly did survive in the Brocas family after the death of Mary; for we find the first mentioned down to the date of Sir Richard Pexsall's death, in 1571, and the last was not sold till 1653.

We can more clearly trace the process by which Borhunte Harberd, the other principal portion of the original manor, came to Southwick Priory, viz. through the line of Henry de Borhunte-Herbelyn (or Harberd), of whom we know only that he served against the Scots in 1300 and 1301, and that he was Gilbert de Borhunte's father. He seems to have been the first of the other branch. Gilbert is found, in 1320 1. to be holding a house and carucate of land in the manor of Borhunte-Herbelin of the king *in capite*, by Sergeantry of guarding Porchester Castle for fifteen days at his own costs, with an 'acqeton' or quilted coat, habergeon, iron cap, and lance.[3] He had entered on this estate upon the death of his father, when the castle was in the hands of Queen Margaret, Edward I.'s widow. At his death, in 1334, he is described as before, but his Sergeantry is, specifically, to guard the 'East gate of Porchester Castle,' and he is to have a bassinet and iron gauntlets. This is expressly called tenure by Grand Sergeantry;[4] while it is observable that the kindred branch were also tenants by Grand Sergeantry, holding the Mastership of the Royal Buckhounds—not perhaps a very common coincidence.

Thomas, Gilbert's son, holds by the same conditions, and dies unmarried; and thus when Richard Danvers, on Thomas' death in 1343,[5] is found to have had a grant from him of his estate, he has to pay a fine of five marks for entering on a king's fee without license, and for leave to resettle the estate on himself and his brother William Danvers, husband of Margaret de Borhunte. William died in 1361, and in 1362, Richard Danvers. 'On the day before he [Richard] died,'[6] he made over this estate to trustees, of whom Sir John Scures was the chief, in order that they might pass it to the Prior

[1] Wykeham's Register, i. 32.
[2] Dugdale's *Monasticon*.
[3] nq. p. m. 14 Ed. II. No. 1.
[4] Inq. p. m. 8 Ed. III. 1st No. 160.
[5] Inq. p m. 17 Ed. III. 2nd Nos. 40.
[6] Inq. p. m. 36 Ed. III. p. 1, No. 56.

and Convent of Southwick. From this document we find that the terms of the Grand Sergeantry have now become more severe, inasmuch as the man-at-arms is to be found for forty days. The chief sufferer was Richard's heir, Edward Danvers, his great nephew; and thus the interest which that family seemed to be on the point of acquiring is lost in the death-bed bequest to the Convent. The whole of the estates of the Borhunte family in both its branches, with the small exception above mentioned, thus fell, under the management of William of Wykeham and Sir John de Scures, into the general estate of Southwick Priory, to which, twenty years later, Sir Bernard Brocas was to add his manors of Hoo and Hannington.

So much for the families whose fortunes we have briefly traced. Being no longer connected with these lands, the descendants of the owners disappear from sight, the almost universal fate in such cases during the Middle Ages, especially where tenure was connected with special services the usefulness of which was passing away in the course of time.

Borhunte was only one of many places held of the Crown by the Sergeantry of defending Porchester Castle. They were scattered along both sides of Portsdown Hill, Cosham, Wansted, Wymering, Drayton, Bere, and other places; so that at a moment's notice the tenants might appear, each at his appointed station, and equipped with his proper weapons. The Prior and Convent of Southwick now added to their other Sergeantries this one also of the Borhuntes, which entailed on them a further share of the defence of the Castle, but which no doubt became more and more nominal as time went on. The visitor to that fine, picturesque ruin in the present day may well spend his time there less profitably than if, after having made himself familiar with the lines of the old fortification in the days of the Plantagenets, and learnt to understand the equipment of the mediæval warrior, he should attempt to picture to himself a sudden alarm from a French invasion of the south coast, and the swift arrival of the king's tenants by Grand Sergeantry, such as Gilbert de Burhunte, Peter de Cosham, Adam de Wansted, Fulk de Wymering, Peter de la Bere, and Sir Lawrence Pagham, all bound to one another by a common tie of service and ancestral brotherhood. Along with them would hurry in eager rivalry the strong contingent from Southwick, under the Nortons, or perhaps some gallant priest who, like the Prior of Lewes in 1377, saw no reason why he should not lead his flock on an emergency. Each chief would be accompanied by his esquire, his man-at-arms, his archers and crossbowmen, and soon, perhaps, be followed by the sheriff and his retinue from Winchester, gathering up his forces as he marches out over the Roman road under St. Catherine's Hill, from Bishops Waltham and Wykeham, from Fareham and Roche Court.

There was not much help to be obtained from Portsmouth. Instead of the great aggregate mass of population now collected in 'the three towns,' the imagination must reckon with only an insignificant little place, often burnt by the enemy, and, even in 1346, only rated at half the number of ships which Lymington was bound to supply. On the opposite side of the harbour at Alwarestoke (now Alverstoke), the parent parish of those parts, and at Gosport, there were nothing but humble villages. Even Southampton at these early dates was a far less important place of strength than Porchester, up to the time when its successful capture by the French,

in 1338, forced Edward III. to surround it with proper walls, still visible in their picturesque decay. But Porchester would be backed up far inland. The Basingstoke contingents would muster round the strong walls of Odiham Castle, which, with Winchester Castle, also a place of great strength, manned from their respective neighbourhoods, would block the road to the interior if Porchester were forced. No time was to be lost, for no Royal Navy held the enemy at bay. The Barons of the Cinque Ports, guarding the coasts of Kent and Sussex, were not always at hand with their little fleets, to protect the Solent and the Isle of Wight.

Contrast these simple but well-devised preparations for defence, to a great degree, apparently, organised after the sad experiences of the reign of King John, by the military Knight-Bishop and Prime Minister, Peter de Roches, with the mighty forts and guns now to be seen on Portsdown Hill, and in the circle drawn around arsenals and dockyards, a thousand times more precious than Porchester Castle in its most important days. Is it certain that, taking into account the revolution that has come over the art of war, these invaluable precincts are in an equally good state of defence against an invading enemy?

However this may be, it is a satisfaction to remember the progress that has been made during the last thirty-five years, since the days when Ferguson's 'Perils of Portsmouth' first opened the eyes of Englishmen to the imminent danger into which, blinded by the effect of long-accustomed neglect of common precautions, they were then about to fall. The country then also, as of old, happily possessed a powerful Prime Minister, trained in Imperial times under Imperial statesmen, the late Lord Palmerston. It was to his patriotic spirit that we owe the commencement of what has since been effected. Nor must the far-seeing political instincts of the lamented Prince Consort be forgotten in this matter; still less the influence of Her Majesty the Queen, to whose intelligent affection we owe the knowledge of the part performed in it by one whose loss her subjects have year by year learnt more and more to lament.

SECTION III.

DEEDS CONCERNING THE ESTATES WHICH CAME WITH MARY DE ROCHES

Hoo and Broxhead.

29 Ed. I. Dec. 8, 1300.

212. *Grant by John de Roches of half the manor of Hou to Roger Launcelevee and Joan his wife, for their lives, in exchange for those tenements in Broxhead which Roger de Hou, grandfather of John de Roches, once held.*

Die Jovis prox. post fest. S^ti^ Nicholai an. r. r. Edwardi filii Regis Henrici xxix^o^ Convenit inter Johannem de Roches ex parte una et Rogerum Launcelevee et Johannam uxorem ejus ex altera: vid^t^ quod pred^s^ Joh^s^ concessit ac dimisit pred^s^ Rogero et Joh^e^ uxori ejus illam medietatem manerii de Hou cum suis pert^a^ que pred^o^ Joh^i^ accidit hereditarie post mortem quondam Rogeri de Hou avi sui, exceptis tamen boscis, redditibus, releviis,

escaetis, heriettis, et omn[a] aliis rebus que de omnibus tenentibus totius predictatis pred. manerii, tam liberis quam villanis, et de eorum tenentiis quocunque modo poterunt evenire: salvis tamen pred[s] Rogero et Johanne serviciis operabilibus que pred[i] tenentes facere solebant annuatim tempore Rogeri de Hou: et salvis pred[a] Rogero et Joh[e] husbote et heybote in pred[o] bosco per visum et liberationem pred[i] Joh[is] vel heredum suorum optinend. ad pred[s] terras claudendas, et ad domos predictas reparandas et emendandas. Habendum &c. ad totam vitam utriusque Rogeri et Joh[is]. Post mortem vero utriusque &c. pred[o] Joh[i] et hered[s] &c. revertentur in perpetuum. Et pro hac concessione ac dimissione pred[i] Rog[s] et Joh[a] uxor ejus concesserunt ac dimiserunt predicto Johanni et hered[s] &c. in excambium totam illam partem suam quam habuerunt in tenementis illis que Rogerus de Hou quondam habuit in Brokkesheved cum omn[s] suis pert[s]: hab[m] et ten[m] pred[o] Joh[i] de Roches et hered[s] &c. ut in terris, boscis, molendinis, stagnis, &c. . . . testibus Philippo de Hoyvile, Ric[o] de Burhunte, Thoma Paignel, Joh[e] de Scures, Joh[e] de Popham, Wil[o] de Brembelshete, militibus, Joh[e] de Vernez [Venuz], Joh[e] de Seyncler, Joh[e] de Westcote, Ric[o] de Westcote, et aliis. Datum apud Hou die et anno pred[s].

(The above is the sole deed remaining in reference to the manor of Hou, Hoo, or Hoe, which was one of the six in which Sir Bernard Brocas obtained the grant of Free Warren in 1366. It was a large, heathy tract of land, lying on the borders of Bere Forest and Waltham Chase, in the tithing of Bishop's Waltham and Hundred of Meonstoke, and, having been once part of the Royal Forest, was, it would seem, held of the King in chief. It is now divided into East Hoe and West Hoe, and is still represented by farms, roads, hamlets, and other scattered localities bearing the name. It came to Sir Hugh de Roches with the daughter of Roger de Hou, and was held immediately of Sir Richard de Burhunte. The exchange made in this deed by John de Roches of an interest for life in half the manor for the interest possessed by the Launcelevees in the Broxhead tenements, which had belonged to Roger de Hou, marks the commencement of the acquisition of the manor of Broxhead, which is afterwards found in the possession of Sir John de Roches. The Launcelevees were an ancient family, whose names are found in connection with several properties in Hampshire. Their old manor house, now a farm surrounded by a moat, two miles east of Sherfield on Loddon, still bears their name. The manor of Hoo soon passed out of the Brocas family, being in 1384 assigned by Sir Bernard as part of his endowment of Southwick Priory. The possession of this manor must have brought the families of De Burhunte, De Hou, and De Roches into the closest contact with the Bishops of Winchester, who spent much of their time at their fine palace of Bishop's Waltham.)

10 Ed. IV. Aug. 24, 1470. **213.** *Grant by the Trustees of William Brocas* (1) *to William Brocas* (2) *and Margaret his wife, of Broxhead and Clewer manors.*

Omnibus &c. Thomas Delamere, Willielmus Beckingham, Hugo Pakenham, Thomas Belwode, armigeri, Jacobus Beckingham, clericus, Nich[s] Hatton, Joh[s] Brobbun, Joh[s] Upston, salutem. Sciatis nos prefatos &c. . . . dimisisse &c. Wil[o] Brocas filio Wil[i] Brocas de Beaurepaire arm. et Margarete uxori sue manerium nostrum de Broxhede in Com. Suth[n] necnon manerium nostrum de Cleware in Com. Berks cum &c. que quidem maneria &c. nuper simul habuimus, cum Thoma Dawbrigecourt jam defuncto, ex dono et concessione Wil[i] Brocas de Beaurepaire pred. arm. &c.: hab[m] &c. Et si contingat dictum Wil[m] et Margaretam . . sine hered[s] obire, tunc

volumus &c. quod dicta maneria &c. permaneant pref° Will° Brocas patri dicti Will', hered' &c. in perpetuum : . . testibus Joh° Lisle, Thoma Uvedale, Ric° [torn], militibus, Joh° Powlette, Edwardo Langford, Barnardo Brocas, Will° Staverton, armigeris, Edwardo [torn], Joh° Chislotte, Will° Trollard, et multis aliis. Datum apud Clewar pred^m in fest. S^ti Barth. Apost. an. r. r. Edwardi Quarti post Conq. x°.

(8 seals, the last 4 of which are broken up; the others are:
[1] A stag's head attired. [2] A shield: between 3 mullets a charge.
[3] Sinister a Wyvern. [4] A horse's head.

William Brocas' first wife, Agnes Bekingham, the mother of John, died in 1469–70, and the above deed is a settlement on Margaret, a second wife, unknown to the pedigrees, who died soon after, s. p., and was succeeded by a third wife, Joan Adderley. The estates came to John Brocas of Beaurepaire, on the death of his father.

Broxhead, like Hoo, from which it was only separated by the distance of an easy ride, was a wild, heathy district bordering upon Woolmer and Alice Holt Forests, of which it had no doubt once formed a part. Its name will scarcely now be found on any map, but it was always described as near the parish of Headley [see Inq. p. m. on Johanna Brocas, 1429]. It was in 1429 held of Sir Thomas Bromflete, knight. In the deed before us it is found a convenient manor, like Clewer, for settlement, and in 1549 we find Richard Pessall granting to John Hithe, keeper of the King's Forest of Woolmer, two messuages in Broxhead, one called Hithe and one called Lodgers, at 13^s 4^d rent, 26^s release, and 40^s heriot. In 1582 [Deed 445] the rental of Broxhead for half a year is returned as follows:

	s	d		s	d
Robert Boxall	vi	viii	Henry Heater . . .	vi	viii
John Waller	ii	vi	Thomas Phelpe . . .	xix	ob.
John Matthewe	v		John Bull, sen. . . .	iv	
John Bull, jun.	ii	vi	Nich. Mathewe . . .	ii	vi
John Kelseye	iv	vi	Toogoode [for a house in Alton]	x	
Sir Richard Norton, knight .	xii	vi			

In 1639 Thomas and Robert Brocas, his son, join in the sale of the manor, for which they receive 1800*l*. In the deed of sale, and elsewhere, the place is called 'Broxhead, alias Brocashead'; but this is not a probable derivation, for it is called 'Brokkesheved' long before the Brocas family came to England. Some years after the Restoration we find the younger sons of Thomas in possession of the estate for life; but, with them, it finally disappears from the family rolls.)

Eldstoke or Oldstoke.

56 Hen. III. / 1271–2. **220.** *Quitclaim by John and Petronilla de Wyndesore to Martin de Roches for* 100^s *rent in Eleddestoke* [*Eldstoke*].

Anno r. r. Henrici filii Regis Johannis lvi° ita convenit inter Johannem de Wyndesorre et Petronillam uxorem ejus ex una parte et Martinum de Roches ex altera vid^t quod pred. Joh^s et Petronilla remiserunt et quietum clamaverunt pro se et hered^s suis Martino de Roches ad totam vitam Alicie de la Charyte c^s annui redditus in Eleddestoke in quibus eisdem Johanni et Petronille et heredibus suis tenebatur pro ten° quod de eis tenet in villa pred. pro warantia dotis pred. Alicie in eadem villa, quam recuperavit versus pred. Martinum coram magistro Rogero Saxton et sociis suis, Justiciariis Itinerantibus in term. Mich^s an. r. r. Henrici filii regis Johannis pred°. In cujus rei testimonium partes alternatim huic scripto in modo chirographi

confecto sigilla sua apposuerunt: hiis testibus Ric° de la Bere, Wil° Huse, Nich° de Ichene, Nich° Martin, Wil° Burel, et aliis.

(This deed explains the original change of the name of the village to 'Stoke Charity' [which it still retains], being so called in the Inq. p. m. 5 Ed. I.; but the name of Eldstoke, and subsequently Oldstoke, is that used in the Brocas deeds for several centuries later.)

31 Ed. III. Oct. 3, 1357. **293.** *Lease by Johanna de Roches, widow of Sir John de Roches, of her dower lands in Eldstoke for her life to Thomas de Hampton for a rent of* 40*s*.

Presens indentura testatur quod ego Johanna quondam uxor Joh^i^ de Roches militis tradidi &c. Thome de Hampton omnia terras &c. que habui in villa de Eldstoke exceptis pratis meis que habui in eadem villa; hab^m^ &c. ad totum terminum vite mee, redd° michi inde annuatim xl^s^ per annum &c. . . . Datum apud Eldstoke die Martii prox. post fest. S^ti^ Mich. an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii a conq. Ang. xxxi°.

(Fine seal: three shields joined at the base, each containing the De Roches arms. Legend: 'Johanna de Roches.' This forms one of the illustrations.

The Hampton family here mentioned were lords of the manor of Eldstoke or Stoke Charity. In 1370 this same Thomas de Hampton presents to the living [Wykeham's Register, i. 38 and 74]. In 1384 Wykeham, in his licence to Sir Bernard Brocas to enable him to grant a house and 72 acres of land in Eldstoke to the Brocas Chantry in Clewer Church, recites that Sir Bernard held them of John, son of Thomas de Hampton, who held the manor of the Bishopric of Winchester, by service of two Knight's fees [see p. 307]).

20 Hen. VII. Ap. 12, 1505 (on paper). **294.** *Agreement made by William Brocas* (3) *with the Abbot and Convent of Hide to grant a lease for* 81 *years of Brocasmede, in Old Stoke* [*Eldstoke*], *under a bond of* 40*l*.

Hec indentura facta xii° die Aprilis an. r. r. Henrici Septimi xx° inter Wil^m^ Brocas de Stevyngton in Com. Suth^n^ arm. ex parte una et Ric^m^ abbatem monasterii S^ti^ Petri de Hida juxta Civitatem Wintonie et ejusdem loci Conventum ex parte altera, testatur quod idem Wil^s^ tradidit &c. pref^r^ Abbati et Conventui unum pratum in Olde Stoke juxta Weston et Micheldever in Com. pred° una cum vesturis ejusdem prati cum pert^s^ vid^t^ tam in arbagio et pasturis post falcacionem quam antea, quod quidem pratum est parcellum manerii de Stevyngton pred. vocatum Brocas mede: hab^m^ et ten^m^ predictum cum vestura ejusdem omni tempore anni ut permittatur cum omnibus eidem prato pert^s^ Abbati et Conventui et Successoribus suis a fest. S^ti^ Mich. . . . usque ad finem term. xxxi. annorum. Redd° inde ann^m^ xvi^s^ ad duos anni term^s^ &c.

Noverint universi per presentes me Wil^m^ Brocas de Stevyngton in Com. Suth^n^ arm. teneri et firmiter obligari Ric° Halle, abbati Mon^i^ S^ti^ Petri de Hida juxta Winton et ejusdem loci Conventui et eorum Successoribus in xl^li^ sterl. solvendas eisdem Abb. Convent. et Success^s^ suis in fest. Nativ. Dom^i^ prox. futuri &c.

Condicio istius obligationis talis est quod si infranominati Abb. et Conv. et Succes. sui habeant &c. quoddam pratum voc^m^ Brocas mede absque per-

turbatione seu contradictione alicujus persone quarumcunque: et etiam si infra obligatus Wil^s ex parte sua juste et fideliter tenuerit &c. omnes et singulas conventiones ex parte sua tenendas juxta tenorem &c. quod ex tunc et cetera.

(This shows that William Brocas [3], the last male in the elder branch, though 'of Beaurepaire,' as we see by the next deed, preferred to style himself of Steventon in this deed. Though near Weston and Micheldever, about 5 miles from Steventon, the meadow passed with that place.)

21 Hen. VII. Sept. 4, 1505. **295.** *Grant of the above or another meadow from same to same, for 21 years for 20s. per annum.*

Hec indentura facta iv^o die Septembris an. r. r. Henrici Septimi xxi^o inter Wil^m Brocas de Beaurepeyr in Com. Sutht. arm. ex parte una et Ric^m Abbatem monast. S^ti Petri de Hida &c. et ejusdem loci Conventum ex parte altera, testatur quod idem Wil^s . . . dimisit prefato Abb. et Conv. unum pratum jacens in Olde Stoke &c. hab^m &c. prefato Abbati . . . a festo S^ti Mich^s . . . . prox. . . . . usque ad finem termini xxi. ann. . . . . redd^o &c. xx^s &c.

34 Hen. VIII. May 7, 1542. **296.** *Exemplification under the Royal Seal of a Plea of Trespass committed by Richard Waller, Peter Sone, 'yeoman,' and Richard Drelker, all 'late of Oldstoke,' on Richard Pexsall's land at Oldstoke, called Brocas-mede.*

The Plea sets forth that the three persons abovenamed had broken down Pexsall's fences, trodden down his herbage, and committed *alia enormia*, to the value of 10*l*., 'contra pacem Domini Regis' at Oldstoke. The Court admits his Plea, and assesses damages &c. at 7^li 2^s 4^d: 'et predicti Ric. Waller &c. capiantur.'

(On the seal of the King's Court the royal arms are supported by greyhounds, which seem to have been added in the reign of Henry VII. to the original matrix of a much earlier date.)

35 Hen. VIII. May 7, 1543. **297.** *Award of Sir Wm. Paulett, Lord St. John, and Edward Griffin, concerning the right to Brocasmede in Oldstoke, disputed between Richard Pexsall and Richard Waller.*

'Hereafter ensuyth certen artycles of award made by the Right Honourable Syr Wil^m Paulett, Knight of the most Honourable Order of the Garter, Lord S^t John, & Chamberlyn to the Kyngs majestye, & Edward Griffin Esquyer, arbytrators indifferently elected and chosen by the mutuall assent and agrement of Richard Pexsall & Rich^d Waller, esquyers, to arbyt, award, judge, & deme of, for & upon the right, title, interest, & possession of one medow in Olde Stoke in the Co. of South^n callyd Brocas-mede, otherwyse callyd Long Medow.'

(It is unnecessary to print this paper. The award is wholly and unreservedly in favour of Pexsall. Waller is to relinquish all claim to the meadow, to warrant Pexsall against all disturbance by a deed properly executed, to see that he has proper ingress and egress to the meadow from Steventon, and to pay him 6*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. for the expense to

which he has been put by the suit. Both seals remain, as well as the signatures of the arbitrators: 'William St. John' over a seal as follows: In fess point a cross patée, surrounded by the letters R O S F: 'Edward Gryffyn,' over a shield—a griffin segreant. There is nothing to show the ground of Waller's claim, except what we may guess from the fact that the Convent of Hide, which had enjoyed the lease, presumably renewed since it terminated in 1526, had been recently dissolved, and Pexsall may not have put his just claims in force since that event. Many such transactions were taking place in these years, which afforded an opportunity for an audacious man to step into the place of the dispossessed ecclesiastics. In this case Waller had to pay for it; for he is mulcted both by law and arbitration.

The last of these deeds [298] proves that the Waller family at any rate were determined to have the land, if they had to wait 19 years; for Sir Richard Pexsall sells it in 1562 to William Waller—probably the son of his old antagonist—for 100*l*. Thus the last remnant of the old De Roches property in Eldestoke, or Stoke Charity, which had gone on in the Brocas family for two centuries, now passed away.)

The Borhunte Estates.

37 Ed. III. Nov. 29, 1363.

143. *Sir John de Scures and others, having obtained from John de Borhunte, heir of Sir John de Borhunte, the reversion of Sir John's five manors of Borhunte, Henton, Hanyton, Ædmundesthrop, and Prallingworth, after the death of Mary, wife of Sir Bernard Brocas, the tenant for life, covenant against any disturbance of Sir Bernard and Mary Brocas during their tenure.*

A tous yceux que cestes lettres viendront ou oyront: John de Seures, chivaler, Pieres de Hoo, clerke, Michel Skillyng, Valentin atte Mede, Simon atte Mede, saluz en Dieu; Come John le fils Herbert de Borhunte cosyn et heir John de Borhunte chivaler nadgaires par fin leve en la cour nostre Seigneur le Roi nous ait grante la reversion des manoirs de Borhunte, Henton, Hanyton, Ædmundesthrop et Prallingworth, ove les appurtenances en le Counte de Suthampton, et avoir et tenir a nous et a les heirs le dit Valentin apres la mort Marie la femme Mons. Bernard Brokas: Sachez nous avoir grante a les avant ditz Mons. Bernard et Marie qils ne les assignes Marie ne soient par nous ne par les heirs le dit Valentin ne par autres ciunt nostre estate desormais enproches, molestes, ne greves par cause de nul wast fait en les ditz manoirs ne desormais affaire, mais de tote manere wast soient desormais quites et decharges. En tesmoignage de quele chose a ycestes avons mys nos seals. Done a Westmenster le Mercredy a la veille de Saint Andreu lan du regne le Roi Edouard Tierce puis le Conquest trente septime.

(Five seals: three broken up; the two which remain are identical seals of Sir John de Scures;—a man's head with the head-dress of the period, and legend 'Sigillu' Johannis.' This forms one of the illustrations.

As observed in the Introductory Notice, this document must be taken along with others, viz. Inq. p. m. on Richard Danvers, 36 Ed. III. pt. i. No. 56; Inq. p. m. on Sir John Seures, 38 Ed. III., and Close Rolls, 41 Ed. III. m. 3d., and 1 Ric. II., &c., by which the agency of William of Wykeham, Sir John de Scures, and Valentine atte Mede can be easily traced in passing over the Borhunte estates to Southwick Priory.)

Prallingworth, Prolingworth, or Prowlingworth.

This manor, as we have seen (p. 336), came to Sir Bernard Brocas with Mary de Roches, and was almost the only estate amongst those she brought with her of the inheritance of her first husband, Sir John de Borhunte, which she and Sir Bernard did not part with to Southwick Priory. No deeds concerning it have been found, but it continued in the Brocas family for three centuries, and a document exists which is endorsed:—'A copie of y^e^ Condycion to Mr. Barton upon the sale of Prolingworth;' and it is dated Sept^r^. 21, 1653. In this paper, 'Pexall Brocas, gentleman' (already noticed in pp. 245, 246), acknowledges himself bound in the sum of 600*l.* to John Barton of Fareham, which he is to pay if the vendors of the estate purchased by Barton, and their heirs, fail to fulfil all the covenants, &c., which form part of the deed of sale. These are, 'Thomas Brocas, Esquire, and Oliver Brocas, and Richard Brocas, sonnes of the sayd Thomas.' If the manor corresponded in extent with the tithing (to which alone the name now applies), this sum of 600*l.* could hardly have represented more than a portion of the price paid; for the tithing takes in not only a part of Titchfield itself, but extends over a large part of that parish. It must have formed at the above date one of the component parts of the Roche Court estate, and been thus protected by settlement, or it could not have escaped the creditors of Thomas Brocas. If John Barton was the father of Roger Barton of Fareham, High Sheriff of Hampshire in 1671, the family must have gone down in the world during the interval of 18 years; for this exceptional Sheriff petitioned to be excused from office on account of the 'meanness of his estate (not exceeding 200*l.* a year), his great charge of children, and his infirmity of body;' but he failed to make any impression on the hard hearts of the members of the Privy Council, who summarily ordered him, on pain of imprisonment, to take up the office.

Steventon.

6 Hen. VI. Feb. 5, 1428.

409. *Grant by Thomas Byflete to his attorneys to give seisin to William and Bernard Brocas and Sir Stephen Popham of* 100^s^. *rent in Steventon.*

Noverint &c. nos Thomam Byflete Arm. attornasse &c., dilectos in Jesu Christo Simon^m^ Alman, Joh^m^ Idewyn, meos veros et fideles attornatos conjunctim et divisim ad deliberandum pro me et nomine meo Wil^o^ Brocas arm., Steph^o^ Popham militi, et Bernardo Brocas aut eorum attornatis plenam et pacificam possessionem de et in quodam annuali redditu centum solidorum de certis terris et tenementis infra manerium de Stevyngton exeunte secundum formam et effectum cujusdam carte mee prefatis Wil^o^, Steph^o^, et Bernardo confecte plenius continentis &c., et gratum habituri quicquid predicti attornati mei fecerunt aut unus eorum nomine meo fecit in premissis. In cujus rei &c. Datum v^o^ die mens. Feb. an. r. r. Henrici Sexti vi^o^.

(This 100^s^ rent was a charge upon the Brocas estate at Steventon belonging to Thomas Byflete and his heirs, and is so mentioned in 1395. Inq. p. m. May 26, 19 Ric. II., on Sir Bernard Brocas.)

6 Hen. VI. Feb. 5, 1428. **113.** *Grant by Thomas Byflete to William Brocas of* 10 *marks rent from lands in Hants, in the case of Byflete's heirs recovering the Steventon rent of* 100*s*.

Omnibus &c. Thomas Byflete arm. &c. Noverit universitas vestra me . . dedisse &c. Wil^o Brocas quendam annualem redd^m x marcarum &c. de et in omnibus maneriis, terris et tenementis meis . . in Com. Suth^n. Proviso semper quod si heredes &c. pred. Thome aliquo titulo recuperaverint versus predictum Wil^m Brocas aut heredes suos quendam annualem redditum e^s exeuntium de certis terris &c. infra manerium de Stevyngton quod ex tunc presens scriptum stet in suo robore et effectu, ac pred^s redd^s annualis x marcarum sit levabilis; aliter ponatur in suspenso et non levetur. . . testibus Wil^o Warbelton, Joh^e Hampton, Joh^e Mottyshunte, Petro Cowdray, et Nich^o Burell et aliis. Datum v^o die mens. Feb. an. r. r. Henrici Sexti v^o.

(Signed 'Byflete' over the seal: a lion's head affronté. Endorsed: 'Mem. quod die et anno superscriptis apud Basyngstoke in presentia Ingelrami atte More, Joh^a atte Hoke, Rogeri Kent, Simonis Alman, et aliorum fide dignorum Wil^e Brocas infrascriptus recepit de Thoma Byflete infranominato nomine seisine sive possessionis annualem redditum x marcarum infrascriptum vi^a et viii^a.')

Sale of Steventon.

Dec. 3, 1648. **411.** *Thomas Brocas of Beaurepaire, Edmund Brockett 'of Beaurepaire gent^n,' and Ed. Peninngton, yeoman of Little Brickhill, Bucks, sell to Peter Hussey, of Lincoln's Inn, Thomas Webb, Thomas and George Mynn of Epsom, Surrey, the twelfth part of the manor, advowson, and premises of Steventon ('in twelve parts to be divided')—a very complicated deed, in which, among other things, Sir Kenelm Digby's debt to the king of* 600*l. is stated to have been assigned on this property in the* 1*st year of Charles I.*

(The consideration is not mentioned. It is only one out of many deeds which were required to pass the whole property to the purchasers, but it is the only one remaining.)

HANNINGTON.

49 Ed. III. July 27, 1375. **289.** *Grant by John de Chadyngton to Sir Bernard and Mary Brocas of the life interest he had received from them in lands at Hanyngton and Clythe.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Joh^s de Chadyngton dedi &c. Bernardo de Brocas mil. et Marie uxori ejus omnia terras &c. que habui ex dono &c. pred. Bernardi et Marie in Hanyngton et Clithe ad term. vite mee &c. . . testibus Radulfo de Norton, Hugone Camoys, mil^s, Joh^e atte More, Ric^o Danvers, Hen^o Holte, et aliis. Datum apud Beaureper die Ven. prox. post fest. St^i Jac^bi Ap^li an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii a Conq. xlix^o.

(Seal: a human foot.)

7 Ric. II. March 1, 1384. **290.** *License from Sir Edward St. John to Sir Bernard Brocas and others to grant the manor of Hanyngton to the Prior and Convent of Southwick.*

Omnibus &c. . . Edwardus de St^o Johanne Domino de Stopeham miles salutem &c. Noveritis me concessisse et licentiam dedisse pro me et hered^s meis Bernardo Brocas mil., Joh^i de Chitterne, cler^o, Petro Golde, Wil^o Hermyte et Hen^o Holte quod ipsi manerium de Hanyngton in Com. Suth^n cum &c. quod de me tenetur dare possint et assignare Priori de Suthwyke et quibuscumque viris religiosis seu secularibus quibus dictis Bernardo, Joh^e, Petro, Wil^o, et Hen^o placuerit: hab^m &c. Priori et Conventui successorum viris religiosis et secularibus predictis in liberam, puram, et perpetuam elemosynam in perpetuum &c. Statuto de terris &c. ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito non obstante. Datum apud Stopeham l^o die Marcii an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. vii^o.

(For some remarks on this Sir Edward de St. John see the next set of Introductory Notices.)

Return by Sir John de Roches on a Commission of Array.

19 Ed. II. June 1, 1326. **142.** *Inquisition held at Winchester before Sir John de Roches and Walter Wodelok as to the amount of estate held in the Hundred of Berthon [Barton] Sacy by different persons, for purpose of Array under the Statute of Winchester.*

Per inquisitionem captam apud Wyntoniam die Lune prox. post fest. S^te Petronille Virg. an. r. r. Edw. fil. regis Edw. xix^o coram dom^o Joh^e de Roches et Walt. Wodelok, arrayatores patris Dom. Regis in Com. Suth^n, per sacramentum Hen. le Gras, Joh^s Heryng, constabilarium, Wil^i Kenne, Walt. Flemyng, Joh^s le Hide, Ric. atte Hurne, Hen. de Hamme, Jacob. le Gaunt, Hen. Drewes, Rob. Tangely, Rog. Fraunkelayn, Wil^i de Tollygh, qui dicunt per sacramentum suum quod Dominus Comes Winton. habet in manerio de Berthon Sacy x^li terre et redd. Thomas Coudray habet in eodem manerio x^li terre et redd.: Edmundus de Sutton habet in Suttone Scoteny x^li terre et redd.: Prepositus Domus S^te Elizabet. jux. Wolvesye habet in manerio de Nortone xxvii^li terre et redd.: Wil. Kenne habet in pred. hundredo xl^s terre et redd. in Pamber.: Thomas de Bedeham habet xi^s terre et redd. in Pamber: Ric^s Kernet x^li terre et redd. in Colemer et est ecclesiastica persona: Prior de Suthwyke habet x^li terre et redd. in la Dene in hund. predicto: Margaret de Mortuo Mari habet x^li terre et redd. in Wordy Mortimer: Rob. Payn habet xl^s terre et redd. in Hydeborne Wordy: et ceteri homines de hundredo de Berthon Sacy ponuntur in parochiis constabilarium. In armis divisis secundum Statutum Wyntonie. In cujus rey test^m pred. Jurati huic scripto sigilla sua apposuerunt.

(This document, though it has no bearing upon the estates of the family, is the only one of its kind in the chest, and may have a certain value in showing how the Statute of Winchester was practically worked. During the years that had elapsed since the Statute was passed a slight change had already taken place in the amount of property which rendered a landholder liable to provide certain arms. The above was an Inquisition made by the Commissioners of Array in connection with the threatening attitude of

Queen Isabella and Mortimer, who were on the point of invading England. Edward, driven to despair, was exhausting his last energies in calling upon Parliaments which would not act, and arraying forces which would not fight. The Writ ordering Sir John to array the county was dated on Dec. 25 of the previous year. Immediately afterwards he was ordered to return the names of all who were of a condition to be called upon to receive knighthood. He was next ordered to march the forces he had levied to Portsmouth [Aug. 15, 1326]. They consisted of 200 foot soldiers, and 400 archers. A little later [Sept. 10] he is employed on some special service in the King's behalf, '*negotiis nostris intendens*,' and his place is taken by another officer. [Palgrave's 'Parliament. Writs.'] We hear no more of him. A fortnight later Isabella and Mortimer landed, and the Revolution took place. The four Writs directed to Sir John de Roches reflect the whole of the preceding events in miniature. Next to Sir John Seures, he seems to have been the person most relied on by the unfortunate King, in the last agonising crisis of his fortunes, to defend the southern coasts from Isabella and Mortimer, the Flemings and the French. Like the De Brocas, the De Roches were always to be found on the side of the Crown.

Bromley, Dorsetshire.

10 Ed. II. Aug. 6, 1316. — **66.** *Quitclaim by Sir Roger Wodelok to William, son of Sir John de Roches, for Bromlegh.*

Pateat &c. quod ego Rogerus Wodelok miles de Com. Suth^{a} &c. quietum clamavi Wil^{o} de Roches, hered^{s} suis &c. omne jus &c. quod habui &c. in manerio de Bromlegh juxta Abbotstoke in Com. Dors. &c. Concessi eciam ac remisi pred^{o} Wil^{o} omnia catalla mea tam mobilia quam immobilia in pred^{o} manerio inventa cum carucis junctis; et cum omnibus aliis fructibus in terra dicti manerii crescentibus una cum omnibus aliis &c. ibidem inventis &c. . . testibus Dom. Joh^{e} de Escures, Thoma de Warblyngton, Hugone de Brayboef, Ric^{o} de Borhonte, Joh^{e} de Launes, militibus, Joh^{e} de Basing, Ric^{o} de Denemede, Andrea Payn, Rob^{o} de S^{to} Quyntino, Wil^{o} de Bares, et multis aliis. Datum apud Wyntoniam die Veneris prox. ante fest. S^{ti} Laurencii an. r. r. Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi x^{o}.

(In 1400 the Brocases held Bromley of Sir Hugh Waterton Kn^{t} [see Inq. p. m. on Sir Bernard Brocas] in right of Katherine his wife, as of the Abbey of Sherborne. This deed, taken along with deeds 67 and 69 of 1336 and 1354, show evident marks of the property having been subject to the disputes treated in the Introductory Notes. Wodelock, in 1316, and Ida de Plecy, in 1354, have acquired some claims on it which they relinquish, and Ralph Gorges distinctly states that he had had lands granted him in the manor by Sir John Dummer himself. The De Roches cannot, therefore, be called litigious for asserting their rights.)

12 Ed. II. Feb. 2, 1318-9. — **141a.** *Copy of a record of an attempted arbitration in the dispute between Sir John de Dommer and John de Roches.*

Come Mons. Johan de Dommer clayme estre droyt heir de les teres que feurent jadys a Sire Hereberd de Caune e Johan de Roches en meisme la manere assentu feust par entre le vauntdit Sire Johan de Dommer et Johan de Roches que devereent venir le Jour de la Chandelour a Wyncestre lan du regne du Roi Edouard fitz le Roy Edouard douzieme et mettre eux sur quatre chivaliers et de sus quatre de lingnage de Caune, et si les quatre

Seal of Johanna de Roches, a.d. 1357

(See p. 342)

Seal of Ralph de Gorges, a.d. 1330

(See p. 349)

Seal of Ida de Plecy, a.d. 1354

(See p. 350)

chivaliers ensemblement ou le lingnage avauntdit deissent pour le dit Johan de Dommer que le avauntdit Johan de Roches relessast et suerte lui fist pour tous jours, et si deissent pour le dit Johan de Roches que le dit Sire Johan le fyst en meisme la manere [illegible]. A meisme le jour et se mistrent si com covenaunt feast: a queu chose les chivalliers responderent et la lingnage avauntdit que eux ne voylleent dire ne pour le une part ne pour lautre si les parties ne se voilleent lyer a ester a lour esgard et a lour jugement.

Johan de Roches respondist que volontiers et fust un obligation; fest que lui et Willam son fitz feussent lyetz au deux cens livres: et Sire Johan de Dommer dit quil avet sa tere donee a Richard son fitz par quer il ne se poyt lyer a garde feust que le dit Richard se liast oveske soun piere auxi bien come le fitz Johan de Roches se lya oveske soun piere qui feust autre si bone conditioun come il feust: le dit Richard respondit quil ne se voileit mie lyer oveske soun piere: dounks pareit il bien que ce feu graunte varet. Et le dit Richard bouta avaunt une endenture, et pria que Johan de Roches le vouleit enseler, e quil avet en convenaunt de le fere. Johan de Roches respondit que lendenture ne vouleit il mye asseler e que ceo ne feu mye soun covenaunte, et a cela ly monstra une lettre a sele de soun seal que le teismonia, et le dit Richard le reconnust que ce feu son fait; et sur tiel poynt desparurent il. En temoiniaunce de [qele chose] nous quatre chivaliers avomps mys nos seaulx ensemblement oves autres Johan de Scures, Richard de Bourhunte, Hughe de Brayboef, Richard de Suttone, chivaliers, Johan de Warbeltone, Johan de Basinge.

10 Ed. III. Feb. 27, 1336.

67. *Quitclaim by Ralph, son of Sir Ralph Gorges, to Sir John de Roches for lands in Bromley which he had received from Sir John de Dommere.*

Omnibus &c. Radulphus de Gorges fil. Radulphi de Gorges mil. &c. Noveritis me &c. quietum clamasse Dom. Johe de Roches milti totum jus meum &c. in terris &c. de Bromlegh &c. juxta Brodewyndelsore que habui ex dono &c. Domini Johis de Dommere mil. &c. . . testibus Dominis Theobaldo Russel, Bartholomeo de Insula, Johe de Glammorgan, militibus, Thoma Burghunte, Galfrido de Raunvyle, Nicholao Stake, Wilo Brutun, Wilo Savage, et aliis. Datum apud Everlonde die Martis prox. post fest. Sti Petri in Cathedra an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii post Conq. xo.

(A good seal of Gorges. Legend, 'S. Radulphi de Gorges.' This forms one of the illustrations: Sir John de Roches is now in possession of Bromley, his son William having been for some years 'idiota.')

19 Ed. III. Sept. 29, 1345.

68. *Lease by Sir John de Roches to Peter Cuppyng of Bromley manor, and of the stock upon it, for which the latter has to account at the end of the term of twelve years.*

Cest endenture testmoyngne que Monsr John de Roches aad lesse son maner de Bromlygh en Dors. a Pieres Cuppynge aterme de dusze aanz com

piert par une endenture entre eux fait, ensemblement ove son estor del dit maner; de respondre aldit Mons. Johan quant les dusze aanz seyent playnement acomplitz apres la date de ceste de auxi bon estor com ledit Pieres laad ressu ou depres: cest a saver quatre vaches precio xxii^{s}, et ii genitz precio xi^{s}, et i bouet [a young ox] p^{o} iiii^{s}, et quatre veaux p^{o} iii^{s}, et i affre femel p^{o} vii^{s}, et i senglir p^{o} iii^{s}, et ii truyes p^{o} v^{s}, et xi porceaux p^{o} xiii^{s} viii^{d}, et xiiii porceaux petits p^{o} vii^{s}, et xix mutons p^{o} xxii^{s}, et xxviii meyre berbitz p^{o} xxviii^{s}, et viii agneaux p^{o} iiii^{s}, et quatre oes p^{o} xvi^{d}, et ii plaustres [waggons] p^{o} xx^{s}, et i karm [? meaning] p^{o} xii^{d}, et ii charues p^{o} ii^{s}, et i dragge [heavy harrow] p^{o} xii^{d}, et ii herces p^{o} ii^{s}, et quatre tonels voydes p^{o} iiii^{s}, et i pot darayn [brass] p^{o} iii^{s} 6^{d}, et i paiele [pan or skillet] p^{o} xviii^{d}, et ii paieles p^{o} xviii^{d}, et i bacyn et i levour [washing stand] p^{o} xviii^{d}. En testmoyngniaunce de qele chose ledit Mons. Johan et le dit Pieres entrechangablement ont mys leur seals. Escrit a Bradelygh en la feste Seynt Michael Larchangele laan du regne le Roy Edward Tierce apres le Conquete nonyme.

28 Ed. III. Feb. 12, 1354.

69. *Quitclaim by Ida, widow of Sir John Plecy, to Johanna, widow of Sir John de Roches, and to Sir John Borhonte and Mary his wife, for Bromley.*

Omnibus &c.: Ida que quondam fuit uxor Domini Joh^{is} de Plecy mil. &c. Noveritis me in pura et legitima viduitate mea et plena potestate mea &c. quietum clamasse domine Johanne que fuit uxor Domini Joh^{is} de Roches mil., Domino Joh^{i} de Borhonte militi, et Marie uxori sue, hered^{s} &c. ipsius Marie totum jus &c. in toto manerio de Bromlegh &c. juxta Brodewyndesore in Com. Dors. quod quondam fuit dicti Domini Joh^{is} de Roches mil. In cujus rei test^{m} huic presenti scripto quiete clamancie sigillum meum apposui; et ad meum rogatum Joh^{is} Le Spyeyr maior civitatis Exonie et Galfridus Percy sigilla sua presenti scripto apposuerunt: hiis testibus, Joh^{e} de Chydeock, mil., Joh^{e} Mumdeyn, Joh^{e} de Meleplays, Edwardo de Wouth, Joh^{e} Larkestoke, et multis aliis. Datum apud Exon. x^{o} die mensis Febr. an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii a Conq. xxviii.^{o}

(Three seals: [1] broken; apparently the seal of the city of Exeter; [2] three shields joined at the base, which forms one of the illustrations; [3] a rose.)

The deeds following—viz. 70, 153, 156—are three deeds of the same year, 35 Ed. III. (1361), by which Sir Bernard Brocas and Mary, his wife, pass their manor and lands at Bromley to their attorneys.

35 Ed. III. May 7, 1361.

70. *Appointment by Sir Bernard and Mary Brocas of Geoffrey Spencer as attorney to receive seisin of all lands &c. in Bromley which have descended to them there from Dame Johanna de Roches.*

A tous que cestes lettres verrount ove orront: Je Bernard Brocays et Marie sa femme saluz en Dieux: Sachez nous avoir ordeigne et feat nostre

Seal of Sir Bernard Brocas, a.d. 1361

(See p. 351)

Seal used by Mary de Roches, widow of Sir John de Bohhunte, after marriage to Sir Bernard Brocas, a.d. 1361

(See p. 351)

Seal of Sir John de Scures, a.d. 1363

(See p. 344)

bien amee en Dieux Geffray Spencer nostre attourne de receyver en nostre nom la seysyne de touz les terres et tenementz, rentes et services ove les appurtenaunces que a nous soumt descenduz en Bromlee de droit la dite Marie apres la mort Dame Johanne de Roches mere la dite Marie : et ceo que le dit Geffray feat en nostre nom come de seysyne prendre nous le tenoms ferm et estable : en tesmoignyaunce de quele chose a yeestes nous avoms mys noz sealz. Donne a Beauraper le Vendredi proscheyn apres la feste de Seynt Croyz en lan de regne le Roy Edward Tierce apres le Conq. trente quynte.

(Seal: broken, but lower portion of Brocas shield remaining.)

35 Ed. III. Sept. 19, 1361. **153.** *Grant by Sir Bernard and Mary Brocas to Sir John de Sengleton and others of their manor of Bromley in trust.*

Sciatis presentes et futuri quod nos Bernardus Brokays et Maria uxor mea dedimus &c. Dom. Joh[i] de Sengleton, Phil[o] de Hoo, et Rob[o] filio Thome de Sengleton heredibus &c. manerium nostrum de Bromlegh cum serviciis tam liberorum tenentium quam nativorum et cum reversionibus cum acciderint et cum omnibus bonis nostris in dicto manerio existentibus eorum pertinentiis universis: hab[m] &c. . . . [Warranty]: . . testibus Thoma de Kingestone, milite, Joh[e] Brocas, Joh[e] de Scures, milit[s], Rob[o] de Hoo, Ric[o] Danvers, Thoma de Mussedene, et Hen[o] Sturmy, et aliis. Datum apud Beaureper in Com. Suth[n] die Dominica prox. ante fest. S[te] Mathei Ap[li] an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii post Conq. xxxv[o].

(Two seals: [1] Sir Bernard Brocas' seal, nearly perfect: shield couchant, bearing the Brocas lion surmounted by the crest of the Moor's head crowned. Legend: 'S. Bernardi Brocas'; [2] shield with three chevronels. This was perhaps an additional coat of the De Roches, used on this occasion by Mary Brocas. Both are given amongst the illustrations.)

35 Ed. III. Sept. 26, 1361. **156.** *Appointment of Geoffry Percy and Geoffry Le Boteler by Sir Bernard and Mary Brocas to give seisin of Bromley to the attorney mentioned in Deed* 153.

48 Ed. III. Sept. 2, 1374. **71.** *Appointment by Arnald Brocas, William Tirwhit, John Sandford, and William Heremite, clerks, and Henry Holte, trustees of Sir Bernard and Mary Brocas, of Roger Bentelowe, as their attorney, to receive seisin for Bromley.*

9 Ric. II. Oct. 3, 1385. **72.** *Lease by Sir Bernard Brocas to William Poyntington and John Firleigh of the manor of Bromley, for* 22 *marks a year rent.*

Hec indentura facta apud Bromeleigh die Merc. prox. post fest. S[te] Mich[s] Arch[li] an. r. r. Ric[i] Secundi post Conq. ix[o] inter Bern[m] Brocas mil. tradentem

ex una parte et Wil^m^ Poyntyngton et Joh^m^ Firleigh recipientes testatur quod pred^s^ Bern^s^ tradidit, &c. pred^s^ Wil^o^ et Joh^i^ totum manerium suum de Bromeleigh in Com. Dors. cum omn^s^ pert^s^ suis exceptis wardis et maritagiis cum acciderint in dicto manerio a die confectionis presentium usque finem xii annorum prox. sequentium . . Redd^o^ inde annuatim &c. xxii marcas &c. Et pred^s^ Wil^s^ et Joh^s^ bene et competenter sustentabunt et manutenebunt aulam, capellam, unam grangiam quatuor copularum et unam domum bover' tres copularum per totum terminum supradictum in manerio predicto: ita quod in fine termini pred^i^ illa dimittet in adeo bono statu vel meliori sicut die confectionis presentium recepit. Et etiam pred^s^ Bernardus concessit prefatis Wil^o^ et Joh^i^ omnia proficua boscorum, excepto quod non prosternabunt quercus neque fraxinos nisi ad housbote, haibote, et housbondrie &c.

22 Ric. II. June 17, 1399.

73. *Lease by Sir Bernard Brocas, junior, to William Frye of Bromley, for life of lessor, for* 24 *marks a year rent.*

Ceste endenture faite par entre Mons^r^ Bernard Brocas dune part et William Frye dautre part tesmoigne que le dit Mons^r^ Bernard ad graunte a dit William le manoir de Bromle en le Counte de Dors. pour avoir et tenir le dit manoir ove toutz ses appurtenances a dit William et ses assignez pour terme du vie le dit Mons^r^ Bernard commenceant le terme al fest de seint Michell^s^ Larch^i^ proschein avenir; rendant ent annuelment a dit Mons^r^ Bernard ou ses assignez a Basingstoke vint et quatre marcs desterlinge &c. Et si [aussi] le dit Mons^r^ Bernard graunte par ycestes que si le dit William ou ses assignez soient oustez du dit manoir par les enfeffez du dit Mons^r^ Bernard ou par les enfeffez de Mons^r^ Bernard son piere quadonqz le dit rent de xxiv marcs pour le temps que le dit William ou ses assigneez soient tenuz hors cessera &c. . . . Done le diseptisme jour de Juyn lan du regne le roy Richard Second xxii^e^.

3 Hen. IV. July 4, 1402.

74. *Appointment by William Brocas of John Trelay as his attorney to deliver seisin of two-thirds of the manor of Bromley and reversion of the third part to William Frye, whose lease had been estopped by the forfeiture of Sir Bernard Brocas, and who had lost one-third of the manor, since it was now Dame Johanna's dower.*

Noverint &c. me Wil^m^ fil. Bernardi Brocas militis, junioris, attornasse et in loco meo posuisse dilectum michi in X^to^ Joh^m^ Trelay attornatum meum ad deliberandum plenam et pacificam seisinam Wil^o^ Frye de duabus partibus manerii de Bromle cum pert^s^ in Com. Dors. una cum reversione tertie partis manerii predicti cum acciderit que Domina Joh^a^ mater mea que fuit uxor pred^i^ Bernardi Brocas patris mei secundum vim, formam, et effectum cujusdam carte mee eidem Wil^o^ Frye inde confecte plenius continetur indentate; dans et concedens quicquid idem Joh^s^ nomine meo

fecerit in premissis ratum et gratum habiturum per presentes. . . . Datum Londonie quarto die Julii an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. iii°.

(Seal: A cock: the Vavasour crest.

W. Frye had not been replaced in his lease since the forfeiture, and required fresh seisin in order to hold it, and as Johanna's dower had now to be taken out of it for her life, William of Denton could only grant seisin of two-thirds of the estate.)

7 Hen. IV. Jan. 1, 1406. **77.** *Grant by Johanna, widow of Sir Bernard Brocas, junior, to William Frye, of her estate in Bromley (her dower of one-third).*

Omnibus X^ti fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Johanna que fuit uxor Bernardi Brocas mil. jun. &c. Noverint &c. me prefatam Joh^m concessisse Wil^o Frye de Com. Devon' totum statum meum quem habeo in tercia parte manerii de Bromle in Com. Dors. . . testibus Humfredo Stafford milite, Joh^e Jew, Rob^o Grey, Joh^e Larkestoke, Rob^o Bemynstre, et multis aliis. Datum i° die Jan. an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. vii°.

(Seal given amongst the illustrations.)

7 Hen. IV. Jan. 2, 1406. **79.** *Appointment by Johanna, widow of Sir Bernard Brocas, junior, of John Trelay as attorney for giving seisin of one-third of Bromley to William Frye.*

(Same seal as 77.)

7 Hen. IV. Feb. 10, 1406. **78.** *Appointment by William Brocas of John Trelay as attorney to give seisin of Bromley to William Frye.*

7 Hen. IV. Feb. 10, 1406. **75.** *Grant by William Brocas to William Frye of the third part of Bromley which Frye was now holding of Johanna for term of her life.* [*He had apparently arranged this with his mother.*]

Sciant &c. quod ego Wil^s filius et heres Bernardi Brocas mil. jun. dedisse Wil^o Frye de Com. Devon duas partes manerii de Bromle in Com. Dors. . . . Concessi eciam &c. prefato Wil^o Frye terciam partem pred^i manerii de Bromle quam idem Wil^s modo tenet ad terminum vite Johanne matris mee ex concessione prefate Johanne &c. Hab^m &c. Redd^o &c. per viii annos ex tunc &c. unam rosam rubeam ad fest. Nat. S^ti Joh^is Bapt. pro omn^s serviciis: et post pred^s viii annos plenarie completos redd^o &c. xxiv marcas ad duos anni term. &c. . . testibus Humfredo Stafford milite, Joh^e Jew, Rob^o Grey, Joh^e Larkestoke, Rob^o Bemynstre, et multis aliis. Datum x° die Febr. an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. vii°.[1]

(Seal: the Brocas crest—a Moor's head and crown, between the letters 'W' and 'B.')

[1] The Sir Humphrey Stafford who witnesses this and other deeds of this date cannot belong to the direct line of the Staffords, Dukes of Buckingham. He is no doubt

13 Hen. IV. May 7, 1412. **80.** *Quitclaim by William Brocas to five trustees for Bromley and lands in Netherbury.*

Omnibus &c. Wil^s Brocas fil^s et heres Bernardi Brocas mil. &c. Noverit &c. me &c. quietum clamasse Wil^o Okerdon clerico, Matheo Stoke clerico, Joh^i Colyn, Thome Norreys, et Joh^i Trelay totum jus meum &c. in manerio de Bromle in parochia de Abbottestoke in Com. Dors. et in omn^s terris et ten^s in Ferlegh et Kyngeslonde in parochia de Nytherbury in eodem Com. . . testibus Umfrido Stafford, Joh^e Turbervyle, mil^s, Joh^e Jew, Rob^o Grey, Joh^e Larkestoke, et multis aliis. Datum apud Bromle pred^o vii^o die mens. Maii an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. xiii^o.

(Same seal as 75.)

6 Hen. VI. Jan. 16, 1428. **81.** *Grant of the same lands as above by trustees to William Brocas and others in trust.*

Sciant &c. quod nos Petrus Sturt, capellanus, Thomas Hurtescote, Hen^s Whityng, et Joh^s Trelay, dimisimus &c. Wil^o Brocas, arm., Steph^o Popham mil., Wil^o Warbelton, Bernardo Brocas, Simoni Alman, et Wil^o Wolston totum manerium nostrum de Bromle in par. de Abbotstoke in Com. Dors. simul cum omn^s terris et ten^s eidem manerio adjacentibus in Ferlegh et Kyngeslonde in par. de Netherbury in eodem Com. . . . quod quidem manerium cum pred^s terris et ten^s inter cetera pred^i Pet^s, Thom^s, Hen^s et Joh^s nuper habuerunt ex dono &c. Wil^i Frye jam defuncti &c. . . testibus Umfrido Stafford, Thoma Broke, mil^s, Wil^o Jew, Wil^o Mounfort, Joh^e Frye, et aliis. Datum xvi^o die Jan. an. r. r. Henrici Sexti post Conq. Anglie vi^o.

(The Bernard Brocas who acts as trustee appears to be William's brother, Bernard of Alton, who is also a witness, on Nov. 1, 1428, at Bramley, Hants.)

26 Hen. VI. Jan. 4, 1448. **82.** *Quitclaim by William Warbelton to William Brocas, senior, and other trustees, of Bromley, Ferlegh, and Kyngeslond in Netherbury.*

Omnibus &c. Wil^s Warbelton arm. &c. Noveritis me &c. quietum clamasse Wil^o Brocas arm. seniori et Simoni Alman . . . totum jus meum &c. in toto illo manerio voc^o Bromele in par. de Abbotestoke in Com. Dors. et in domibus &c. eidem manerio spectantibus. Remisi eciam . . . pref^s Wil^o Brocas et Sim. Alman &c. totum jus &c. que habeo &c. in Ferlegh et Kyngeslond in par. de Netherbury &c. que quidem &c. nuper habui ex dono &c. Petri Sturt, capellani, Thome Hurtescote, Henrici Whityng, et Joh^s Trelay, simul cum Steph^o Popham, mil., Bern^o Brocas arm. et Wil^o Wolston jam defuncto &c. . . testibus Wil^o Bonevyll mil. Rob^o Carant, Rob^o Dyneley, Wil^o Fauconer, arm^s, Joh^e Atte More et aliis. Datum iv^o die Jan. an. r. r. Henrici Sexti post. Conq. Ang. xxvi^o.

(Seal: a Wyvern; 'W' 'W' on either side.)

one of the Staffords of Southwick, whose descendant, Sir Humphrey Stafford, was made a peer by Edward IV. in 1461 by writ, and by patent in 1464, as Lord Stafford of Southwick. In 1469 he was created Earl of Devon, and was beheaded in the rising against Edward IV. in that year.

Bromley Court Rolls.

26, 30, and 31 Hen. VI. 1447–8 and 1453.

83. *Rolls of the Manor Courts of Bromley, Dorset, held (no doubt, but name not mentioned) by or for William Brocas up to* 1453, *when Bernard Brocas begins his 'first Court.'*

Bromele. Curia ibidem tenta quarto decimo die Novemb. an. r. r. Henrici Sexti xxvi°.

[*Short Abstract.*]

The names mentioned are :—

1. Thomas and Alice Fayrchilde : as to a mill ; the stream and house let at 15^{s} rent, with a fine of 13^{s} 4^{d} to renew lease.
2. John and Isabella Danyell : an inclosure called Oklonde, let at 17^{s} 9^{d} for life, at will of lord.
3. Rob^{t} Rawe : land called Wefulschete in Brodfeld, let at 10^{s} 5^{d}.
4. Rob^{t} Bonor : an inclosure called Attecombe, and Coldegh, let at 13^{s} and court suit.
5. Rich^{d} Bagge : land of Bordlond in Le Brodfeld, let at 4^{s} 5^{d}.

Then follow penalties in certain cases.

Lastly : 'Ad istam curiam illud superaltare quod pertinet capelle S^{ti} Mich^{s} in manerio de Bromele tradatur in custodia Rob^{i} Rawe ibidem.'

Then follow three more Courts : (1) on St. Martin's Day, 26 Hen. VI. ; (2) on St. Simon and Jude's, 30 Hen. VI. ; and (3) on All Saints' Day, 31 Hen. VI.

On the back begins a fresh set, thus announced :—

Curia ibidem tenta ; prima Curia Bernardi Brocas, Armigeri, xii° die Julii an. r. r. Hen. VI xxxi° (1453).

Bernard's Court Roll is far more copious than the preceding four. The names and places which occur are as follows :—

John Ferle : fealty for 40^{s} rent and court suits.

Henry Crabbe : holds Thos. Kyngeslonde's land ; rent 5^{li} 13^{s} 4^{d} and court suits.

Thos. Ferley :	fealty for Ridon field at 20^{s} rent.	
Rob^{t} Bonor :	—	an enclosure called Belle, let for 18^{s}.
Rob. Larkestoke :	—	pasture called Austyns, let at 7^{s}.
Jn^{o} Tybbes :	—	Matcomb, let at 15^{s}.
Jn^{o} Danyell :	—	Redeton, Cotehay, Eastmore, and Paradise, let at 4^{s} 6^{d}.
Jn^{o} Bonor :	—	Combe, let at 38^{s} 11^{d}.
Jn^{o} Cheke :	—	Litel Margoste, let at 5^{s}.
Thos. Fayrchylde :	—	mill, let at 15^{s}.
Rob^{t} Rawe :	—	lands, let at 3^{li} 17^{s}.
Jn^{o} Ferle and H. Crabbe :	—	lands, let at 6^{s} 8^{d}.
&c. &c.		

(This Bernard Brocas was William's son by his second wife, Johanna Sandes. He was the husband of Philippa, and died 1488.)

7 Ed. IV. July 7, 1467.

84. *Grant by Bernard Brocas to Sir William Hastings, Lord de Hastings, Ralph Hastings, and others, of Bromley, Ferlegh, and Kyngeslond, in trust for the use of himself and his wife Philippa.* (*This 'use' is not stated in the deed, but recited in deeds* 85 *and* 86.)

Sciant &c. quod ego Bernardus Brocas arm. dedi &c. Will^o^ Hastynges mil., Dom^o^ de Hastynges, Rad^o^ Hastynges, arm., Thome de la Mare, arm., Cristoforo Hanyngton, gentilman, et Joh^i^ Carter, manerium meum de Bromeley &c. in par. de Abbotestoke in Com. Dorset, ac eciam omnia terras et ten^as^ mea . . . voc^as^ Ferlegh et Kyngeslonde in par. de Netherbury in Com. pred^o^ &c.: hab^m^ . . . [Warranty]: . . testibus Joh^e^ Poxwell, gentilman, Thoma Cherde, dyer, Rob^o^ Bower, Joh^e^ Crabbe, Thoma Rawe, Hen^o^ Davy, et multis aliis. Datum apud Bromeley pred^m^ vii^o^ die Julii an. r. r. Edwardi Quarti post Conq. Angl. vii^o^.

(Seal: A man's head in profile.)

3 Hen. VII. April 29, 1488.

85. *Grant by Ralph Hastings and others to Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Winton, and others, of Bromley, Ferlegh, and Kyngeslond.*

Sciant &c. quod nos Radulfus Hastynges, Thomas De la Mare, mil., Christof^s^ Hanynton et Joh^s^ Carter tradidimus &c. Petro Courteney permis. divina Wynton. episcopo, Will^o^ Hody, mil., capitali Baroni Scaccarii D^ni^ Regis, Reginaldo Bray, mil., Will^o^ Smyth cler^o^, custodi Hanaperii D^ni^ Regis, Ric^o^ Jay, Thome Woode, servientibus ad legem, et Will^o^ Elys, manerium nostrum de Bromeley &c. in par. de Abbotestoke, necnon omnia terras &c. voc^as^ Ferlegh et Kyngeslond in par. de Netherbury &c. que nos prefati . . . nuper habuimus . . . simul cum Will^o^ Hastynges mil^e^, D^no^ de Hastynges jam defuncto, ad usum Bernardi Brocas arm. et Philippe uxoris ejus, et hered^s^ de corporibus eorum legitime procreatis. Hab^m^ &c. prefato Petro &c. ad usum supradictum. Sciatis insuper nos pref^s^ Rad^s^ Hastynges &c. deputasse &c. Will^m^ Coofold et Simonem Lambale nostros &c. attornatos &c. ad manerium, terras &c. intrandum, et inde poss^m^ et seisinam vice et nominibus nostris capiendum; et post hujusmodi possessionem sic inde captam &c. plenam et pacificam posses^m^ pref^s^ Petro &c. deliberandam &c. . . testibus Joh^e^ Hasard, Nic^o^ Batyn, Thoma Betewyn, Joh^e^ Bylk, Joh^e^ Russell, et multis aliis. Datum penultimo die Aprilis an. r. r. Henrici Septimi post Conq. Angl. iii^o^.

(One of the three seals remaining has a bull's head, the well-known Hastings badge: the others are unintelligible. This change of trustees to the great Crown officers of Henry VII. seems to suggest that the trusteeship had been vitiated by the execution of Lord Hastings, and required to be created again by legal authority—all the trustees being law officers, except Bray, who was a minister, and Elys, who was Philippa's attorney. See 195. On May 20, three weeks after the execution of this deed, Bernard Brocas died.)

4 Hen. VII. Nov. 15, 1488.

86. *Grant by Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Winton, and others, to Ralph Hastings and a new body of trustees (the two other old ones, as well as Lord Hastings, executed, being omitted, perhaps also dead), of Bromley, Ferlegh, and Kyngeslond.*

Sciant &c. quod nos Petrus Courtency perm. divina Wynton. Episcopus, Wil[s] Hody miles capitalis Baro Scaccarii Dom[i] Regis, Reginaldus Bray miles, Wil[s] Smyth cler[s] custos Hanaperii Dom[i] Regis, Thomas Woode servicus Dom[i] Regis ad legem, Ric[s] Jay servicus ad legem, Wil[s] Elys, tradidimus &c. Rad[o] Hastynges, Nic[o] Lysle, milit[s], Joh[i] Poulet, juniori, arm. Joh[i] Gifford, arm., Ric[o] Kyngesmyll, Edwardo More, Joh[i] Cressewell, et Thome Moleyns manerium nostrum de Bromeley . . in par. de Abbotestoke, necnon omnia terras &c. voc[a] Ferlegh et Kyngeslond &c. que nos &c. nuper habuimus &c. ad usum Barnardi Brocas et Philippe uxoris ejus &c. ex dono &c. Radulphi Hastynges &c. . . testibus Ric[o] Robe, Nic[o] Batyn, Wil[o] Domiton, et Thoma Norfolk et multis aliis. Datum xv[o] die mens. Novemb. an. r. r. Henrici Septimi post Conq. Ang. iv[o].

(Six out of the eight seals are preserved, but of a mean character, and unintelligible.)

5 Hen. VII. Oct. 2, 1489.

88. *Quitclaim by John Brocas and his son and heir apparent, William Brocas, to Ralph Hastings and the rest of the trustees for Bromley, Ferlegh, and Kyngeslond.*

Omnibus &c. Joh[s] Brocas arm. et Wil[s] Brocas, filius et heres apparens ejusdem Joh[s] &c. . Sciatis nos &c. quietum clamasse Radulpho Hastynges Nic[o] Lysle, mil[s], Joh[e] Poulet, jun., arm., Joh[i] Gyfford, arm., Ric[o] Kyngesmyll, Edwardo More, Joh[i] Cressewell et Thome Moleyns &c. totum jus nostrum &c. in manerio de Bromeley necnon terris &c. Ferlegh et Kyngeslond . . testibus Gawino Brocas, Edwardo More, Georgio Dummer, Thoma Leche, et Wil[o] Elys et aliis. Datum ii[o] die Oct[r] an. r. r. Henrici Septimi v[o].

(Gawin Brocas held a Court at Buntingbury-Brocas in 1491.)

5 Hen. VII. Oct. 8, 1489.

87. *Grant by Ralph Hastings and the new trustees of* 14*l. a year rent out of Bromley, Ferlegh, and Kyngeslond to Philippa, widow of Bernard Brocas.*

Omnibus X[ti] &c. . . Radulphus Hastynges miles, Rich[s] Lysle, miles, Joh[s] Poulet, junior, arm., Joh[s] Gifford, arm., Ric[s] Kyngesmyll, Ed[s] More, Joh[s] Cressewell, et Thomas Moleyns, &c. Sciatis nos dedisse &c. Philippe Brocas vidue nuper uxori Bernardi Brocas arm. unum annualem redditum xiv[li] exeuntium de manerio nostro de Bromeley &c. necnon de omn[s] terris &c. voc. Ferlegh & Kingeslond &c. que &c. nuper habuimus &c. traditione et dimissione &c. Petri Courtenay &c.: hab[m] et recip[m] pred[m] annualem redd[m] prefate Philippe ad term. vite sue, &c. solvendum &c. in eccles. parochiali de Bramley in Com. South[n]. Datum viii[o] die Oct[s] an r. r. Henrici Septimi v[o].

Hen. VII. Oct. 12, 1489. { **89.** *Final settlement by John Brocas and Philippa, of Bromley, Ferlegh, and Kyngeslond.*

To all trew X^n people to whom this present wrytying indented shall come to here or se, John Brocas Esq. and Philippa Brocas wydowe late the wyf of Bernard Brocas Esq. send gretyng in our Lord everlasting: Where Raf Hastynges knight, Nich^s Lysle, John Poulet the younger, Esq., John Gyfford Esq., Ric^e Kyngesmill, Edward More, John Cressewell and Thomas Moleyns nowe be enfeffed of & in the manor of Bromeley &c., & in the landes called Ferlegh and Kyngeslond &c. which sumtyme were the foresaid Bernard Brocas Esq. &c. and also where the forseid Raf &c. by there dede, &c. bearing date the viii^th day of October the v^th yere of the regne of Kyng Henry the vii^th have granted unto the seid Philippa an annuell rent of xiiii^li yerely to be paied unto the seid Philippa during her life . . . Know ye that the entent of the seid feffement is that the forseid Raf & other before named to feoffes shalbe and stonde feffed during the lyf of the seid Philippa for duez contentacion of the seid annuite, &c. & also to thentent to suffer the seid John Brocas and his assigns to take and perceyve the issues & profits yerely growyng & comyng of the seid manor, lands &c. during the life of the said Philippa, therwith to content & pay the seid annuite &c. & after the dethe of the seid Philippa of the seid manor, &c. to make estate unto the forseid John Brocas his heirs & assignes, or unto such as he shall lymit & appoint &c. Whereof . . . the forseid John Brocas and the seid Philippa have sett their sealls: Yeven the xii^th day of Octobir the v^th yere of the regne of Kyng Henry the vii^th.

(These estates, after descending to Sir Richard Pexsall of Beaurepaire, disappear from the lists of the Brocas properties between 1555, when he held a Court at Bromley, and 1572, when he died.)

5 Hen. VII. June 2, 1490. { **119.** *Receipt for 7l. from Philippa, widow of Bernard Brocas, to John Brocas.*

Noverint &c. me Philippam Brocas viduam nuper uxorem Bernardi Brocas arm. recepisse &c. de Joh^e Brocas arm^o vii^li de quodam annuali redditu indebito in fest. Pentecoste ultimo &c.

6 Hen. VII. May 25, 1491. { **195.** *Receipt for 7l. from William Elys, as Philippa Brocas' attorney, to John Brocas.*

Noverint &c. me Wil^m Elys de Bromley in Com. Sutht^n yeman, verum et legit. attornatum Philippe Brocas de Shirborne Cowderay in Com. pred^o vidue, et in hac parte legitime deputatum recepisse &c. de Joh^e Brocas seniori, arm^o, vii^li &c. ad usum et in nomine pred. Philippe Brocas &c.

NOTE UPON THE FOREGOING DEEDS FROM 1453 TO 1491. — The estate in Bromley of Bernard, son of William Brocas of Beaurepaire by Johanna Sandes, commencing in 1453, when he holds the Court, is formally settled on him at his marriage with Philippa before 1467, in which year he appoints as trustees Lord Hastings, Sir Ralph Hastings, and others. In 1488, when he dies, *s. p.*, after several changes of the trust, the estate is secured to the Brocases of Beaurepaire, who engage to pay to Philippa 14*l.* a year for her life. Bernard's apparently Yorkist politics, as shown by his friendship with Lord Hastings, are noticed in Book III., and his monument is there described. It may be added here that in 1486 he was appointed by Bishop Wayneflete Bailiff of the lordship of Highclere for life, and was to receive 10 marks yearly for his services. (F. J. B.)

Part II.

SECTION I.

GENERAL NOTICE OF THE HAMPSHIRE ESTATES ACQUIRED BY THE BROCAS FAMILY IN THEIR OWN RIGHT.

Froyle, Basingstoke, the Basing Estate of Peter de Roches, Beaurepaire, and the adjoining Estates.

Having reviewed the various estates which came into the hands of Sir Bernard Brocas with Mary de Roches in 1361, we are now to deal, by the help of the deeds which follow, with the properties which the family acquired for themselves in the county of Hampshire. Sir John de Brocas, as we have seen, though he was surely more rightly designated as 'of Clewer,' 'of Windsor,' 'of Bray,' or of the counties of Berks or Surrey, is spoken of in a Hampshire deed as 'of County Southampton.' The grounds for this nomenclature are that he had a property in Froyle, which he passed on to Sir Bernard, and of which we know nothing whatever, though it remained in the family for centuries; another in Basingstoke, which descended in the same manner, and of which we know a little more; and a third in 'Basyngges, Basynstock, Benetfeld, Clyve, and Estrop,' purchased by him from Peter de Roches, which he held for only a few years. He had acquired all these before obtaining for himself and his heirs the estate of Beaurepaire, in remainder after the life estate of his brother. This was a provision for his second son, Sir Bernard, in making which, as already said, it is probable that he only took a formal place.

The special property in Basingstoke may perhaps be identified with the forfeited lands of William Hode, granted by Edward III. to John Brocas in 1337, the nature of which is not specified in the grant, but only in a general way as 'lands and tenements in Basyngstok.' But it is more probable that Sir John de Brocas got rid of the estate, for we cannot connect it in any definite way with the only deeds which survive in connection with this town. Of those deeds, the undated one, apparently preserved for title, refers to an estate of twenty-seven acres of land and meadow 'in Basingstoke,' which had become the property of Alice de la Clyth and her son Peter. This, or some portion of it, may be the estate which gave its name to William de la Viable, a person of some importance in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. The second deed is a grant of Vyable place and Vyableslondes, together with two shops in the town, made to Sir Bernard Brocas in 1392, by (apparently) the trustees of Robert Anne of Basingstoke. In both cases the Bailiffs of the town are mentioned officially, or by name; and many personages of the period naturally find a place as witnesses in these papers—amongst others the great Chancellor Walter de Merton,[1] the founder of the University Collegiate system.

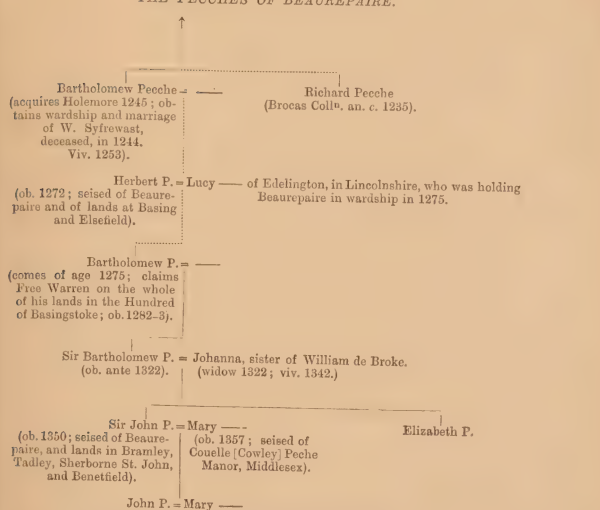
[1] Bishop Hobhouse, in his interesting sketch of the life of Walter de Merton, has put his claims to the gratitude and admiration of posterity in the following words: 'Merton was the first incorporation of any body of persons for the purpose of study in this

Two years later than the Royal grant of Hode's forfeited lands we find John Brocas and his wife obtaining, by way of Fine, from Peter de Roches, an estate in the places above named, which Peter himself acquired from John de Champayne and Nicola his wife, in 1323–4. If this was one of the Gascon family of Champaine, it is a curious combination of the three families of foreign extraction in making an English settlement. The estate consisted of 1 messuage, 2 mills, 133 acres of land, 3 of meadow, and 20 of pasturage, with 16s. rent; and was settled upon young John Brocas in tail, with remainder to the heirs of his father. This was what John Brocas, the father, destined at that date to be the chief provision for his family; and with that view he established his son at Estroper, of which place the latter designates himself when witness to a deed of Sir Fulke de Coudray in 1351 —'John Brocas de Estroper.' The plan was, however, frustrated by the death of this John in 1352, unmarried. In the next year Sir John acquires, with the help of his brother, Beaurepaire, which was to be settled on Sir Bernard Brocas; and Oliver being already, with his son John, provided for, the property acquired from Peter de Roches is sold in 1357 to Sir John de St. Philibert, and we hear no more of it.

Beaurepaire, as has been said in Book II., was a manor taken out of those of Sherborne St. John and Bramley. It was first known by the name which it has ever since retained when it became the property of the Pecches, a name common both in France and England, and which may, in medieval times, be discovered in Durham, Kent, and Derbyshire. We must therefore first notice the Pecche family, who formed it into a manor, marking the descent of the properties by dotted lines, our materials not being yet sufficient to give decisive relationships.

kingdom, and exhibited the first effort to raise the condition of the secular clergy by bringing them into close connection with an academical course of study. He borrowed from monastic institutions the idea of an aggregate body living by common rule, under a common head, with all things needful, &c.; but differenced by giving his beneficiaries quite a distinct employment, and keeping them free from perpetual vows. They were to labour *in sæculo*.' This was in the mind of Sir Henry Savile, the celebrated Warden of Merton, when he placed the following inscription on his Founder's tomb in Rochester Cathedral: '*Re unius: exemplo omnium quotquot extant collegiorum fundator.*' We may presume that, as none of the great places to which Walter de Merton attained in middle and later life are mentioned, the date must be assigned to the earlier portion of his career. His family history is tolerably well known, or at any rate that of his mother, who was a Basingstoke lady, by name Cristina, the daughter of Walter Fitz-Oliver, and related to the Herierds and Fitz-Aces. From her he received the estate in that town on which he founded, with a handsome endowment, the well-known Hospital of St. John the Baptist, for poor and imbecile priests. Both his parents were buried in the paris church of S. Michael; and at Basingstoke several of his seven sisters found husbands. Three of these husbands are mentioned, or appear as witnesses, in Brocas deeds: Thomas de Worting, John le Waleys, and Peter de la Clyth. As it was his own sister Alice who married Peter, the undated deed signed by Walter de Merton would seem to concern her, and her son, named after his father; and it might be *c.* 1240–50. A deed witnessed by so great a man as the founder of Merton College is a valuable possession. Thomas de Worting, it may be added, witnessed several Brocas deeds. He was one of the leading men of the county.

THE PECCHES OF BEAUREPAIRE.



These Pecches were a branch of a great family which held no fewer than three Baronies in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and by some writers they have been identified with the Warwickshire family described by Dugdale; but it would appear from the deeds before us that they were a separate branch from any of the others, though probably coming from Warwickshire. Six successions, perhaps generations, are found at Beaurepaire. Two of the family appear in the deeds with the name of Bartholomew, with Herbert between them; a third Bartholomew was a knight; Sir John Pecche and another John close the series. The first Bartholomew Pecche was much employed in Gascony by Henry III. as ambassador and in other offices, and perhaps from the proceeds of these found himself able to establish a position of his own in Hampshire. The earliest deed we have is one by which Robert, son of William de St. John, conveys to this Bartholomew eleven acres of his moor-land called Holemore, which at a later date was incorporated into Beaurepaire Park, being then the property of Henry Atte More. It lay near Pecche's other 'lordship,' which William de St. John had conveyed to him, and was on the road to Sherborne Priory, lying also near Montfichet's and Tybot's lands. Bartholomew's son

would seem to have been Herbert, whose wife's Christian name is Lucy. He died in 1272 seised of a hide of land in Schirburne St. John, called Beaurepaire, another hide of land at Basing, and 60 acres of land and woods at Elsefield.[1] He was succeeded by the second Bartholomew, and he by a third, who married Johanna de Broke, sister of William, a 'Magister,' who signs one of the deeds by which Johanna's son, Sir John, makes a settlement on his mother and sister. This Bartholomew was found at his father's death to be his son and heir, aged 3½ years. He was excused from the obligation to take up his knighthood for a few months in 1312, but did not escape. In 1316 he is found seised of Colcham, Hillingdon, and Cowley, in Middlesex. (Parl. Writs.) The name still marks a hamlet, 'Peachey,' near Cowley and Colham Green. It is probable that Sir Bartholomew inherited this estate from his mother. Dame Johanna, his wife, was a widow in 1322, and acts as late as 1342. Sir John is constantly before us as 'lord of Beaurepaire,' and, amongst other ways, as obtaining an estate in Pepirlond, which afterwards became part of the Brocas property. This estate has retained its name, derived from the 3 lbs. of pepper which Isabella de Benfield required by way of 'exchange' for that land, to the present day, the price of pepper at that date making such a rent an appreciable sum. It is this Sir John Pecche who borrowed 200*l.* from Master Bernard Brocas on a mortgage of Beaurepaire, and soon afterwards died.[2] His son John, and Mary his wife, preferred to get rid of the debt by selling the property, for which they received 100 silver marks. The Sir John above mentioned must not be confused with the well-known knight of the same name who held important offices under Edward II. and suffered for his fidelity to that unfortunate king. The arms of this ancient family, including those of Beaurepaire, were: Gules, a fess between six cross crosslets argent. The Pecches of Lullingston in Kent, who bore azure, a lion rampant, queue fourchée erm., crowned or, are found in the later middle ages encircling their shield with peach-branches. No doubt the name was sounded in that fashion. After the sale of the estates the family does not appear again in the Beaurepaire neighbourhood, where it had been known for more than a century.

Along with the manor of Beaurepaire were acquired from the Pecches estates in the neighbouring hamlets of Sherborne St. John, Bramley, Sherfield, Chinham, Tadley, Benefeld, and Basing. The deeds will sufficiently explain the growth and changes of these Brocas estates at, and in the neighbourhood of, Beaurepaire. All that bears upon the general history of the family has been noticed elsewhere, or will be found in notes attached to the deeds. Like the documents concerning Roche Court, it has been thought unnecessary to print the numerous Beaurepaire papers which the chest contains, from the later Tudor period downwards. Who would care for them? The simple statement of the general result, arising out of the bewildering complications which took place in the seventeenth century, will of itself sufficiently tax the patience of most. It is equally unnecessary to notice the outlying Hampshire properties which are represented in the surviving deeds, for whatever is known of the matters with which they were concerned can best be conveyed in notes. It remains to say a few words on the Hampshire families whose names occur, wherever any illustrations can

[1] Inq. p. m. 57 Hen. III. No. 4.

[2] Ped. Fin. 24 Ed. III.

COMBINED PEDIGREE OF FYFHIDE, SANDES, AND BROCAS.

(From Sir Thomas Phillips' 'Hants Visitations,' Leland's 'Itinerary,' Brocas Deeds and Monuments, and the Escheats.)

— Fyfhide of Alton = —
(from Fyfield, near Andover).

William Fyfhide = —
of Sherborne Cowdray, or The Vyne (ob. 1361).

Sir William Fyfhide of Sherborne Cowdray, or The Vyne (ob. s. p. 1386–7).

Agnes Fyfhide = —

Johanna — = Sir John Sandes of Cholderton, near Andover, and in 1386–7 of The Vyne (knight in 1339; Sheriff of Hants 1383 and 1395; M.P. for Hants seven times in the reign of Rich. II. Ob. 1395.)
(heiress of the Fyfhides).

Sir Walter Sandes = Agnes —
of Cholderton and The Vyne (Sheriff of Hants 1411 and 1424; M.P. for ditto, 1413, 1414). (ob. 1425–6).

Thomas Sandes = (1) Agnes (d. and heiress of Thos. Warner).
born c. 1404; ob. 1439–40.
= (2) Sibilla — ob. 1445–6.

Johanna Sandes = William Brocas (1) of Beaurepaire.
(second wife); carried The Vyne to William Brocas and his son Bernard.
= (1) Sibilla —

Brocases of Beaurepaire.

Emmeline Sandes = — Grewend of Bedington, Herts.

William Sandys = Edith (d. of Lord Stourton).
b. c. 1438; ob. 1492–3 (apparently recovered The Vyne 1489).

Bernard Brocas = Philippa — 'of Sherborne Cowdray'
of Bromley and The Vyne (ob. s. p. 1488). (viv. 1491).

William Sandys = (1) Margery, d. and heiress of Sir Reginald Bray
(created 'Lord Sandys of The Vyne' in 1523; ob. 1542). (ob. s. p.).
= (2) Katherine, d. of Lord Chandos.

Elizabeth Sandys = Sir Edwin Sandys, of Latimers, Bucks.

Henry Lord Sandys = Jane Sandys.

George Lord Sandys = —

Henry Lord Sandys.

(Note.—Sir Thomas Phillips gives the portion of the Sandes genealogy here extracted from his MSS. from 'a schedule of deeds at The Vyne.' The marriage of Bernard Brocas of Alton to Emmeline Sandes has been assumed as a fact in Book III. from the evidence of Visitations, unvarying tradition, and apparent indications as to deeds and estates; but it appears on further investigation that she has been mistaken by previous genealogists for another Emmeline, mentioned in Close Roll, 7 Ed. IV., who married the grandson of Sir Bernard Brocas [2]. The knowledge that The Vyne came to one of the sons of Sir Bernard with a Sandes partly led to this error, the marriage of William Brocas and Johanna being then unknown.)

be supplied from the deeds to eke out the exceedingly meagre information to be found as yet in county histories. The Saudes family, of which a sketch-pedigree is here given, have been already noticed in Book III.

The St. Johns, Poynings, and Paulets, Lords St. John of Basing.

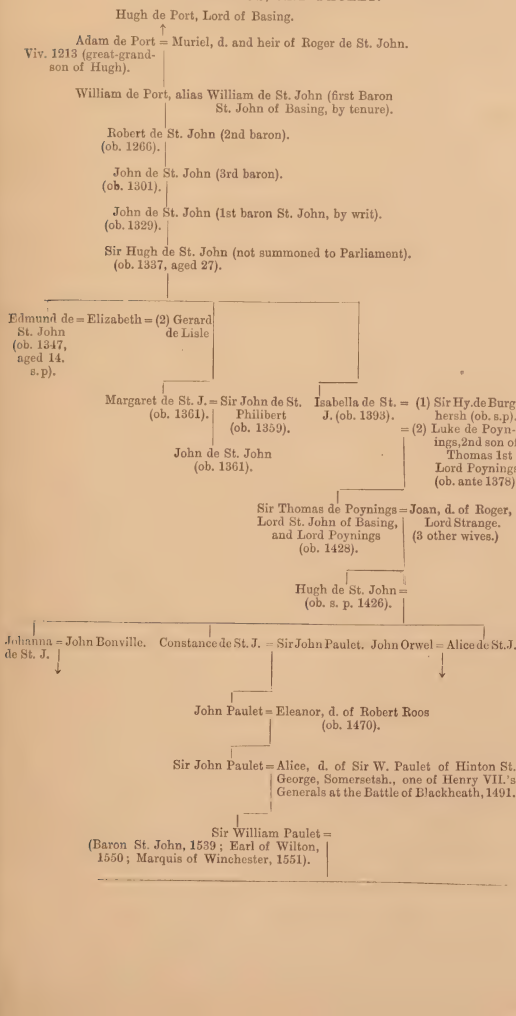
It has been remarked in Book III. that the family of the Lords St. John of Basing were the greatest of all the neighbours of the Brocases—indeed, the greatest of all Hampshire families. Their names occur frequently in the Brocas collection, and though, of course, better known than the others of whom a slight sketch is given in these pages, a short summary of their descent may be acceptable.

Hugh de Port, one of the Conqueror's captains, was rewarded with no less than fifty-five lordships, principally in Hampshire, the chief of which went to form the Barony of Basing. His great-grandson, the fourth baron by tenure, Adam de Port, having married the heiress of Roger de St. John, their son, William, in the early part of Henry III.'s reign, assumed his mother's name in preference to his own, and was styled William de St. John, first baron St. John of Basing. He and his son are the first to appear in the Brocas collection of deeds. Thus we lose sight of the name of Port, before the advent of the Brocases. The next head of the family who appears in the deeds is Sir Hugh de St. John, the fourth in descent from the above William de St. John, and the last male heir who came to man's estate. We find him in a document of 1332, preserved in the Brocas chest, announcing that he has been commissioned by the king to seize the lands of a king's debtor, and to let them out on lease, calling around him the chief gentry of North Hampshire as witnesses.

But though already so long established at Basing, it was only at the end of Henry III.'s reign that the family had obtained leave to "palisade the moat' and fortify the house at 'Basinge Palace,' or to enclose their park at Sherborne from within the bounds of Pamber Forest, at which time it obtained the name of Sherborne St. John. Some years previously the Pecches had occupied that part of the St. John lands which was, and is now, called 'Beaurepaire,' so that the general settlement of the district as afterwards known was not of a very early date, and had not long been concluded when the male line of this important family became extinct in 1347. The original bounds of Pamber Forest could probably still be in great part traced, but, though now broken up, its existence was an important factor in the tenure of all neighbouring properties, making the St. Johns, and others, tenants *in capite* for lands which they had paid for leave to empark or reclaim; and hence perhaps arose the desire for the grant of Free Warren which Sir Bernard Brocas obtained for Beaurepaire in 1363. Bramley, or as it was then called Bromlegh, was also one of the St. John lordships.

The first member of the new family of Poynings whose name appears in the Brocas collection was the Isabella de St. John, who transmitted the estates and title of her ancestors to Luke de Poynings, younger brother of Lord Michael de Poynings, who was summoned to Parliament as second baron of that name in 1868. Isabella's position as sole heir of the Barons St. John of Basing will be understood by the subjoined pedigree, and it is here only

SKETCH OF THE PEDIGREE OF DE PORT, DE ST. JOHN, DE POYNINGS, AND PAULET.



necessary to observe that so complete a collapse of all the senior heirs of her father is a somewhat exceptional circumstance. The father dies young; the son, though he dies *s.p.* at the age of fourteen, was already married; the elder sister Margaret, and her son, die soon after her husband, Sir John de St. Philibert, when her inheritance of half the St. John lands joins the other half in the hands of Luke and Isabella de Poynings. Thus Thomas, the son of these latter, at the death of Isabella in 1393, becomes Lord St. John of Basing.

When, in 1378, this great lady makes her grant of land in her manor of Bramley to Humphrey and Elizabeth Gylot, she is 'Lady de St. John,' apparently residing at 'my park of Basing,' and she is 'Isabella de Ponyngges,' spelling her second husband's name as it is spelt in Wykeham's Register (i. 63) on the occasion of his presentation of a priest to one of his livings. Her first husband, by whom she had no children, was also one of a great family, Henry de Burghersh. She is now for the second time a widow; and her seal bearing three lozenges, containing the arms of Poynings, St. John, and Burghersh, respectively, is given as one of the illustrations, as also the seal of her son, Sir Thomas de Poynings, who signs himself in 1399 (Nov. 27), as 'Lord St. John,' but was never summoned to Parliament. It was to this Isabella that Sir Bernard Brocas was neighbour during all but the whole of his life in Hampshire.

One more knight of the St. John family, but not of the same lineage, appears in 1384, as granting his license to Sir Bernard Brocas for the conveyance of the manor of Hanyngton to Southwick Priory. Sir Edward de St. John was lord of Stopcham, and died a few months (Dec. 9, 1384) after granting the license. He inherited the tenancy *in capite* of Hanyngton through his ancestors from the old family of Launcelevee, already mentioned in relation to the manor of Hoo; but it had been aliened, many years before this license, to the family of De Roches, and had come from them to Sir Bernard Brocas, who, in 1363, obtained a grant of Free Warren in the estate.

When Isabella's descendants, through the failure of male heirs to the baronies of St. John of Basing become commoners, under the name of Paulet, they once more appear as witnesses of Brocas family papers, and continue to do so for two generations. Thus the name of Poynings came into the neighbourhood and disappeared again, like that of Port; while those of Paulet and St. John have survived. On the other hand the name of Sir Edward Poynings, a member of the family, Henry VII.'s able general and deputy in Ireland, has become a part of English history, while all the rest of the name are forgotten.

Constance de Poynings, Isabella's great-granddaughter, carried the Basing estates to Sir John, son of William Paulet, of a Somersetshire family. The son and grandson of Sir John and Constance become occasionally, but not often, sheriffs of their new county. The spelling of the names of these gentlemen in the Brocas deeds betrays extreme uncertainty as to the correct method, being found in four different forms, Powlette, Poulat, Paulette, and Poulet; but they call for no further remark. The marriage of Sir Richard Pexsall with Eleanor, daughter of the Sir William Paulet who became Marquis of Winchester, has been already noticed. It had an important bearing on

the subsequent history of the Brocas family. Lastly, it may be noticed that while the barony of St. John of Basing is still in abeyance between the descendants of the three daughters of Hugh de St. John, several peerages have been acquired by St. Johns descended from this ancient stock.

The Family of Warbelton or Warblington.

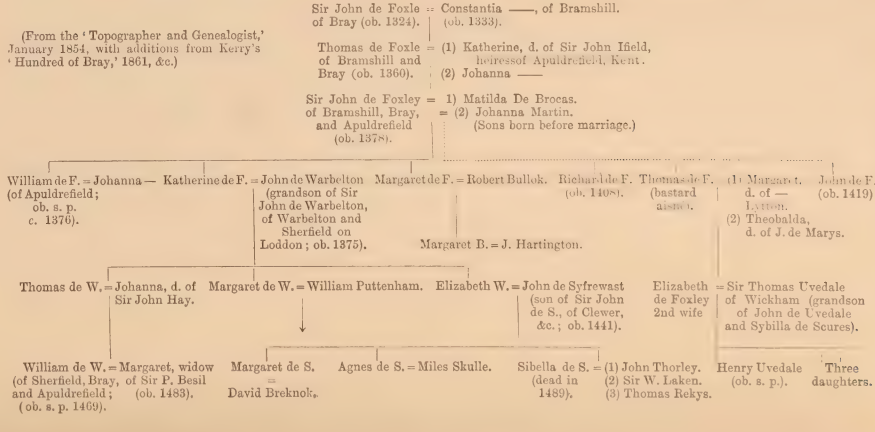
These two names represent the same place, viz. Warbelton in the Rape of Hastings, Sussex, about fifteen miles, as the crow flies, N.W. of that town. A family of great distinction, deriving their name from their tenure of that place, is found in Hampshire in the thirteenth century; and in the fourteenth John de Warbelton, by his marriage with Katherine, daughter of Sir John de Foxle and Matilda de Brocas, becomes related to the Brocas family. His grandson, William de Warbelton, designated as his 'kinsman' by William Brocas, acts as trustee, and in other ways, as a member of the family all through the lifetime of the latter, who leaves him overseer of his will. Between 1406 and 1460 he is found witnessing Brocas deeds no fewer than fourteen times. He was evidently a special friend of the family, coming forward to its help at the critical moment of their fortunes, when the attainder had been removed, and everything depended on the course William Brocas might take in restoring the old position. Like him, William Warbelton served as sheriff of his county more than once, in 1412 and 1451. On the last occasion he must, as an old man, have been called to the front to give his county at that troubled moment the benefit of his experience. The confidence reposed in him is still further shown by his being given in 1456 the constableship of Odiham Castle and wardenship of Odiham Forest. An interesting letter from him to the Duke of Gloucester and the Council in 1431 has been preserved,[1] in which he claims a reward (which he receives) of 20*l.* for being the cause of the capture of 'William Perkins, which called himself Jak Sherp,' at Oxford, a Lollard, who suffered the punishment for treason at Abingdon, his followers being condemned to imprisonment. The friendship of so zealous an anti-Lollard combines with the indications observed elsewhere in this volume to show that the Brocas family indulged no leanings towards the Pre-Reformation. This veteran is the last of the male line of his race, which was for two generations afterwards represented by the Puttenhams, and need not be followed further. His ancestors can be traced for several generations at Sherfield on Loddon, near Beaurepaire, which manor they held originally by Grand Sergeantry of Marshalsea in the king's household. They held along with it that of Warbelton; and they acquired, by marriage, Apuldrefield, in Kent. They had also lands in Chinham, Basingstoke, Stratfield Turgis, Bramley, and Preston Candover, and were thus in close contact with the estates of their Brocas relatives.

Perhaps the most distinguished member of the family was Sir Thomas de Warblington, who flourished at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century. In 1316 we find him witnessing deeds in the Brocas collection as a knight, a rank which is not set against his name in the list of sheriffs, amongst whom he takes a very distinguished place in the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II. But it may be observed that knighthood is

[1] Ellis's *Original Letters*, vol. i. 2nd series, p. 103.

PEDIGREE OF THE FOXLES OF BRAY AND BRAMSHILL, &c., SHOWING THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE FAMILIES OF BROCAS, WARBELTON, SYFREWAST, AND UVEDALE.

(From the 'Topographer and Genealogist,' January 1854, with additions from Kerry's 'Hundred of Bray,' 1861, &c.)



not noted in any case against the names of sheriffs of Hampshire (though many must have been knights) till 1354: a date which suggests that the chivalrous impulses of the age only then began to force the grade of knighthood into a prominence previously unknown. Sir Thomas' years of service are from 1297 to 1301, 1303-1305, and 1307-1312, a period, with very short intervals, of no less than fifteen years. Such a man was, like the old earls, and like Peter de Rupibus before him, and Sir John de Scures after him, more than the mere annual sheriff of a county. In 1302 he was a Royal Commissioner; and in 1310 had the formal custody of the county as well as of Winchester Castle. He would, in short, appear to have been formed in the school of Edward I., and to have been brought forward by that monarch on account of his personal merit. The accompanying pedigree will explain the relationship with one another of the five families of Brocas, Foxley, Warbelton, Syfrewast, and Uvedale.

The De Syfrewasts.

This ancient family, like the Brocases and Foxleys, had a connection with both Berkshire and Hampshire. As lords of Frefolk, they have left their name in the latter, possibly also in the former, county. Frefolk Manor is still legally described as 'Frefolk Syfrewaste,' and in the diocesan records the technical term is 'Frefolk cum Syfrewast.' Frefolk itself, the 'Frigefole' of Domesday Book, was only the name of a manor, with manor-house and chapel. The latter is now the parish church of the united parishes of Freefolk Manor and Laverstoke. In the Brocas deeds the family come before us as lords of Clewer from 1354 to 1384, and we find them in connection with the family by the marriage of John, son of Sir John de Syfrewast, with Elizabeth Warbelton; but beyond this there is no information to be obtained as to their pedigree. The earliest notice of the family given in the 'History of Hampshire' (Woodward and Wilks, ii. 220) is in 1255, when Robert de Syfrewast is found at his death seised of two knight's fees in that county. He leaves a son, William, a minor, whose wardship and marriage are bought by Bartholomew Pecche for 600 marks. We next hear of a knight of the family, Sir John de Syfrewast, taken prisoner at Bannockburn (Cont. Trivet), and may suppose him to have been son of the last named. This was perhaps the same John who was summoned in 1297 to do military service for lands in Somerset and Dorset (Parl. Writs). In the next generation we find a William de Syfrewast and Ellen his wife buying land of Adam Fowler (Kerry's 'Hundred of Bray'); and Roger, in 1354, witnesses a deed of Sir John de Brocas, by which the latter hands over to trustees all his estates in Clewer, Bray, &c. We cannot place these as yet in any pedigree. When Sir John Brocas makes the other family deed already noticed, passing all his estates to his son and son-in-law in trust, one of the witnesses is John de Syfrewast, not yet a knight. But when this John grants a license to Sir Bernard Brocas to assign a portion of his manor of Clewer-Brocas for the endowment of the chantry in Clewer church he is a knight and lord of Clewer. It is possible that this estate of Clewer, held under the king *in capite*, may have been granted to the Hampshire family as a reward for services in the Scottish wars, and this second

knight of the family probably won his spurs in the French wars, since we trace his name in the Gascon rolls. It was evidently a family of gentlemen and soldiers, not of great landed proprietors. Fortunately, the deeds enable us to produce a drawing of the family coat-of-arms. Antiquaries may yet recover a good deal more about these Syfrewasts.

The last male head of the family, the John who married Elizabeth Warbelton, succeeded his father in 1395, and died in 1441. Clewer and Bray had become the principal residences of the family, and we find the last notices of them on brasses still to be seen in Bray church. These are in memory of Sibella, one of the daughters of John de Syfrewast, and of her second husband, Sir William Laken. Through Matilda Brocas' husband, Sir John de Foxley, and through her daughter Katherine Warbelton, Margaret, the eldest of Sir John de Syfrewast's daughters, inherited Apuldrefield in Kent, which she sold.

The De Uvedales.

The De Uvedales, whose name has undergone in different ages several changes, have, like the great majority of the old families mentioned in the Brocas deeds, passed away without leaving their name behind them, except on monuments; but they have been exceptionally fortunate in finding a competent historian in Mr. Granville Leveson Gower, M.P., who has put together all the notices which can be found of the Surrey branch for the 'Surrey Archæological Collections,' and given us a pedigree. Titsey in that county was the seat of Sir John de Uvedale, who, himself of an old Norfolk family, obtained it by marriage with Isabel Etton. His grandson, John, forms the connection with Hampshire and the Brocases, by marriage with Sybilla de Scures, who was the heiress of her father and brother, and thus brought Wykeham to her husband. From that time the family, making that place their chief residence, take a leading position in Hampshire; and the office of sheriff is held at different times by them for three generations. The two John de Uvedales, father and son, and the two sons of the latter, William and Sir Thomas, held the office between them no less than fourteen times, the largest number of any in the 150 years of the later Plantagenets. On several of these occasions the shrievalty of William Brocas interlaces with that of John Uvedale. Wykeham was too far from Sherborne and Bramley to make the signature of Brocas deeds by its lords a common occurrence; but the name appears among the witnesses to the important family settlement of 1429, and once again in another generation. The Sir Thomas 'Ovedale,' who witnesses in 1465, had before this time married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John de Foxle, by Joan Martin. Sir John's first wife had been Matilda Brocas. Thus there were several points of contact between the families, which would naturally be most felt by those of the Brocases who visited most frequently their South Hampshire estates.

But perhaps the most interesting point of connection was the common friendship of Sir Bernard Brocas, and the first John Uvedale of Wykeham, with William of Wykeham. Mr. Leveson Gower rejects the common story of the famous bishop having been brought forward by Uvedale, but he finds that when, in 1384, Sir Bernard and his wife Katherine endowed a Chantry

at Southwick Priory, John Uvedale was present at the foundation; and he is also remembered handsomely in Wykeham's will. The possession of the bishop's native place by the De Scures, and then by the Uvedales, had no doubt been a link between him and both these families, which indeed, through Sybilla de Scures, were the same. Sir John de Scures had, as we have seen, been much concerned in the affairs of Southwick Priory, in which Wykeham himself took a profound interest; and now twenty years after the death of Scures, when Sir Bernard Brocas was disposing of his estates for the spiritual welfare of his relatives and for the enrichment of the Priory, Uvedale, Scures' son-in-law, was assisting at the ceremony. It was, according to the ideas of those times, a natural meeting-point of all three —Wykeham, Brocas, and Uvedale. There was indeed, in a sense, another and earlier meeting-point of the three when Wykeham fulminated his 'Admonitions' against certain persons who had injured Uvedale by cutting down his woods. This is dated December 1, 1377, a fortnight later than the Commission given by the Bishop to Sir Bernard Brocas to be Warden of the Episcopal parks and chases. Both of them are indications of the political aspect of affairs, of which some hints have been given in Book II.

The Wykeham property remained on in the family till 1696, when Elizabeth, Countess of Carlisle, the last survivor of the elder branch, died. Then the ancient family estates were sold. Many of the Uvedales have been buried in Wickham Church, and their monuments are still there. Their old residence called 'Place House' was not pulled down till 1780. 'It stood in a field nearly opposite the church. Some part of the garden wall yet remains, and in a dry season several traces of the foundations are to be seen.' It must have been a 'house of considerable size, and to all appearance had been at one time moated.' One stone of it, with the Uvedale arms, will be found on the outside of the north wall of Winchester College chapel. The name lingered on in Dorsetshire long after it had ceased to be known in Hampshire. This brief sketch may be concluded with the remark that if a few more people were to take the trouble Mr. Leveson Gower has taken in this case, the history of the county might soon be a very different thing from what it is.

The Family of Dabridgcourt or Daubrichecourt.

This considerable Hampshire family suffers, like the rest, from the want of a pedigree; and, having long passed away, the want is not likely to be accurately supplied. Some materials are, however, to be found in Warner's 'Collections for a County History,' and there are a few scattered notices in Woodward and Wilks, which may be brought into some consistency by the aid of the Brocas deeds. The Record Office could, no doubt, furnish much more. For the present it is enough to say that the family came into possession of Stratfieldsaye through the marriage of Sir Nicholas Dabridgcourt with Elizabeth, the heiress of the ancient family of Say, who had given it the name. Geoffrey de Say was the most distinguished of the race, being one of the twenty-five barons appointed in the reign of King John to see that Magna Charta was observed.

Sir Nicholas himself came of a famous stock, being son or grandson of Sir John, an original 'Founder' of the Order of the Garter, whose grand-

father, the lord of Dampredicourt in Hainault, had come to England with Queen Philippa, and married the widow of Edmund, Earl of Kent, Edward III.'s uncle. Sir John Dabridgcourt (the form by which Dampredicourt had become English) was one of Froissart's heroes, and, with Sir Nicholas, comes often before us in the Gascon Rolls. The latter was a somewhat younger contemporary of Sir Bernard Brocas, and in the reign of Richard II. is several times found witnessing the Brocas deeds at Sherborne St. John. He held the office of Constable of Nottingham Castle and Keeper of Sherwood Forest. In 1390 he was Sheriff of Hampshire.

In the next generation Sir John Dabridgcourt is also a frequent witness of William Brocas' deeds. He died in 1427; and it is his widow, Agnes, of the Beckingham family, who is married to William Brocas (2) (*c.* 1440). Her son Thomas is again found as witness to a Brocas deed in 1460, and we find another of the same name Sheriff of Hampshire in 1584. Soon after this we lose sight of the name. The manor of Stratfieldsaye passes into the hands of Sir William Pitt, the ancestor of Lord Rivers; from a younger brother of which Sir William the greatest of English ministers, Lord Chatham, drew his blood. Even before the place became ennobled by the Duke of Wellington's tenure in Grand Sergeantry, it was excelled by few in the possession of great memories; but since that date it may challenge comparison with any other in England. As late as 1795, the house still retained some portions of the ancient Dabridgcourt manor-house.

The Baynards.

The Baynards, who were of an Essex stock, do not commence their relations with the Brocases so early as the families already mentioned, but they continue them down to a much later date. Philip Baynard appears in the lists of Sheriffs, but the family seem to belong to the less important gentry, whose friendship and near neighbourhood bring them into close contact with Beaurepaire. Philip, Robert, and John witness Sherborne St. John deeds, as well as those of Bramley and Pamber, from 1381 to 1460; and are settled at Silchester, where, in 1416, Philip held half the manor, along with property in Pamber Forest, and in 1437, Jocosa, widow of Robert Baynard, makes William Brocas (1) her principal trustee. Perhaps it was through the Silchester Baynards that the Beaurepaire squires acquired property in that place, so interesting to antiquaries, but then probably regarded as only so much land for farms and quarry for building purposes. In the time of the Pexalls and later Brocases the family figure as agents and trustees of the Brocases, and probably no one, not even the Brocketts, knew more about the complicated transactions which ensued upon the proceedings of Sir Pexall Brocas and his son than George and Adiel Baynard.

The Pophams.

No actual relationship has been traced between the Pophams and Brocases; but no family in Hampshire combined a long line of parallel descent and the ties of neighbourhood to Beaurepaire, with a more constant coadjutorship in county affairs, and a more frequent attestation of Brocas

deeds, than this. Their relations began, indeed, with the first establishment of the Brocases at Beaurepaire, where we find that some right in the estate, probably by mortgage, had been acquired from the Pecches by Edward and Agnes Popham, for which Sir Bernard paid, in 1367, 100 marks (Ped. Fin. 41 Ed. III. No. 34); and the connection remained unbroken to the last.

Popham, a little hamlet in Micheldever Hundred, not far from Steventon, gave its name to this ancient family in the time of King John. In the time of Henry III. it divided into two distinct branches in the families of two brothers, the eldest, John Popham, being succeeded at Popham by five generations in the male line: Sir Hugh de Popham, the younger brother, marrying the heiress of Huntsworth in Somersetshire, and being succeeded in the male line at that place (and in modern times at Littlecote in Berks) down to the present day. It was not until the reign of Elizabeth that the junior branch attained to any public importance; the well-known Lord Justice Popham, and the mysterious affair of 'Wild Darrell,' having placed the family name among the legends of England. The Cromwellian general, the judge's grandson, finds a place in history, and the buff coats of his soldiers line the sides of the mighty hall in the great Elizabethan pile of Littlecote, with its acre of roof. His nephew Sir Francis Popham, on the other hand, rode in Charles II.'s coronation procession as Knight of the Bath.

But the elder line with which we are here concerned is entirely forgotten; their connection with Hampshire closed with the fall of the Lancastrian House; and the old medieval mansion has never been rebuilt. Woods and fields still bear the name, and the hamlet still exists; but who remembers the knights who went forth to the Plantagenet wars, the Sheriffs of Hampshire who so often served that office, or the Knights of the Shire who took their part in making the history of England, from the time of Henry III. to that of Henry VI., serving in no less than twenty-six Parliaments? It was evidently a peculiarly active and capable family, making itself more known by its public services than by its alliances or estates; but in no less than four generations out of the five above mentioned its heads are found witnessing De Roches or Brocas deeds; and if we may judge by the sort of deeds and trusteeships in which Sir Stephen Popham is concerned with William Brocas (1), the relations of these two with each other must have been very like those of kin. Sir Stephen was the last male of the elder line. He married a Somersetshire lady, and his four daughters marrying respectively a Hampden, a Barentine, a Wadham, and a Foster the ancient Hampshire estates were entirely dispersed.

The Fabyans.

The Fabyans do not seem, like the foregoing, to have been a county family, but only require notice here as being frequently found in the capacity of witnessing deeds. This probably arose from their local position at Bramley, and connection with Pamber, one of the family, in the early Lancastrian reigns, being King's Lieutenant of Pamber Forest. If Fabyan, the famous London alderman, to whose 'Annals' of the expiring Middle Ages history is so much indebted, was one of the same stock as that of

Bramley and Pamber, there was nothing to be ashamed of in the connection on either side. It is likely enough as to dates.

The Family of De la Cufolde, or Cufaud.

The pedigree of this family discovered in the last century as mentioned above, and now at The Vyne, is dated 1621, and its notices of the medieval members of the house are, as might be expected, of the most vague description, no dates being given, and only in some cases the names of the kings under whom they lived, and the ladies they married. The Brocas deeds bear the signatures of some of these gentlemen; but the earliest is of a date anterior to that of any name which finds a place in the pedigree, and some later names occur which are not on that roll. The spelling of the name in the deeds is also generally different from that on the roll. All this will be best seen from the following abstract. The deeds are concerned with property at Sherborne St. John, Bramley, Chinham, Newenham, and in one case Bromley, Dorset (witnessed no doubt at one of the former places).

Robert de la Cufolde	appears	*c.* 1274
Alexander de Coufolde	in	1329
Alexander de la Cufoulde	,,	1332
Alexander de la Coufaulde	,,	1332
Alexander de Coufolde	,,	1338
Richard atte Coufolde	,,	1354
John Coufolde	,,	1383
John Cowfolde	,,	1390
John Coufolde	,,	1390, 1392, 1396, 1398 (bis), 1404, 1418
Ralph Cowfolde	,,	1437
William Coufolde	,,	1469
William Coofold	,,	1488, 1489

It is remarkable that though the form 'Cufaud' is both ancient and frequent, these deeds supply no single instance of it. The tendency is to suggest the derivation of 'cow-fold.'

The Family of De Coudray.

The name of this knightly family has already found a place at p. 147 and elsewhere; but a few words upon those of them who appear in these deeds should be added here. Having once been one of the important families of Hampshire, it is unfortunate that so little can be gleaned about them in existing county histories. The Brocas collection brings before us Sir Fulke de Codroy *c.* 1235; Sir Peter de Cowdray in 1272; Sir Thomas de Cowdray in 1313, 1327, 1329, and 1332; a second Sir Fulke de Coudray in 1351; and two later ones of the same name and original stock, but not of the same family, Edward Cowdray (or Coudray) in 1404, 1406, 1407, 1408, 1412 and 1417, and Peter Coudray in 1428, 1429, and 1437.

The first of these must have been one of the earliest lords, if not the earliest, of that part of the great subdivided manor of Sherborne to which his family gave their name, and of which he died seised in 1252. He was also seised of the manor of Heriard, which became the chief seat of the

family. Sir Peter, who succeeded him, was one of Edward I.'s knights, constantly performing military service in his Welsh and Scottish wars from 1277 to 1301 (Parl. Writs). His assertion of the claims of his House from time immemorial to hunt the hare and fox in all the forests of Berks and Hampshire, argues an old county standing even at that early date. Sir Thomas, his successor, is scarcely less frequently employed in the military service of the Crown, though in the less desirable warfare of contending factions, as *e.g.* at the battle of Boroughbridge. In 1309 he took part in the famous Stepney Tournament. Both he and Sir Peter were, in short, soldiers *par excellence*. In 1316 he is certified as the lord of two townships in Berks, two in Bucks, and, in Hants, of Barton Stacy, Newton Stacy, West or Monks' Sherborne, and Heriard (besides Sherborne Coudray, which, however, is not mentioned in the Parl. Writs). Of the second Sir Fulke, whose deed forms one of the Brocas evidences, we have but little knowledge. The two later Coudrays are not knights. Edward and Peter, his successor, appear so frequently as witnesses of the deeds of William Brocas (1) that we may fairly place them along with William Warbelton and the Pophams as members of a sort of brotherhood in relation to the business of Beaurepaire. Edward was also Sheriff of his county in 1405 and 1418. We have already seen that Sherborne Coudray passed out of their hands to the Fyfhides about the middle of the fourteenth century.

SECTION II.

DEEDS CONCERNING THE HAMPSHIRE ESTATES ACQUIRED BY THE BROCAS FAMILY IN THEIR OWN RIGHT.

Sherborne St. John.

Hen. III. (Undated.) c. 1235-1240.

405. *Grant from Robert de St. John, son of William de St. John, to Bartholomew Peche, of Holemore in Shirburne.* (*A beautifully written deed.*)

Sciant &c. quod ego Robertus de S^to^ Johanne dedi &c. . . . Bartholomeo Peche pro homagio et servicio suo ad incrementum tenementi sui undecim acras terre mee cum pert^s^ suis de terra mensurata ex parte orient. de mora mea que vocatur Holemore in villa de Shyrburne propinquiores dominii dicti Bartholomei que vocatur Crockerel hulle, quod dominium Wil^s^ de S^to^ Joh^e^, pater meus, dicto dedit Bartholomeo. Quarum predictarum acrarum unum caput se extendit in long. ad viam que ducit ad prioratum de Shyrburne que via jacet inter terram que fuit Wil^i^ de la Hulle et dictam moram, et alterum caput se extendit ad moram Wil^i^ de Montefichet et ad terram Wil^i^ Tybot. Habendas et tenendas, claudendas, circumfodendas, et assartandas de me et heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis ad incrementum tenementi sui quod de me tenet in eadem villa de Syreburne libere et quiete, bene, et in pace, absque omni servicio seculari, exactione et demanda ad me vel ad heredes meos pertinente. Ut autem hec mea donatio et concessio et carte mee confirmatio rata et stabilis et inconcussa permaneat presens scriptum sigilli mei impressione roboravi. . . . Hiis testibus D^no^ Wil^o^

tunc tempore Priore de Syrburne, D^no^ Rob^o^ de Sey, D^no^ Herberto de Burhunte, D^no^ Matheo de Venenz [Venuz], D^no^ Fulcone de Codroy, D^no^ Petro de Etingedene, D^no^ Galfrido de Bono Fossato, Nicholao persona de Chaulon, Ric^o^ Peche, Will^o^ de Martino, Augustino Forestario, Ric^o^ de la Rugge, Joseph Wastehuse, et multis aliis.

56 Hen. III. Aug. 12, 1272. **319.** *Grant from John de Bonfosse of twenty acres of land in Schirborne Decani to John le Waleys, clerk.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Johannes de Bonfosse dedi &c. Johanni le Waleys cler^o^ pro servicio suo et pro x marcis sterlingorum quas michi dedit pre manibus xv acras terre cum pert^s^ suis in Schirborne Decani: hab^m^ &c. red^o^ unum obolum ad fest. S^ti^ Mich. pro omn^s^ suis consuetudinibus, curie sectis, secularibus exactionibus, et demandis. Et ego Joh^s^ de Bonfosse et heredes mei pred^o^ Joh^i^ le Waleys et heredibus suis pred^s^ xv acras terre cum pert^s^ suis jacentes ad invicem inclusas inter terram Will^i^ Wastehuse et terram Rad^i^ Carpentarii juxta iter regium dirigens de Scirborne Monachorum versus Syrburne Coudray ex parte boreali, et terram ipsius Joh^s^ ex parte australi contra omnes gentes warantizabimus, &c. . . testibus Dominis Petro de Coudray, Barth^o^ de Yetingden, Walter^o^ de Everly, militibus, Radulfo de Keet hen, Hen^o^ Walt^o^ Coco, Petro de Marteny, Thoma de la Blake Water, Mich^s^ Tybout, Nich^o^ Martyn, Gilib^o^ de Stokes, et aliis: hec carta confecta fuit apud Basingstoke die Merc. prox. ante festum S^ti^ Egidii an. r. r. Henrici filii Joh^s^ lvi^o^.

Undated. *c.* 1274. **407.** *Grant by John, son of Geoffrey de Bonfosse, to John le Waleys, of an annual rent in Schirburne St. John.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Joh^s^ filius Galfridi de Bonfosse dedi &c. Joh^i^ le Waleys pro servicio suo et pro x solidis sterlingorum quos michi dedit pre manibus viii^d^ annui redditus cum pert^s^ suis quos percipere consuevi de Radulpho Carpentar in Schirburne cum omni eo quod de pred^a^ terra michi vel hered^s^ meis aliquo modo accidere posset &c. Hab^m^ &c. red^o^ inde annuatim michi et hered^s^ meis, ipse et heredes, vel sui assignati unum clavum giroferi [clove] &c. . . testibus Giliberto de Stokes, Will^o^ Wasthus, Will^o^ le Waleys, Henr^o^ Snelman, Thoma de la Rigg, Will^o^ de Bosco, Walt^o^ de la Rigg, Rob^o^ de la Cufolde, Steph^o^ de Ponte, et aliis.

(Seal almost gone, but legend ". . . fosse" remains: no doubt for John de Bonfosse. This deed is evidently about the same date as 319, which is 56 Henry III., but probably a little later. Some of the same names occur in the deed which follows.)

4 Ed. I. Sept. 29, 1276. **321.** *Grant by John le Waleys to Robert Aghtman of lands in Shirborne St. John.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Joh^s^ le Waleys . . . dedi. &c. Rob^o^ Aghtman pro homagio et servitio et pro xlvi^s^ et viii^d^ quos mihi dedit pre manibus unum messagium cum terris et pratis et aliis pert^s^ quod habui de dono Thome filii Walt^i^ le Dycare in Shireborne S^ti^ Johannis &c.: hab^m^ &c. redd^o^ &c. ii^s^ sterlingorum ad Pentecostem pro omn^s^ serviciis secularibus exactionibus et demandis, salvo regali servicio et herietto, et relevio cum acciderit;

&c. &c. . . testibus Johe de Bonfosse, Walto Coco, Henro Snelman, Walto de la Rigg, Rado Stokard, Rico le Twynare, Waltero le Kerpse, Rico Legat, Johe de Benetfeld, et aliis. Datum die Martis in festo S. Mich. anno r. r. Edwardi [Primi] ivo.

6 Ed. II. May 3, 1313. **322.** *Grant from John le Carpenter to Master Roger de la Bere, clerk, of lands in Shirborne St. John.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Johs le Carpenter dedi &c. magistro Rogo de la Bere clerico pro lxs argenti &c. v acras et dimid. acram terre arabilis in Shireborne Sti Johs quarum due acre jacent in Wachedene et vocantur Cufoldes-aker, et una dimidia acra jacet ibidem et vocatur Stonycheine : una acra jacet prope boscum de Prevet et vocatur Previtteschernaker, et due acre jacent ad invicem in campo occid. et vocantur Brok-aker. Dedi eciam predo magistro Rogo unum gardenum in Shireborne predo quod est inter tenm Rici Tredegale ex parte austr. et iter regale ex parte bor. . . testibus Rico de Scures, Rico de la More, Willo de la Rude, Ada Everard, Walto Aghtman, John le Waleys, et aliis. Datum die Jovis prox. post fest. Apostm Philippi et Jacobi an. r. r. Edwardi filii regis Edwardi vio.

7 Ed. II. March 31, 1314. **320.** *Grant from Henry and Lucy le Puke to Bartholomew and Joan Peche of property in Shireborne Monachorum.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Hens le Puke et Lucia uxor mea dedimus &c. Bartholo Peche et Johe uxori ejus totam illam terram &c. post decessum Jordani le Bor patris ejusdem [Lucie] in pro-parte sua hereditaria contingente in una crofta que vocatur Le Nywelond [Newelond] in parochia de Shireborne Monachorum jacente : Et extendit se in long. a Cornmede versus orient. et venellam que extendit se a via regia versus Jordanesfrith versus occid., et in lat. inter terram Willi le Kenne que vocatur Le Nywelond ex parte austr. et terram Johs de Shirefeld et Dionisie uxoris sue, &c. . . testibus Dominis Johe Bluett, Thoma de Coudray, militibus ; Rico de Scures, Rico de la More, Rico Wastheuse, Johe le Carpenter, Wilo de la Lachemere, Johe de Schirefeld, et aliis. Datum apud Shireburn die Dominica in Ramis Palmarum an. r. r. Edwardi filii regis Edwardi vii°.

6 Ed. III. May 13, 1332. **322 a.** *Deed of Remembrance of Sir Hugh de St. John as to William de la Ruede's lands in Shirebourn St. John, Shirebourn Monachorum, and Byarpeyre.*

Faet a remembrer qe come nostre Seigneur le Roi eyt baille a nous Hugh de Seynt Johan touz le terres et tenemenz qe furent nyadgares a Willame de la Ruede par reysun de dettes qe le dyt Willame devoyt a nostre dyt Seygneur le Roy a demorer en nos mayns tout le temps qe les dytes terres et tenemenz demorerent en nos mayns par lestente facte en la eschekere nostre dyt Seigneur le Roi, Sachent totes gentz nous avoir bailles et a ferme lesse toutz les dytes terres et tenemenz en Shirebourn Seynt Johan, Shirebourn Moygnes, et Byarpeyre come en mys [maisons], terres, gardyns, preys, boys, pastures, rentes et services de tenauntz ove toutz les apartenances axi bien nomees come expressement nynt nomees ; a Johan

le Ouyn et a Elianore sa femme et a Johan fytz et heir le dyte Willame de la Ruede et Alisse sa femme et as heirs Johan le Fytz Willame et Alisse sa femme pour tut le temps qe les avaunt dytz terres et tenemenz sunt a demorer en nos mayns par lestente avaunt dyte—Reddaunt de ces de an en an a nous et a nos heirs ou exekctours cent sous de sterlinge cest a savoyr a la Quynseygne de Saint Michel cynkaunte souz et a la Quynseygne de Pasch cynkaunte souz, et fesaunt a les chefs seygnourages du fye les rentes, services, duwes, et custumes. Et si, ou si soyt qe la dyte rente de cent souz soyt aderere pour un an qe le dyte Sire Hughe ne soyt mye forclos qil ne puysse en les dytes terres et tenemenz recntrer et pour la dyte rente de centz soulz a sa volunte destreyndre. Et nous le avaunt dyt Hughe et nos heirs toutz les avaunt dytz terres &c. garaunterons et surement defenderons. En teistmoignaunce de quei chose &c. Sires Thomas de Coudray, Johan Peeche, Robart de Popham, chivalers, Willame Trossel, Hughe de Brayboef, Thomas de Foxele, Alissandre de la Cufonlde, Johan de Mulyns, John Byshop, clerke, et autres. Done a Shirebarne Moynges le Megerdi prochayn apres la feste de S^t^ Johan ante Portam Latinam lan en regne le roy Edward Ters apres la Conqueste Soesyme.

(Seal of St. John : Legend : 'Sigillum Hugonis de Sto Johe.' This is the earliest use in the deeds of the word for 'Beaurepaire.')

20 Ed. III. March 26, 1346.

325. *Grant from John atte Riede de Shirebourn to Walter Catewy de Harewell and Emma his wife, of lands in Shirebourn St. John, Shirebourn Monachorum and Byarpeyre.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Joh^s^ atte Riede de Shirebourn dedi &c. Waltero Catewy de Harewell et Emme uxori sue hered^s^ et assign^s^ suis totum ten^m^ meum quod habui in villa de Shirebourn S^ti^ Joh^is^ simul in omni terra arrabili, &c. in pred^a^ villa et villa de Shirebourn Monachorum, et Byarpeyre, &c. . . testibus D^no^ Thoma de Coudray, D^no^ Rob^o^ Schard, D^no^ Joh^e^ Peche, mil^s^, Joh^e^ Tourgeis, Thoma Paynel, Joh^e^ Haywode, Nic^o^ Kynne, Wil^o^ de Archer, Joh^e^ Heryerd, et aliis. Datum apud Shirebourn S^ti^ Joh^is^ die Dominica prox. post fest. Annunc. Beate Marie Virg. an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii post Conq. Ang. xx^o^ et Francie vii^o^.

(This is evidently the same estate which is referred to in the last deed. Meanwhile John had changed the spelling of his name from 'de la Ruede' to 'atte Riede,' which, however, is written in 1358 'atte Rude.' The family would seem to be the same as that which appears in the Berkshire deeds.)

22 Ed. III. April 3, 1348.

326. *Grant from Isabella de Benfeld to John son of Sir Bartholomew Peche, of Pepirlond in Schirborne St. John.*

Hec indentura testatur quod ego Isabella de Benfeld concessi &c Joh^i^ filio Barth^i^ Peiche mil. totam illam terram &c. que vocatur le Pepirlond in Schirborne S^ti^ Joh^is^ quam habui ex concessione &c. Ric^i^ de Benfeld fratris mei, et que terra jacet juxta viam regiam que ducit de Wyntonia versus Redynge ex parte una et ex altera parte jacet juxta Stokbriggeslond et viam regiam pred^m^ ex parte austr., et unum caput pred^e^ terre abuttat super terram domini Thome de Coudray ex parte orient. et aliud caput super terram vocatam Stokbriggeslond ex parte occid. Hab^m^ &c. pref^o^ Joh^i^ hered^s^ &c. ad

totam vitam mei predicte Isabelle in excambio pro vi^{s} et viii^{d} redditus in Schirfeld. Et etiam pred^{s} Joh^{s} heredes &c. reddent inde annuatim &c., in forma excambii predicti, tres libras piperis &c. . . testibus Alex^{o} de Coufolde, Joh^{e} Heriyarde, Joh^{e} Ysak, Nich^{o} atte Mulle, Rob^{o} atte Bere, Will^{o} Archer, et multis aliis. Datum apud Schirborne S^{ti} Joh^{is} iii^{o} die Aprilis an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii post Conq. Ang. xxii^{o} et Francie ix^{o}.

25 Ed. III. March 20, 1351. { **319 a.** *Copy of a grant from Sir Fulke de Coudray to John de Herierd, of lands in Schirbourne Coudray.*

A touz ceux que cest lettres verrount ou orront Fouke de Coudray chevalier saluz. Sachez moi avoir approuve ratifie et par cette present escript conferme a Johan de Herierd fiz et heire Robert de Heryerd de Schirbourne Coudray et ses heires et ses assignez touz les terres tenements rentes presez et pastures et lez appurtenants que le dit Johan tent en present heritablement auxi bien celles pourchacez par le dit Johan come de ses auncestres sur moy ou de mez auncestres en la dite vile de Schirbourne, rendant a moy quynse soudz de sterlyngz par an as deux ternez . . . [Warranty]. Pour ycest tesmoignez Mons^{r} Johan Pecche, Mons^{r} Johan Brocas chevalierz, Johan de Chynham, Johan & [*sic*] Brocas de Estrop et Nicolas Kennez et autres. En testmoigne de queu chose asest escript amyz mon seall : Donne a Schirborne Coudray lundy prochain devant Lamunciation notre dame lan du regne nostre S^{r} le roy Edouard Tierc pust le Conquest xxv.

Endorsement (probably by William Brocas) : —'This dede ys ymong Sondez efidents.'

(By the time of the endorsement the Coudray lands about The Vyne had come to the Brocases; and so a copy of this deed was required for the Brocas chest. This is the earliest document from the Sherborne property written on paper. It has a water-mark, a semicircle, which is very early. Paper itself had only been introduced into England in the beginning of the century, and water-marks c. 1330 : see *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii. p. 451. It is also the first Sherborne deed in the collection signed by any member of the Brocas family. They were now settled on their earlier Hants estates, which were disposed of just before they acquired Beaurepaire.)

29 Ed. III. July 23, 1355. { **327.** *Release by Isabella de Benfeld to Master Bernard Brocas Lord of Beaurepeyr, of Pepirlond in Schyrebourn St. John.*

Omnibus &c. Cum nuper adquisivi de Ric^{o} de Benfeld fratre meo totam illam terram cum suis pert^{s} que vocatur La Peperlond in Schyrebourn S^{ti} Joh^{is} hab^{m} mihi ad totam vitam meam, ut &c. quam quidem terram dimisi &c. Joh^{i} filio Bart^{i} Peche mil. et hered^{s} ad totam vitam meam in excambio pro vi^{s} et viii^{d} annui redditus annuatim michi percipiendum de ten^{o} Wil^{i} Burchet de Schyrefeld, ut &c. noverit universitas vestra me pref^{m} Isabellam remisisse &c. Magistro Bernardo Brokas, domino de Beaurepeyr, hered^{s} &c. totum jus meum &c. in tota dicta pecia terre cum suis pert^{s}, ac eciam vi^{s} et viii^{d} ann. redd. quod percipere consuevi de ten^{o} &c. . . testibus Thoma de Wortyngg, Hen^{o} de Whateford, Ric^{o} Wyke, Wil^{o} Archer, Steph^{o} atte Grove, et aliis. Datum ad Schyrefeld die Jovis prox. post fest. S^{e} Marie Magdalene an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii post Conq. xxix^{o}.

(This is the first notice in the deeds of the Brocas family in connection with Beaurepaire, which Master Bernard Brocas had recently acquired from the Pecches. That family now disappears from the neighbourhood.)

32 Ed. III. Sept. 6, 1358. **328.** *Grant by Walter Catewy of Harewell and Emma his wife to Sir Bernard Brocas, of lands in Schirborne St. John, Monks Schirborne, and Beaurepeir.*

Sciant &c. quod nos Walterus Catewy de Harewell et Emma uxor mea dedimus &c. Bernardo de Brocas mil. omnia illa terras &c. que quondam habuimus ex dono &c. Joh[s] atte Rude in villis de Schirborne S[ti] Joh[s], Schirborne Monachorum, et Beaurepeir &c. [Warranty] : . . testibus Joh[e] Brocas, Joh[e] de Pedenhalle, mil[s], Rob[o] Ryffyn, Rob[o] Loxlee, Will[o] Archer, et aliis. Datum apud Beaurepeir die Jovis prox. ante fest. Nativ. beate Marie an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii a Conq. xxxii°.

(This is the estate which in 1332 was forfeited by William de la Ruede, and passed to John his son, who in 1346 grants it to Walter Catewy and his wife Emma. They now grant it to Sir Bernard Brocas, and he immediately makes it over to trustees, his uncle being one; and his father appears as a witness to both deeds. Thus both father and uncle take a part in the settlement.)

42 Ed. III. Sept. 9, 1358. **329.** *Grant by Sir Bernard Brocas to Master Bernard Brocas, Sir John Singleton, and Thomas de Mussenden [in trust], of the same lands as above.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Bern[s] Brocas miles dedi &c. Magistro Bern[o] Brocas, Dom. Johanni de Syngelton, et Thome de Mussenden omnia illa terras &c. que quondam habui ex dono &c. Wal[ti] Catewy de Harewell in villis de Schirborne S[ti] Joh[s], Schirborne Monachorum, et Beaurepeir &c. . . testibus Joh[e] Brocas, Joh[e] de Podenhall, milit[s], Rob[o] Ryffyn, Wil[o] Archer, et aliis. Datum apud Beaurepeir die Dom. in crastino Nativitatis Beate Marie an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii a Conquestu xxxii°. (Endorsed 'De terra Catewy.')

41 Ed. III. June 29, 1367. **318.** *Grant by John Parker of Schyrebourn Coudray to Sir Bernard Brocas, of property in that place.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Johannes Parker de Schyrebourn Coudray dedi &c. Bern[o] Brocas chivaler quoddam mesuagium cum tribus croftis adjacentibus continent. unam virgatam et tres acras terre cum &c. in Schyrebourn pred[a] quod quidem mesuagium &c. habui ex dono &c. Agnete filie et heredis Agnete atte Rugge de Schyrebourn pred[a] &c. . . testibus Radulpho Tyrwyt, Wil[o] Archer, Wil[o] Ballard, Thoma le Motte, et aliis. Datum apud Schyrebourn pred[m] die Martis in fest. Apost. Petri et Pauli an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii post Conq. xli°.

41 Ed. III. Oct. 3, 1367. **330.** *Grant from Sir Bernard Brocas to Thomas and Mathew Colet of land in Shyrbourne St. John.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Bern[s] Brocas miles dedi &c. Thome Colet et Mathæo filio suo unam virgatam terre cum pert[s] in Shyrbourne S[ti] Johan[s] quod fuit Agnete atte Rugge &c. Hab[m] &c. redd[o] . . . v[s] &c. Et edificabunt et manutenebunt unam domum competentem super terram pred[m], et unusquisque eorum post decessum suum dabit heriettum et relevium, et faciet sectam ad curiam meam de Beaurepeir pro omn[s] aliis serviciis &c. . . testibus

Domino Wil° persona ecclesie de Shyreborne, Umfrido Gylot, Will° Ballard, Joh^e Parker, et aliis. Datum apud Beaurepeir die Dominica prox. pot fest. S^ti Mich. an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii post Conq. xli°.

2 & 2 Ed. III. 1368. **323.** *A late copy of a grant by Sir Bernard Brocas to William Archer of land in Schyreborn St. John.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Bernardus Brocas miles dom^s de Berupery dedi &c. Wil° Archer de Schereborne et Katarine uxori eidem unam peciam terre cont^m xii acras per perticam mensuratas vocatam La Machelebuichet in Schyreborn S^ti Joh^s, hab^m et ten^m dictam peciam terre cum &c. Wil° et Katerine uxore ejus ad totam vitam eorundem de me et hered^s meis, red° inde &c. iv^s argenti ad iv an. term. principales &c pro omni servicio salva secta mea de Beaureper semel in anno, viz. ad prox. curiam ten^m ibidem post fest. Mich. Et post decessum Wil^i et Katerine dicta pecia terre &c. remaneat Joh^i le Parker de Schirborne, et ego vero dictus Ber^s et heredibus meis *[sic]* dict^m peciam terre &c. dicto Wil° et Katerine uxori ejus ad totam vitam eorundem et post decessum &c. [Warranty] : . . test^s Augusto Dette, Wil° Burbach, Wil° Ballard, Joh^e Chamberlayne, Thoma la Mothe, et aliis : datum apud Schyreborne pred^m die Lune prox. post fest. Exalt^s Crucis an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii post Conq. [? quadragesimo] secundo.

(This copy, being of quite a century later than the date, cannot be taken as any authority for date; and the mistakes in the Latin, as well as spelling of 'Beaurepaire,' &c. show carelessness. It cannot possibly be 2 Ed. III., and is probably 42 Ed. III., as the names of Archer, Ballard, La Mothe, and Parker are all found in deed 318 of 41 Ed. III. The endorsement shows that this copy was used to determine what rent was due to Beaurepaire from W. Parker of the Hyllend.)

11 Ric. II. Dec. 26, 1387. **331.** *Indenture between Sir Bernard Brocas, Ingelram, Prior of Shireborne, and Robert atte More concerning lands at Shireborne St. John.*

Ceste endenture tripartite faite perentre Mons^r Bernard Brocas Chev^r, dune part et le Prior de Shireborne et Robert atte More dautrepart testmoigne que come William nadgaire Prior de Shireborne par son fait est relesse a Johan atte More piere au dit Robert garaunt et un souldz dannuelle rente soudantz des terres et tenements jadys Robert atte Bere en Schireborne S^t Johan pour terme de quatre vyntz et dys ans, reservant a luy et ses successours dys soul`z par an de mesmes les terres et ten^z, come en une fait endente est plus a plein contenuz, lesqueys terres et ten^z Robert avant dit ad graunte par son fait au dit Mons^r Bernard et ses heirs : Sachez nous Ingelram Prior illeqes ad graunte et relesse au dit Mons^r Bernard la dite annuele rente de qarante et un souldz del accompliement del terme graunte au dit Johan atte More . . . . . Par cestes tesmoigne Thomas De la Mare, Nichol Daberichcourt, Hugh atte More, Phelippe Baynard, Humfrey Gilot, Henri atte More, et autres. Donne a Shirebourne S^t Johan le Jeodi proschain apres le feste de S^t Thomas lapostle, lan du regne le roi Richard Second apres le Conqueste unsisme.

11 Ric. II. Dec. 26, 1387. **332.** *Indenture between Robert atte More and Sir Bernard Brocas,* senior, *concerning the same lands as above.*

Presens indentura testatur quod cum Rob^{s} atte More teneatur et per quoddam scriptum obligationis firmiter obligetur Bern^{o} Brocas mil. seniori in centum libris sterlingc &c. pred^{s} Bern^{s} vult tamen et concedit quod si pred^{s} Rob^{s} atte More faciat seu fieri permittat pred^{o} Bern^{o} sufficientem securitatem de omnibus illis terris que fuerunt Roberti atte Bere de Shirborne S^{ti} Joh^{is}, et que terre et ten^{a} pred^{s} Bern^{s} nuper adquisivit de pred^{o} Rob^{o} sibi et heredibus suis &c. una cum quodam annuo reditu xl^{s} et xii^{d} pred^{o} Bern^{o} hered^{s} &c. per pred^{m} Rob^{m} concesso ad terminum lx annorum ita quod si pred^{s} Bern^{s} et heredes sui non sint impericlitati, gravati, vel perturbati &c. quod extunc pred^{m} scriptum obligatori centum librarum pro nullo habeatur: alioquin in suo robore perseverat &c. Datum apud Shirborne S^{ti} Joh^{is} die Jovis prox. post fest. S^{ti} Thome apost. an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. Anglie xi^{o}.

11 Ric. II. Dec. 26, 1387. **333.** *Grant by Robert atte More to Sir Bernard Brocas,* senior, *of his interest in the above lands.*

Omnibus &c. Rob^{s} atte More &c. Noveritis me dedisse &c. Bern^{o} Brocas mil. seniori totum statum meum de quodam annuo redditu xl^{s} et xii^{d} quem quidem . . . Joh^{s} atte More pater meus nuper adquisivit de Wil^{o} Priore de Shireborne et ejusdem loci Conventu ad term. xc ann^{m} [Warranty]: . . test^{s} Thoma de la Mare, Nich^{o} Daberichcourt, Hugone Camoys, mil^{s}, Joh^{e} Peperwhit, Joh^{e} Fabian, Wil^{o} Ballard, Joh^{e} Dikere, et aliis: datum apud Shireborne S^{ti} Joh^{is} die Jovis prox. post fest. S^{ti} Thome Apost. an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. Ang. xi^{o}.

11 Ric. II. Dec. 26, 1387. **334.** *Grant by Robert atte More to Sir B. Brocas,* senior, *of all the lands (as above) which were Robert atte Bere's. (Witnesses as above.)*

14 Ric. II. August 15, 1390. **335.** *Quitclaim from Henry atte More to Sir Bernard Brocas,* senior, *for the estate in Shirborne St. John, granted to Sir Bernard Brocas by Robert atte More.*

Omnibus &c. Hen^{s} atte More salutem &c.: noveritis me dictum Henr^{m} &c. quietum clamasse Bern^{o} Brocas mil. seniori, omnia illa &c. que pred. Bern^{s} nuper habuit ex dono &c. Rob^{i} Atte More consanguinei mei in villa et in domibus de Schirborne S^{ti} Joh^{is} &c. . . testibus Thoma de la Mare, Nich^{s} Daberichcourt, mil^{s}, Phil^{o} Baynard, Joh^{e} Fabian, Joh^{e} Cowfolde, Humf^{o} Gylot, Joh^{e} Wadfeld, et aliis. Datum apud Schirborne S^{ti} Joh^{is} xv^{o} die mensis Augusti anno r. r. Ric^{i} Sec^{di} post Conq. Ang. xiv^{o}.

19 Ric. II. Feb. 6, 1396. **337.** *Grant by Sir Bernard Brocas to William and Emma Mothe of an estate in Schirborne St. John.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Bern^{s} Brocas miles dedi, &c. Wil^{o} Mothe de Schirborne S^{ti} Joh^{is} et Emme uxori sue unum toftum et unum curtilagium jacente

in Schyrborne pred. quod toftum jacet inter ten^{m} Johannis Hullere ex parte austr. et ten^{m} quod Joh^{s} Mothe tenet ex parte bor., et alteram viam ducentem a Wynton. versus Radyng ex parte occid. et quoddam pertinens vocatum La Frateresmed ex parte orient.; et dictum curtilagium jacet inter dictam alteram viam ducentem a Wynton. versus Radyng ex parte orient. et quandam croftam nuper Thome le Mothe ex parte occid. et bor. &c. Redd^{o} inde annuatim . . . xvi^{d} . . testibus Rob^{o} atte More, Joh^{e} Fabyan, Umfrido Gylot, Thome Parker, Joh^{e} Hereward, et aliis: Datum apud Beaurepaire die Dom. prox. post fest. Purif. Beate Marie Virg. an. r. r. Ric^{di} Sec^{di} post Conq. xix^{o}.

20 Ric. II. Oct. 24, 1396.

338. *Grant by Thomas Munde and his wife, Margaret, to Oliver Brocas (son of Sir John Brocas of county Southampton), of Cranys-place in Shirborne St. John.*

Sciant &c. quod nos Thomas Munde civis et aurifaber London. et Margareta uxor ejus filia et heres Elizabethe Everard de Shirborne S^{ti} Joh^{is} in com. South^{n} unanimi assensu et voluntate dedimus &c. Olivero Brocas filio domini Johannis Brocas mil. de com. pred^{o} defuncto quoddam mesuagium voc^{m} Cranysplace cum terris &c. que quondam fuerunt pred. Elizabethe matris mee in villa de Shireborne S^{ti} Joh^{is} pred^{a} et que post decessum ejusdem Elizabethe mihi prefate Margarete nuper descendebant jure hereditario, prout jacent inter quoddam tenementum Rectoris ejusdem ville de Shirborne S^{ti} Joh^{is} ex parte orient. quod Willelmus Degher die confectionis presentiarum tenet et inhabitat in eadem villa, et quoddam ten^{m} voc^{m} Cokysplace ex parte occid. in villa antedicta, &c. . . testibus Bern^{o} Brocas mil., Phil^{o} Baynard, Rob^{o} atte Moore, Joh^{e} atte Strode, Joh^{e} Hereward, Wil^{o} Dyker, Wil^{o} Chamberleyn, et aliis: datum apud Shirborne S^{ti} Johan. pred^{m} xxiv^{o} die mens. Octob. an r. r. Ric^{di} Sec^{di} post Conq. xx^{o}.

(This deed shows that Oliver, son of Sir John Brocas' second wife, Isabella [his half brother, the old Sir Bernard, having recently died], begins at once to acquire land in Shirborne St. John, and that he does so in connection with his nephew, the new Sir Bernard, who is a witness to the deed. See preface to Surrey deeds.)

20 Ric. II. Oct. 31, 1396.

339. *Quitclaim from Thomas Mounde and Margaret his wife to Oliver Brocas, for the above lands.*

Noverint &c. me Thomam Mounde civem et aurifabrum Londonie et Margaretam uxorem ejus [*sic*] filiam et heredem Elizabethe Everard de Schirborne S^{ti} Joh^{is} in com. South^{n} &c. quietum clamasse Olivero Brocas filio Dom. Joh^{is} Brocas mil. omnia illa terras &c. vocata le Cranys et que post decessum Elizabethe &c. Datum apud Schirborne pred^{m} die Ven. [*sic*] in vigil. Omn. Sanct. an. r. r. Ric^{di} Sec^{di} post Conq. xx^{o}.

(The Vigil of All Saints fell that year on Tuesday.)

21 Ric. II. Jan. 1, 1398.

340. *Quitclaim from Richard Tylare of West Schyrborne and Alice his wife &c. to Oliver Brocas, for land in that place.*

Noverint &c. nos Ric^{us} Tylare de West Schyrborne et Aliciam uxorem meam et Joh^{m} filium nostrum et Margaretam filiam nostram &c. quietum

clamasse Olivero Brocas arm. totum jus &c. in uno tofto cum una crofta terre simul jacentibus in Schyrborne S^ti^ Joh^is^ que quidem toftum et croftam nuper habuimus ex dono &c. Ingelerami nuper Prioris Ecclesie Beate Marie de Schyrborne Mon. et ejusdem loci Conventus ad term. vite nostre &c. que quidem &c. vocantur Le Grenchulle &c. Datum apud Schyrborne S^ti^ Joh^is^ i^o^ die Januarii an. r. r. Ric^i^ Sec^i^ post Conq. xxi^o^.

22 Ric. II. Sept. 29, 1398. — **311a.** *Grant from Sir Bernard Brocas to his uncle Oliver Brocas, of land called Le Pynmour in Schirborne St. John.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Bern^s^ Brocas miles dedi &c. Olivero Brocas avunculo meo unam croftam terre in Schirborne S^ti^ Joh^is^ voc^m^ Le Pynmour jacentem inter quandam pasturam voc^m^ le Burchettes ex parte orient. et quandam viam ducentem a Schirborne pred. versus forestam de Pambere ex parte occident. et quandam granam Thome Parker vocatam Le Wolstheggrof ex parte bor. et terram vocatam Fosterslonde ex parte austr.: hab^m^ &c. reddo &c. michi &c. ad terminum vite mee viii^s^ &c. . . . et post decessum pred^i^ Bern^i^ hered^s^ et assignatis meis unam rosam rubram in fest. Nat. S^ti^ Joh^is^ Baptiste, &c. . . testibus Phil^o^ Baynard, Rob^o^ atte More, Joh^e^ Fabian, Joh^e^ Coufolde, Joh^e^ Strode, et aliis. Datum apud Schirborne S^ti^ Joh^is^ die Dom. in fest. S^ti^ Mich. Arch. an. r. r. Ric^di^ Sec^di^ post Conq. xxii^o^.

(Seal: Roches and Brocas quarterly. Legend: 'Bernard Brocas:' same as 463, where see note, Chap. III., Sect. 2.)

1 Hen. IV. Nov. 27, 1399. — **341b.** *Confirmation of a grant of property in Schirborne St. John by Thomas de Poynings, Lord de St. John.*

A tous ceux qe cestes lettres verront ou oyrount Thomas de Ponyngs, Seigneur de Seint John, saluz. Come nous &c. done &c. a Hugh Croprody, Wil^e^ Eston, et Galfryd., Vicare de Wytcherche paroch. une pasture appele le Burchett et un mys ove le crofte a ycelle aperteinte perentre le terre de Olivere Brocas &c.; et lequele mys et crofte William Dyer jadys tenoyt en le avauntdit Schyrborne les quex pasture, mys, et crofte les ditz Hugh, William, et Geffroy a Bernard Brocas et a ses heires sunt graunte relesse et a touz jours quitclaime: Sachent touz gentz nous lavaunt dit Thomas pour nous et pour nos heires le dit estat a dit Oliver et a ses heires de part le dit Hugh, William et Geffroy suntz anomez ratifie, &c. et quitclaime a tous jours, rendaunt &c. pour la rente et service de une dowble rose par an, de an en an, a le feste de Seint John Baptiste &c. Pour ycestes tesmoyngnes John Peperwych, Nyc^s^ Walence, John Norton, John Strowde, John Fabyan, Rob^t^ Herierd, Rob^t^ atte More, et autres. Done a Schirborne St. John le xxvii^e^ jour de Novembre le an de regne le roy Henri Quart puis le Conquete primere.

(Fine seal: 'T. de Ponynges de St. John;' given as one of the illustrations.)

3 Hen. IV. March 28, 1402.

110. *Quitclaim from Johanna Kenne (formerly wife of Henry atte More) to William Brocas, for portions of Beaurepaire Park, which Sir Bernard Brocas had from Henry and Johanna atte More, in Shireborne St. John, Bromley, and Pamber.*

Noverint &c. me Johannam Kenne in pura viduitate &c. quietum clamasse Wil^o Brocas totum jus &c. in omnibus illis terris &c. voc^s Herselese, Heychalewyk, Brodehalewyk, et Le Holemour que Bern^s Brocas miles avus dicti Wil^i quondam habuit ex dono &c. Henrici atte More et mei dicte Johanne tunc uxoris ejusdem Henrici, et in omnibus aliis parcellis tam in novo quam in antiquo fine vel parco de Beaurepier jacentibus in parochiis de Shireborne et Pamber. Remisi eciam et . . eidem Wil^o totum jus meum &c. in uno prato vocato Fysshewermede jacente in paroch. de Bromle et Shirebourne. . . testibus Rob^o atte More, Olivero Brocas, Joh^e Fabian, Joh^e Shirlond, Joh^e Strode, et aliis. Datum apud Bieaurepier die Martis prox. post festum Pasche an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. Angl. iii^o.

(There is a memorandum among the papers—too long to print—in which Johanna Kenne's claims upon the estates above-mentioned are set forth. Since the first Sir Bernard Brocas emparked Beaurepaire in 1369, sundry interests in the land of which it was composed had accrued to Johanna; certain payments had not been made; and she complains that she had never received a certain 'gonne,' which had formed part of the bargain concerning an exchange of lands. The memorandum is undated, but was evidently of a date only shortly prior to the quitclaim given. For the endorsement on the above Quitclaim, see p. 153.)

5 Hen. IV. Feb. 22, 1404.

343. *Quitclaim from John Moth to Oliver Brocas, for lands in Syreburne St. John.*

Omnibus &c. Joh^s Moth senior salutem &c. Noveritis me remisisse &c. . . . Olivero Brocas hered^s &c. totum jus &c. quod habeo &c. in omnibus terris &c. in parochia seu in dominio de Syreburne S^ti Joh^s &c. . . testibus Edw^o Cowdray, Phil^o Baynard, Rob^o atte More, Rob^o Heryerd, Joh^e Strode, Will^o Chamberleyn, Will^o Moth, et aliis. Datum apud Syreburne Syn Jon in fest. S^ti Petri in Cathedra an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. v^o.

5 Hen. IV. April 9, 1404.

345. *Quitclaim from William Brocas, 'son of Sir Bernard Brocas, jun.', to Oliver Brocas, of rights in lands which Oliver had received from the said Sir Bernard Brocas.*

Noverint &c. me Will^m Brocas filium Bern^i Brocas junioris mil. remisisse &c. et quietum clamasse Olivero Brocas consanguineo meo totum jus &c. que habeo &c. in omn^s illis terris &c. que pred^s Oliverus habet ex dono &c. Bern^i Brocas patris mei pred^i sibi Olivero et assignatis suis in parochia et dominio Shirborne S^ti Joh^s &c. . . testibus Phil^o Baynard, Edw^o Cowdray, Nicolao Valence, Rob^o atte More, Joh^e Pagenham, Joh^e Fabian, Joh^e Surman, et aliis. Datum apud Londoniam ix^o die mensis Aprilis an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. Ang. v^o.

5 Hen. IV. June 11, 1404. { **357.** *Quitclaim from Edward Cowdray to Oliver Brocas, for lands in Sherborne St. John.*

Noverint &c. me Edw^us^ Cowdray &c. quietum clamasse Olivero Brocas totum jus &c. in illis terris que quondam fuerunt Thome Carter dicto Weller et Joh^e^ uxoris sue in villa et in dominio de Schirborne S^ti^ Joh^is^ &c. Datum apud Schirborne pred. in fest. S^ti^ Barn. Ap^li^ an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. v°.

5 Hen. IV. Sept. 9, 1404. { **344.** *Demise by Oliver Brocas to Wm. Chamberlayn of Bagly's land in Shirborn St. John.*

Hec indentura testatur quod Oliverus Brocas arm. tradidit &c. Wil^o^ Chamberlayn unum toftum et xvi acras terre &c. quondam Stephani Bayly . . . redd^o^ &c. . . . v^s^ &c. . . testibus Joh^e^ Fabyan, Joh^e^ Coufolde, Joh^e^ Strode, Joh^e^ Chauen, Wil^o^ Dykere, et aliis. Datum apud Schirborne S^ti^ Joh^is^ die Dom. prox. post fest. Nativ. Beate Marie an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. v°.

(Seal: Brocas Lion: Legend: '. igillum . . . ocas . ')

5 Hen. IV. Sept. 21, 1404. { **342.** *Quitclaim from Thomas Carter of Silchester and his wife Joan to Oliver Brocas, for lands in Schirborne St. John.*

Noverint &c. nos Thomam Carter dicto Weller de Schilchester et Joh^m^ uxorem ejus *[sic]* &c. quiet. clamasse Olivero Brocas hered^s^ &c. totum jus &c. in omn^s^ terris . . . que habemus . . . in villa et in dominio de Schirborne S^ti^ Joh^is^. . . testibus Edw^o^ Cowdray, Phel^o^ Baynard, Rob^to^ atte More, Joh^e^ Chawyn, Wil^o^ Dykere, Wil^o^ Mothe, Wil^o^ Chambrelayn, Joh^e^ Mothe, Joh^e^ Edwyn, et multis aliis. Datum apud Schirborne pred. in fest. S^ti^ Math. Ap^li^ an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. v°.

6 Hen. IV. Feb. 2, 1405. { **350.** *Quitclaim by Beatrice Brocas, wife of Oliver Brocas, to William Wythot and others, for Anthmanys and land in Shirborne St. John.*

Noverint &c. me Beatricem Brokas non coactam, neque astrictam, set pure, sponte, et absolute mea libera vo[l]untate relaxasse, et remisisse omne jus meum &c. Wil^o^ Wythot, Edithe de Comworth, et hered^s^ dicti Wil^i^ in perp^m^ in uno ten^o^ cum una crofta voc^a^ Anthmanys, et vi acris terre arabilis in campis communibus &c. quod quidem ten^m^ &c. dicti Wil^s^ et Edith de Olivero Brokas meo marito legitime adquisiverunt sibi et suis hered^s^ &c. Datum in fest. Purif. Beate Marie Virg. an r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. Ang. vi°.

7 Hen. IV. March 3, 1406. { **358.** *Grant by William Brocas to Oliver Brocas, of rent for the rest of a term in Robert atte Bere's lands in Schyrborne St. John.*

Omnibus &c. Wil^s^ Brocas filius et heres Bernardi Brocas mil. jun. Dominus de Beaurapere salutem &c. quod cum Wil^s^ quondam Prior de Schyrborne Monachorum in Com. Suth^n^, et ejusdem loci Conventus remiserint &c. Joh^i^ atte More unum ann^m^ redditum xl^s^ et xii^d^ exeuntia de

terris &c. que quondam fuere Roberti atte Beere ad term. cccex. annm in Schyreborne Stu Johs, quem quidem statum Ingeleramus Prior de Schyreborne predsuccessor dicti Wil Prioris et ejusdem loci Conventus concesserunt &c. Bern Brocas mil. sen. avo mei dicti Wil pro term. dicto Joh atte More concesso, permisso, et relaxato pro pred Wil Priore et ejusdem loci Conventu et per cccex annos post term. plenarie completum et finitum dicto Johanni atte More per predm Wilm Priorem et ejusdem loci Conventum concessum remisisse et relaxasse, Noveritis . . . me dictum Wilm Brocas totum statum supradictum Olivero Brocas consanguineo meo concessisse . . . . durante toto termino supradicto: Ita quod nec ego &c. [Warranty]: . . testibus Joh Dabryshcourt, mil., Phil Baynard, Wil Warbelton, Edw Coudray, Joh Norton, Georgio Rouden, Joh Bernard, et aliis. Datum apud Schyreborne predm tertio die mens. Martii an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. Angl. vii.

(Seal: the crest of the Moor's head crowned, between 'W' and 'B.'

9 Hen. IV. May 23, 1408.

From page 16 in 'Brocas' and Gardiner 'Family Papers.' *Copy and translation* (*c.* 1600) *of Warranty made by William Trenchfoy, Prior, and the Convent of Sherborne, to Oliver Brocas, 'brother of Sir Bernard Brocas, senior,' of the grant above-mentioned, which had been made by former Priors and the Convent to John atte More and Bernard Brocas.*

The Deed of Warranty recites the grant (mentioned in the above deed of William Brocas) made to John atte More for a rent of 41s on Robert atte Bere's lands in Sherborne St. John for a term of 410 years, and which 'Ingelram, Prior and our predecessor, and the Convent of that place [Sherborne] have graunted &c. to Barnard Brocas knt thelder, for the term of the said John atte More,' and proceeds: 'Knowe ye that we the said William Trenchfoy, Prior, &c., the estate foresaid to John atte More by our brother William, the Prior, &c. being graunted, &c., and also to the said Barnard Brocas knt by Ingelram, the Prior and our predecessor, and the Convent of that place beinge graunted &c. to have satisfied, confirmed, &c. to Oliver Brocas Esq. brother of the foresaid Barnard, his heirs and assigns, and further for [410] yeares after the Terme fully to be complete and ended of the said Barnard Brocas knt by the said Ingelram the Prior &c. remysed and released; and we the foresaid W. Trenchfoy, Prior, and the Convent of that place, and our successors, all the foresaid estate before ratifyed and specifyed, to the foresaid Oliver Brocas, his heires and assignes, in manner aforesaid, against all people will warrant, acquit and carefully defend. In witness whereof to this present writing indented we the foresaid Prior &c. and Oliver have interchaungeably put our seales, these being witness, Sir John Dabridgcourt knt, Henrie Popham, Wilm Warblynton, Edward Cowdray, Nicholas Mulle, John Norton, John at More, and others. Dat. in the churche howse of Sherborne in the Vigil of the Ascension of our Lorde in the yeare of the raigne of Kinge Henrie the Fourth after the Conquest the Nynth.'

(The proper name of this Prior was Trenchefau. He was appointed by the Bishop, *jure devoluto*, on Oct. 3, 1397 [F.J.B.])

11 Hen. IV. Nov. 25, 1409. **347.** *Grant by Oliver Brocas to Geoffrey, Vicar of Monks' Shyrborne, and others, of Mulwelyssh and Downefield in Shyrborne St. John for* 12*s. rent.*

Omnibus &c. Oliverus Brocas salutem &c. Nov^s. me dedisse &c. . . Galfrido Vicario de Shyrborne Monachorum, Rob^o Mulle, rectori ecclesie de Padeworth, et Will^mo Mothe de Shyrbourn S^ti Joh^is illas terras &c. que nuper habui ex demissione &c. Will^i Wythot et Edithe uxoris ejus voc^a Mulwelyssh cum gardeno et crofta adjacente jacente juxta viam regalem ducentem a Wyntonia versus Redynge ex parte orient. et terram Joh^e Moth ex parte bor. una cum una crofta vocata le Downefeld jacente inter viam regiam ducentem de Wyntonia versus Redynge ex parte orient. et terram meam vocatam Forsteryslond ex parte occid. et abuttat in longit. super pratum meum voc^m Bereryslmede ex parte austr. et croftam Thome Parker voc^m Pollardyscroft ex parte bor. Dedi etiam &c. dictis Galf^o, Rob^o, et Will^o Moth unam peciam terre continentem in lat. trium pedum usque ad aquam currentem voc^m le Weybrok inter ten^m Joh^e Moth ex parte austr. et inter ten^m et gardenum meum quod Ricardus Dygher de me tenet et modo inhabitat. Dedi etiam &c. eisdem . . . unam croftam terre voc^m Ostagyscrofte jacentem inter ten^m Will^i Wythot vocatum Ostage ex parte bor. et croftam terre voc^m Johan Baylys ex parte austr. et venellam voc^m Ostagslane ex parte occid. et terram voc^m le Kyngys ex parte orient. &c. red^o inde annuatim michi et hered^s meis . . . 12^s &c. et sectas curie mee . . . pro omn^s aliis redditibus . . . salvo tamen servicio Dom. Regis . . testibus Will^o Brocas, Will^o Warblyngton, Joh^ne atte More, Will^o Chamberlayn, et Joh^e Moth, et multis aliis: datum in fest. S^te Kath. Virg. an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. Anglie xi^o.

(2 Seals: [1] Under a helmet and crest of a griffin's head, a shield couché, bearing a saltire between 4 cross crosslets; Legend apparently 'William Walkere.' [2] A shield within a sexfoil, bearing a vase in 1 and 4, a stag trippant in 2 and 3, quarterly; legend illegible.)

12 Hen. IV. March 1, 1411. **359.** *Quitclaim by Thomas Boundy to Oliver Brocas 'of Sherborne St. John,' of property in Sherborne St. John.*

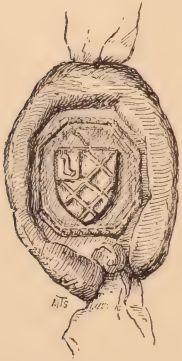
Nov^t &c. me Thomam Boundy de Schirborne S^ti Joh^is &c. quietum clamasse Olivero Brocas de ea-lem totum illud ten^m cum gardino adjacente juxta viam Regiam ducentem de Winton. versus Redynge inter ten^m Will^i Mason ex una parte, et venellam voc^m Levotelane ex parte altera quod quidem ten^m nuper habui ex dono et concessione Barnardi Brocas mil^s sen^s . . testibus Will^o Wythot, Will^o Chamberlayn, Joh^e Moth, Will^o Moth, Joh^e Baker, Joh^e Pokeroste, Thoma Parker, et aliis: datum apud Schirborne pred^m i^o die mensis Martii an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. Ang. xii^o.

13 Hen. IV. April 1, 1412. **317.** *Grant by William Brocas to William Warbelton, his kinsman, of an annual rent in Shirfeld.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Will^s Brocas, arm., dedi &c. Will^o Warbelton, arm., consanguineo meo quendam ann^m redd^m vi^s viii^d percipiendum singulis annis de illis terris &c. que Joh^s Birchetter nuper tenuit de pref^o Will^o Brocas in Shirfelde . . . pro qua quidem concessione redd^s &c. Will^s Warbelton &c.

Seal of William Brocas (1), a.d. 1406

(See p. 387)



Seal of Johanna, widow of Sir Bernard Brocas (2), a.d. 1406

(See p. 383)

remisit &c. Will^o Brocas &c. totum jus &c. in quodam campo voc^o Westfeld &c. jacente in Bromlegh . . . quod quidem campum pred^s Wil^s Brocas habet ex concessione Joh^s Wadfelde de Bromlegh . . testibus Rob^to Petwardyne et Joh^e Dabrichecourt, mil^s, Edw^o Coudray, Oliv^o Brocas, et Rob^o Baynard, et aliis: datum apud Shirfelde i^o die Aprilis an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. xiii^o.

(Seal: a Griffin's head in an oval.)

3 Hen. V. Dec. 22, 1415. **348.** *Grant by Oliver Brocas of Sherborne St. John to John Mothe and his wife Katherine, of property in Schyrborne St. John.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Oliverus Brocas de Schyrborne S^ti Joh^is dedi &c. Joh^i [Mouthe] et Katherine uxori ejus unum mes^m cum gardeno adj^e cum pert^s in Schyrborne pred^a que fuerunt Ricardi Dyer: Dedi eciam . . . pred^s Joh^i et Katerine uxori ejus unam croftam terre continentem unam acram terre voc^m Fosterslond jacentem per venellam extendentem et euntem in La Wythygfeld [obliterated] . . . ex parte bor., et per le Fosterslond ex parte austr. Dedi eciam &c. pref^s Joh^i et Katerine uxori ejus xvi acras terre &c. jacentes in cornibus ejusdem ville; viz., una acra terre jacet in campo orient. inter terram Joh^s Millyng ex parte occid. et terre Domini S^ti Joh^is voc^o Huchers ex parte orient.; due acre terre jacent in Le Denefeld inter terram voc^m Holmerslond et terre Will^i Schafte voc^e Le Lynchys; due acre terre jacentes in Le Westfeld inter terram voc^m Le Redlond et terram voc^m Coppedhall &c. redd^o annuatim pref^o Olivero . . . vi^s et viii^d &c. et sectas curie mee una vice apud le Cranys &c. . . test^s Wil^o Brocas, Joh^e Strode, Wil^o Chamberlayn, Thoma Huller, Joh^e Busche, et aliis: datum apud Schyrborne pred^m die Dom. ante fest. Nat. Dom. an. r. r. Henrici Quinti post Conq. Ang. iii^o.

(Paper deed.)

5 Hen. V. Sept. 29, 1417. **352.** *Grant by William Brocas to Thomas Leche, park-keeper of Beaurepaire, and Agnes his wife, of property in Shirborne St. John.*

Omnibus &c. Wil^s Brocas arm. Dom. de Beaurepaire salutem &c. Noveritis me dedisse &c. Thome Leche Parcario de Beaurepaire et Agne [*sic*], uxori ejus totum illud ten^m &c. quod Joh^s Joye nuper Parcarius de Beaurepaire quondam tenuit in parochia de Shirb. S^ti Joh^is, cum v croftis ad invicem jacentibus et unam moram eidem ten^o spectantem: hab^m &c. ad term. vite dicte Agne, redd^o &c. vi^s viii^d &c. &c. . . test^s Wil^mo Chamberlayn, Wil^o Motthe, Nicholao Carte, Thoma Parker, Petro Raungero et aliis. Datum apud Beaurepaire in fest. S^ti Mich^is Arch^i an. r. r. Henrici Quinti post Conq. v^o.

6 Hen. V. Sept. 29, 1418. **349.** *Grant by William Brocas to John Choude of Winchester, of a pasture, Le Russhelese, in Shirborne St. John.*

Omn^s &c. . . . William Brocas arm. salutem &c. Noveritis &c. me dedisse &c. Joh^i Choude de Wynton. . . . quandam pasturam voc^m Le Russhelese in

Shirborne S^ti^ Joh^s^ quam quidem pasturam Joh^e^ Fabyan tenuit ad term. vite sue ex dimissione dicti Wil^i^: hab^m^ &c. red^o^ &c. . . . dimidiam libram piperis ad fest. Pasche et unam libram piperis ad fest. S^ti^ Michaelis Arch. pro omn^s^ aliis serviciis, &c. . . testibus Joh^e^ Atte More, Will^o^ Shirefeld, Joh^e^ Coufolde, Wil^o^ Chamberleyn, et Wil^o^ Mothe, et aliis: datum apud Beaurepaire in fest. S^ti^ Mich. Arch. an. r. r. Henrici Quinti post Conq. vi^o^.

6 Hen. V. Dec. 25, 1418. **351.** *Grant by Oliver Brocas to William and Agatha Perot of West Schyreborne, of Le Coukesgrof, a croft and place, &c.*

simul jacentes in Schyreborne S^ti^ Joh^s^ inter quandam pasturam Ricardi Dykere ex parte orient. et quandam silvam voc^m^ Le Wythegh ex parte occid. et terram Rectoris de Schyrborne S^ti^ Joh^s^ ex parte bor. et quendam campum communem voc^m^ Lyllingdon ex parte austr. redd^e^ &c. vi^s^ et viii^d^. In cujus &c. . . testibus Joh^e^ Atte More, Joh^e^ Chauyn, Will^o^ Chamberlayn, Rad^o^ Gyle, Wil^o^ Whyte, Wil^o^ Dykere, Ric^o^ Dykere, et aliis: datum apud Schyreborne S^ti^ Joh^s^ pred^a^ die Dom. in festo Nat. Dom. an. r. r. Henrici Quinti post Conq. Ang. vi^o^.

(408 is a duplicate of this.)

10 Hen. V. Sept. 8, 1422. **353.** *Lease by Oliver Brocas to Thomas Leche, park-keeper of Beaurepaire, for life, of Byrchettes and Pynmour, for* 20*s. rent.*

1 Hen. VI. May 16, 1423. **354.** *Receipt from Thomas Ballard, Rector of Shirborne St. John, and three parishioners to William Brocas for* 40 *marks, left by the first Sir Bernard Brocas for the use of the church of Shirborne St. John.*

Noverint &c. nos Thomam Ballard Rectorem ecclesie paroch^e^ de Shirborne S^ti^ Joh^s^, Thomam Leche jun^m^, Wil^m^ Chamberleyn, et Wil^m^ Motthe, parochianos ecclesie paroch^s^ pred^e^ recepisse et habuisse die confectionis presentium de Wil^o^ Brocas, consanguineo et herede Bernardi Brocas mil^s^ nuper Camerarii Anne quondam Regine Anglie, xl marcas quas dict^s^ Bern^s^ ad opus dicte ecclesie in testamento suo legavit et quibus quidem vero xl marce sunt per dict^m^ Wil^m^ Brocas ad opus dicte ecclesie duabus vicibus solute: fatemur ob nomen omnium parochianorum ecclesie supradicte esse solutos, dictumque Wil^m^ Brocas ac executores dicti Bernardi et eorum executores inde fore quietos per presentes &c.: datum apud Shirborne predictam xvi^o^ die Maii an. r. r. Henrici Sexti i^o^.

5 Hen. VI.[1] Nov. 30, 1426. **355.** *Release by Thomas Leche, park-keeper of Beaurepaire, to Oliver Brocas, of a rent of* 22*s.* 6*d. granted to Leche by William Brocas for John Mothe's and Edith Bukke's houses, which had been granted by Oliver to William Brocas.*

5 Hen. VI. July 7, 1427. **356.** *Grant by William Brocas to John Bukke of Shirborne St. John and Alice his wife of*

unam acram prati vocatam Cranesacre, jac[m] in communi prato voc[o] Le Moore infra dominium de Shirborne pred[a] in lat. inter granam Domini de Shirborne Coudray ex parte una et pratum Domini Hugonis Seynt Johan mil[s] ex parte alia, quam quidem acram &c. nuper habui ex dono &c. Oliveri Brocas &c. . . test[s] Olivero Brocas, Joh[e] atte Moore, Wil[o] Chamberleyn, Wil[o] Motthe, Joh[e] Serne, et aliis: datum apud Shirborne pred[m] in fest. Transl[s] S[ti] Thome Martiris an. r. r. Henrici Sexti post Conq. Ang. v[o].

15 Hen. VI. June 11, 1437. **360.** *Grant by William Brocas [in trust] to Philip Baynard, Ralph Cowfolde, and Simon Alman, of the lands in Shirbourne St. John which Oliver Brocas lately granted him, except those of Beatrice, wife of Oliver Brocas, which they are to hold in reversion of her dower.*

. . test[s] Wil[o] Chamberleyn, Joh[e] Sern, Olivero Leche, Hen[o] Parker, et aliis: datum apud Shirbourne pred[m] die S[ti] Barnabe Ap[li] an. r. r. Henrici Sexti post Conq. Ang. xv[o].

(Thus we see that Oliver Brocas died in or before 1437, in his seventh or eighth decade; since his father, Sir John Brocas, died in 1365.)

22 Hen. VI. Feb. 2, 1444. **361** (and duplicate **362**). *Grant by William Brocas senior to Johanna, wife of Lawrence Stonard, of a rent of 13s. 4d. from a messuage in Shirburne St. John held of William by William Hanyton of the same place.*

. . test[s] Thoma Dunster, Wil[o] Chamberleyn, Hen[o] Smyth, Rob[o] Nevyle, Joh[e] Bucke, et aliis: datum apud Shirborne S[ti] Joh[is] in fest. Purif. Beate Marie Virg. an. r. r. Henrici Sexti post Conq. xxii[o].

26 Hen. VI. May 12, 1448. **363.** *Demise by William Brocas to John Tanner of Bromeley, of a house near the meadow called Le Courtmede and another called Le Milhous in Schirbourn St. John for a rent of 6s. for a term of ninety years.*

Imperfectly dated [? 1450]. **406.** *Confirmation by William Brocas to Johanna Stonard, of the property which she holds for herself and heirs male in Sherborne St. John, and which came to William Brocas from her father, Oliver Brocas; to revert to William Brocas if no male heirs.*

. . test[s] Wil[o] Warbulton, Rob[o] Dyneley, Joh[e] at More, Wil[o] at More, Wil[o] Bernard.

Endorsed (in an almost contemporary hand):

'Item: remember to make a serche in the Chauncery for thenrolment of thys Dede which was y[e] same somer that Jac Cade was behedded, and also to serch for fynes consernyng ye seyd lands made by dyvers persones.'

32 Hen. VI. Jan. 6, 1454.

364. *Quitclaim by Richard Coterell to William Brocas, for Pyperlond in Sherborne St. John.*

Omn^s &c. Ric^s Coterell de Shynyngfield [in Berks], consanguineus et heres Ric^i de Benefeld salutem &c. Cum Wil^s Brocas, arm., Dominus de Beaurepayre consanguineus et heres Bernardi Brocas sen. mil. habeat et teneat unam parcellam terre &c. voc^m Pyperlond jacentem in parochia de Shirborne S^ti Joh^s que nuper fuerunt Isabelle sororis pred^i Ric^i Benefeld. . . . Noverit universitas vestra dict^m Ric^m &c. quictum clamasse pref^o Wil^o Brocas . . . totum jus meum &c. Datum in fest. Epiph. Dom. an. r. r. Henrici Sexti post Conq. Angl. xxxii^o.

33 Hen. VI. Sept. 16, 1454.

365. *Grant by William Brocas, junior, and John Baron, Rector of Stevington [as trustees] to Richard Stonard and John Taylor, of lands which they had by gift of Lawrence and Joan Stonard in Sherborne St. John.*

Sciant &c. quod nos Wil^s Brocas junior, armiger, et Joh^s Baron, Rector ecclesie de Stevyngton tradidimus &c. . . . Ric^o Stonard et Joh^i Taylor sen. de Hanyton omnia terras &c. in Shirbourne S^ti Joh^s . . . que nuper habuimus ex dono &c. Laurentii Stonard et Johanne uxoris sue &c. . . . test^e Wil^o Warbelton, arm., Rob^to Dyneley, Wil^o atte More, Simone Alman, Joh^e Chamberlayn, jun., et multis aliis. Datum xvi^o die Sept^s an. r. r. Henrici Sexti post Conq. Ang. xxxiii^o.

(Two seals: 1. The Moor's head with Eastern Crown. Legend: 'W. Bokas'; 2. Two shields: dexter, the charge effaced; sinister, three bends wavy.)

35 Hen. VI. Jan. 20, 1457.

366. *Quitclaim by John Edwyn, son and heir of John Edwyn, to William Brocas* (2)*, for Danyslond and Holmerslond in Schyrburne St. John.*

38 Hen. VI. June 20, 1460.

367. *Quitclaim by Agnes Leche to William Brocas, for the* 20*s. rent which she had for life for John Mothe's and Edith Bukke's tenements in Sherborne St. John.*

. . test^s Wil^o Warbelton, arm., Joh^e Poulette arm., Barnardo Brocas, Thoma Dabringecourte, Joh^e Baynard, et aliis. Datum xx^o die mensis Junii an. r. r. Henrici Sexti post Conq. xxxviii^o.

(This witness is probably Bernard Brocas of Bromley and The Vyne.)

3 Ed. IV May 5, 1463.

368. *Grant by William Brocas to John and Margaret Chamberlayn of a house called Cryps and another called Holmerslond with two crofts in Sherborne St. John, for a rent of* 8*s. 4d., with reversion to himself and his heirs on the failure of male heirs.*

. . test^s Wil^o atte More, Thoma Childe, Wil^o Hanyton, Olivero Leche, et Joh^e Leche, et aliis. Datum apud Shirborne pred. v^o die mensis Maii an. r. r. Edwardi Quarti post Conq. iii^o.

(Written on paper.)

4 Ed. IV. July 5, 1464. **369.** *Quitclaim by Oliver Leche to William Brocas for the two rents mentioned in* 367.

. . testibus Johe Lisle, Thoma Ovedale, militibus, Mauricio Barkley, Johe Poulat, Edwardo Langeford, Thoma Dawbrigecourt, Reginaldo Ovedale, armigeris, et multis aliis. Datum apud Beaurepaire 13o die Augusti an. r. r. Edwardi Quarti post Conq. Ang. vo.

(Seal: The Moor's head with Eastern Crown; Legend: 'W. Bokas,' the same as that of 365. John Brocas, son of this William Brocas, married Anne, daughter of *Edward Langford*.)

5 Ed. IV. Aug. 13, 1465. **370.** *Grant by William Brocas and John Baron, rector of Steventon, to Joan Stonarde, of the lands mentioned in* 365, *with remainder to her son Peter Stonarde.*

9 Ed. IV. May 3, 1469. **371.** *Grant by John Leche, dyer, to John Poulett, John Brocas, Christopher and William Hanyton, and William Coufolde, of all his lands in Shirborne St. John and all his personal property [in trust].*

. . testibus Wile Brocas et Bernardo Brocas, arm., Johe Chamberleyn, Olivero Leche, Johe Cartere, et aliis. Datum apud Shyrborne predictam die Mercurii in fest. Invent. Ste Crucis an. r. r. Edwardi Quarti post Conq. Angl. ixo.

(John Brocas is thus made trustee of Leche during his father William's lifetime; the father and uncle, Bernard of The Vyne, signing as witnesses.)

11 Ed. IV. Dec. 2, 1471. **372.** *Draft of an Agreement (in English and on paper) by Lawrence and Joan Stonard to secure Cranes house to John Brocas by a bond for* 100*l.*, *and he to pay them* 6*l. a year for their lives.*

13 Ed. IV. April 7, 1473. **373.** *Lease (in English) by 'John Brokas, squyer, sone and executor of William Brokas of Beruper' to Henry Horne, draper of Basingstoke, and John Hegekott, dyer, of a dye-house in Shirborne St. John, for ten years at a rent of* 26*s.* 8*d.*, *and for ten years more at* 20*s.*

16 Ed. IV. May 6, 1476. **374.** *Lease by John Brocas to Robert Denys, of Cranes, &c.*

This Endenture made the vith of the month of May in the raigne of Kynge Edward the iiiith the xvith yere betwen John Brocas Esquyer on that one partye and Robert Denys lat of Kingseler Woodland on that other partye beareth wytness that the said John hath lette, graunted and to ferme ysett to the said Robert his messuage in Shirborn Seynt John & called Cranys, with the appurtenances, medewis lyinge in the moor perteyning to the said messuage, with the gret orchard afor the yat of the said messuage, and a tenement beinge in the said town and called Coppedhulls, with

certain pastures called Burchettes, and also a crofte longinge to the said messuage, which Will^m Hanyton dyd hold To have &c.. payinge yerly 3^li xiii^s and 4^d at iiii times of the yere [Clause of distraint and warranty] . . . In wytness whereof the partiez aboveseyd to this Endenture have severally putte ther sealls the date & day & yere above wryten.

14 Hen. VII. Dec. 20, 1498.

375. *Grant by Christopher Leche and James Spyre to William Brocas (3) of Joyes, or Leches, and other lands in Shirborne St. John.*

Sciant &c. quod nos Christopherus Leche et Jacobus Spyre dedimus &c. Will^o Brocas, arm., totum illud ten^m nostrum voc^m Joyes, aliter dicto Leches, situatum et jacens apud Hylhend in paroch. de Shirborne S^tę Joh^e . . . cum v croftis terre ibidem adjuncte &c. Dedimus eciam pref^o Will^o Brocas unam parcellam terre extra parcum de Beaurepeyre in parochia pred^e &c. . . . testibus Edwardo Brocas, Guidone Palmes, Gentilmen, Galfrido More, Hen^o Mason, clerico, Will^o Mothe, Joh^e Graunt, Joh^e Hanyton, et multis aliis. Datum apud Shyrborne predictam in Vigilia S^tī Thome Apl^i an. r. r. Hen. Sept. post Conq. xiv^o.

19 Hen. VII. Sept. 29, 1503.

96. *Lease by William Brocas to Edward Clerke, of Scorsers, Westlond and Lugmere in the parishes of Basingstoke and Sherburne St. John.*

Hec indentura facta in festo S^tī Mich. Arch. an. r. r. Henrici Septimi xix^o inter Will^m Brocas arm. &c. et Edw^m Clerke &c. testatur quod pred^e Will^e tradidit &c. prefato Edwardo unam pasturam cum orco ibidem superedificato voc^o Scorsers, unam pasturam voc^m Westlond, unam croftam voc^m Lugmere, cum pratis jacent^s in parochiis de Basyng et Sherborne Seynt John &c. Redd^o &c. xliii^s iv^d &c. et sectas curie de Beaurepeyre, &c.

1 Hen. VIII. Sept. 29, 1509.

376. *Lease by John [guardian of the Brocas heiresses] and Mary Audeley to William Sympson of Cranes.*

Hec indentura facta in fest. S^tī Mich. Arch. an. r. r. Henrici Octavi i^o inter Joh^m Audeley, gentilman, et Mariam uxorem ejus ex una parte et Will^m Sympson ex altera parte testatur quod pred. Joh^s et Maria tradiderunt &c. prefato Will^o totum illud capitale mesuagium voc^m Cranes &c. a die et dato presente usque ad finem termini xx annorum . . redd^o inde iii^li vi^s viii^d &c.

4 & 5 Hen. VIII., Easter Term, 1513.

377. *Copy of a Process of Scire facias for recovering a debt of 300l. which had been due from Edward Brocas, 'gentilman,' lately of Shirborne St. John, to Robert Wattes, citizen and clothier of London, since* 18 *Henry VII.*

16 Hen. VIII. April 1, 1525.

378. *Quitclaim by Elizabeth Davy, widow of Richard Curteys, of Tylehurst, Berks, to James Spyre, of her right of dower in Woodburye in Shirborne St. John.*

4 Ed. VI. Oct. 17, 1550.

379. *Indenture of sale for* 6*l.* 18*s.* 4*d. by Richard Wyllson, barber, of Basingstoke, and Agnes his wife, to Richard Pexsall of Beaureper, of lands which had belonged to Wm. Perrott, in Sherborne St. John, called Cowkesgrove, near Wythege wood, the parsonage, and Lyllyngdown common.*

('Indenture made the xviith day of October in the fourth yere of the reygne of oure Sovereravne Lorde Edwarde the Syxte, by the grace of God of England, Fraunce & Irelande Kynge defendoure of the Feythe, and of the Churche of Ynglande & also of Irelande in erthe the Supreme Hede,') &c.

Endorsed:—

'Datyd and delyvered in the presence of Richard Spires, Gawyne Chamberlein, Wyllyam Ternar, Thomas Dykenson, Roger Randall, and others.'

8 Eliz. July 1, 1566.

388. *Lease from 'the Right Worshipfull Sir Richard Pexsall, Knight,' to Edward Gardyner, of Wolverton, Hants. yeoman, of Cranes, then occupied by John Sympson, for a rent of* 4*l., reserving one 'garden roome' called Copychall.*

('Indenture made the 1st daye of July in the eighte yere of the reigne of oure moste dreade Souverayne ladie Elizabeth by the grace of God quene of Englande, France and Irelande, defender of the faith.')

34 Eliz. May 10, 1592.

380. *Sale for* 120*l. by Richard Chamberlayne, yeoman, to William Petty, dyer, both of Sherborne St. John, of 'all his lands in East Sherborne, alias Sherborne St. John.'*

34 Eliz. Trin. Term, 1592.

381. *Fine between William Petty and Richard and Anne Chamberlayne, by which the above lands (mentioned in* 380*), consisting of one messuage, one garden,* 10 *acres of land,* 5 *acres of meadow, and* 16 *acres of pasture, are sold to the former for* 100*l.*

35 Eliz. Feb. 19, 1593.

382. *Abstract of settlement, made on the death of Sir John Savage, by Pexall Brocas, 'of Steventon,' upon Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Sherlye, of Beaurepaire, Steventon, and the Wilts estates for life, with remainders over.*

By this instrument Pexall Brocas, who 'hath heretofore espoused and taken to wyfe Margarett Sherlye,' covenants for himself, heirs, &c., to Sir Thomas Sherlye, her father, and his heirs, &c., in consideration of his natural love and affection for his wife, and of 'the naturall and fatherlye affection and love which he hathe and beareth unto Thomas Brocas, his sonne, of the bodyes of him the sayd Pexall and the sayd Margarett his wyfe begotten,' that the property of ten parts in twelve in the manor, capital messuage or mansion house of Beaurepaire in the parish of Sherbourne St. John, should 'continewe and be in the name, bludd, and lyne

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1 Ed. III. June 12, 1327. **147.** *Grant by Sir John Pecche to his mother, Dame Johanna Pecche, of rents in Elsefield and Bromlegh for her life.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Joh[s] Pecche miles dedi &c. Domine Joh[e] Pecche matri mee vi[li] xiv[s] ii[d] redditus cum pert[a] in Elsefeld et Bromlygh percipiendum annuatim de tenentibus meis in villis pred[s] vid[t] de Priore de Suthwyke 100[s] per an., de Joh[e] Godard in Bromlygh xiii[s] x[d], de Gilb[o] Noreys viii[s] iv[d], de Thoma Le Clerke vi[s], de Joh[e] Schirefeld vi[s]. Hab[m] ad totam vitam suam &c. per serv[m] une rose &c. redd[o] in fest. Nativ. S[ti] Joh[is] Bapt. pro omni servicio. Et post decessum predicte Joh[e] matris mee volo &c. quod redd[a] pred[s] . . . Elizabethe sorori mee ad totam vitam suam . . . per serv[m] une rose in eodem festo. Et post decessum dicte Dom[e] Joh[e] et dicte Elizabeth totus redd[s] pred[s] ad me vel ad heredes meos revertatur. . . Datum apud Beaureper die Ven. in crastino S[ti] Barnabe Ap[li] an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii a Conq. i[o] &c. . . test[s] D[no] Thoma de Coudray, D[no] Rob[o] Hachard, militibus, Joh[e] de Ildesle, Wil[o] Le Kenne, Wil[o] de Battesford, Joh[e] de Molyns do Shirefeld, Ric[o] de Oklonde, et aliis.

(Two seals: [1] Broken, leaving the lower end of a shield and three illegible letters. [2] Has been sewn on, and may not be right. It is a pelican in her piety. Legend: 'Sum [p]elicane.')

1 Ed. III. Dec. 28, 1327. **146.** *Grant from William Terry of Bromley to Sir John Pecche, of land in Bromlygh.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Wil[s] Terri de Bromlygh dedi &c. Dom. Joh[i] Pecche pro quadam summa pecunie quam michi dedit pre manibus unam croftam terre mee in Bromlygh que jacet in long. inter terram que fuit quondam Joh[is] de Swynebroke et Viam Regiam que ducit se de Schirborne S[ti] Joh[is] versus Silcestre, et in lat. jacet inter unam croftam et unam pasturam que Joh[s] Pecche habuit ex dono pred. Joh[s] de Swynebroke: . . test[s] Wil[o] Le Kenne, Ric[o] de Oklonde, Joh[e] Bone de Silcestre, Wil[o] de Hastinge, Hen[o] de Hastinge, et multis aliis. Datum apud Bromlygh die Lune in fest. Sanc[m] Innocentium an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii a Conq. i[o].

(Seal: An indistinct figure. Legend: 'Wil' Turri.')

6 Ed. III. Oct. 26, 1332. **148.** *Grant from Sir John Pecche, Lord of Beaurepeire, to Thomas and Elizabeth Barksdale, of a tenement in Bromlegh for their lives.*

Noverint &c. quod ego Joh[s] Pecche miles et Dominus de Beaurepeire tradidi &c. Thome de Barkesdale et Elizabethe uxori ejus ad terminum vite eorum totum illud ten[m] quod Matilda que fuit uxor quondam Wil[i] atte Lane de me tenuit in villenagium in Bromlyghe ut in domibus, gardeniis, curtilagiis, terris, pratis, haiis, fossatis, arboribus. Redd[o] &c. viii[s] . . . et faciendo sectam curie mee de Beaurepeire, et herietum post mortem pred[m] cum acciderit pro omni servicio: . . test[s] Wil[o] Le Kenne, Alex[o] de la Coufaude, Ric[o] de Bochylde, Hugone Belle, Gilb[o] Fabyan, Thoma Peperwhyt, Wil[o] Hond minore clerico, et aliis. Datum apud Beaurepeire die Lune prox. post fest. S[ti] Dunstani Episc. et Confes. an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii a Conq. vi[o].

12 Ed. III. Dec. 6, 1338.

149. *Grant by William Terry to John Tybaud, of land in Bromleghe.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Wil^s fil. et heres Wil^i Turri de la Westende de Bromleghe dedi &c. Joh^i Tybaud pro quadam summa pecunie quam michi dedit pre manibus unum Seylone terre mee jacentem in una crofta magna vocata Northham juxta terram Thome de Barksdale in long. cujus Seylonis unum caput extendit versus Huingaham. Dedi eciam eidem Joh^i viam meam quam habui qua itur in Northham pro suis aysiamentis &c. Redd^o servicia inde debita &c. . . test^s Rad^o Bocylde, Hugone Belle, Gilb^o Fabyan, Joh^e ate More, Wil^o Madefeld, Joh^e Schirefeld, et aliis. Datum apud Bromlegh die Dom. prox. post fest. S^ti Andree Ap^li an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii post Conq. xii^o.

(Seal: A stag trippant attired. Legend: 'Clo. Boweles.' The word 'Seylone' or 'Sealonge,' found elsewhere in these deeds, probably means a 'ploughing,' as derived from the Anglo-Saxon 'sulh,' a plough. Its extent does not seem to be known, but it cannot be equivalent to a 'hide.')

14 Ed. III. May 25, 1340.

221. *Grant made by Dame Johanna Pecche, widow of Sir Bartholomew Pecche, to Elizabeth, her daughter (reciting a grant made to her by Sir John P., her son), of* 100*s. rent in Elsefeld and Bromleghe.*

Hec indentura facta apud Bromlegh die Jovis in festo Ascensionis Dom. an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii a Conq. xiv^o inter Dom. Johan^m que fuit uxor quondam Dom. Barthol. Peeche militis, ex parte una, et Elizabet filiam suam ex altera, testatur quod cum Dom. Joh^s Pecche miles filius ejusdem Domine Joh^e concesserit et dimiserit eidem Domine Johanne ix marcas et vii^s redd^s cum pert^s in Elsefeld et Bromlegh per finem levatum coram Dom. Wil^o Herle et sociis suis Justic^s Dom. Regis; hab^m &c. eidem Dom^e Joh^e tota vita sua, et post mortem ipsius Dom^e Joh^e &c. remanere Elizabet &c. tota vita ipsius Elizabet &c. Tamen eciam Dom^a Joh^a, amore et affectione &c. versus dictam Elizabet &c. concessit pre manibus eidem Elizabet de pred^o redditu c^s per an. tota vita ipsius Eliz. percipiendos singulis annis apud Elsefeld de Priore de Suth Wyk &c. . . test^s Magistro Wil^o de Broke, fratre ipsius Dom^e Joh^e, Nicholao de Haywode, Joh^e att Mulle de Schyrefeld, Gilberto Fabian, Hugone Belle, et aliis. Datum apud Bromlegh die et anno supradicto.

(Seal: on a shield apparently a gorge; much rubbed. Legend gone, except the letters P E . . ., no doubt for 'Johanna Pecche.')

19 Ed. III. May 5, 1345.

152. *Quitclaim by William Terry to John and Juliana Le Meleward, for half a meadow in Bromlegh, which he and Thomas de Barksdale held in common, at Le Swapes.*

. . test^s Gilb^o Fabian, Hugone Belle, Joh^e Nichole, Step^o Terry, Joh^e Pobelyng. Datum apud Bromlegh die Jov. in fest. Ascensionis D^ni an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii post Conq. xix^o.

(Seal same as [2] of 147, viz. a pelican in her piety. Legend: 'Sum [p]elicane.')

21 Ed. III. April 29, 1347. **151.** *Quitclaim by William Terry to John and Juliana Le Meleward, for the meadow in Bromlegh which they had of his son William.*

. . testibus Galf° Aluan, Hugone Belle, Thoma Peperwhyt, Wil° Barbach, Joh° Atte More, et aliis. Datum apud Bromlegh die Dom. prox. ante fest. Apost^m Phil. et Jac. an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii a Conq. xxi°.

(Seal: An ear of wheat on a branch slipped: in sinister a mullet of 5 points. Legend: perhaps 'Turre.')

26 Ed. III. July 23, 1352. **155.** *Grant by Nicholas and Margaret Le Kenne to John and Joan Le Taillour, of a house in Le Westende, Bromlegh, formerly held of them by William Le Skynnere.*

. . testibus Joh° Haywode, Joh° Turges, Rad° Bocylde, Joh° Tybaud, Hugone Belle, Wil° Barbach, Joh° Muleward, et aliis. Datum apud Bromlegh die Lune prox. post fest. S^te Marg. Virg., an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii a Conq. xxvi°.

27 Ed. III. 1353. *Ped. Fin.* *Abstract of the Fine by which the manor of Beaurepaire was conveyed to Master Bernard Brocas.*

The Fine is between John Brocas, knight, and Master Bernard Brocas, clerk, plaintiffs, and John Peeche and Mary his wife, deforciants, concerning the manor of Beaurepaire. Deforciants pass it to Master Bernard Brocas for his life, with remainder to Sir John Brocas and his heirs, to hold to the chief lords of the fee, for 100 silver marks.

29 Ed. III. July 9, 1355. **102.** *Grant from Bernard Brocas, clerk, to Henry Duke of Lancaster and Sir Bernard Brocas, knight, of Beaurepaire manor and other lands in Schirborne St. John, Bromelee, Schirfield, Chynham, Tadelee, Benefeld, and Basyng.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Bernardus Brocas clericus, dedi &c. nobili viro Henrico Duci Lancastrie et Bernardo Brocas, militi, totum manerium meum de Beaureapeir in Com. Suth. cum omn^s suis pert^s et cum omn^s aliis terris et tenementis in villis et hamelettis de Schirborne S^ti Joh^s, Bromelee, Schirfeld, Chynham, Tadelee, Benefeld, et Basyng, et in domibus, redditibus, homagiis, serviciis, eschetis, pratis, boscis, pasturis, pascuis, brueris, cum omn^s aliis pert^s suis una cum omn^s animalibus pecoribus, cum omn^s aliis bonis et catallis meis in pred^e manerio meo et aliis terris et tenementis pred^s &c. Hab^m et ten^m totum pred^m manerium &c. ut supradictum est, prefatis Henrico et Bernardo Brocas militi, heredibus, et assignatis suis de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per servicia inde debita et consueta in perpetuum. Et ego vero pred. Bernardus Brocas clericus et heredes mei totum manerium pred^m. &c. warantizabimus in perpetuum, &c. . . test^s Dominis Joh^e de S^to Philberto, Joh^e de Podenhale, militibus; Thoma de Foxlee, Thoma de Wortyng, Hugone Belle, et aliis. Datum apud Beureapeyr die Jov. prox. post fest. Transl. S^ti Thome an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii a Conq. xxix°.

31 & 32 Ed. III. 1357–8.

Steward's account of the estate of Sir Bernard Brocas for the nine months between Christmas 1357 *and Michaelmas* 1358: *translated from the Latin in 'Additional Charters,' British Museum*, 26,559.

(The full title of the document is as follows:—'Parcels of Sir Thomas Saddok, late seneschal to Sir Bernard Brocas, Knight, of all moneys of the said Sir Bernard by the same Thomas received, as well by delivery of the said Sir Bernard as of the issues of his manor of Beaurepeyr, for all the time during which he was steward there, viz. from the Feast of the Nativity of the Lord, 31 Ed. III., to the Feast of Michael next ensuing.')

RECEIPTS.

Rents of Assize (or Quitrents, i.e. fixed payments of tenants).

	£	s.	d.
At Easter	0	53	$0\frac{1}{4}$
At Midsummer	0	19	5
At Michaelmas	0	75	$5\frac{1}{2}$

Rents and Fines.

Lands at Benefeld, annual rent	0	66	8
Lands at Shyrebourne	0	24	0
Fine of John le Knyght for land formerly occupied by Roger Mouchet &c.	0	6	8
From the Vicar of Bromle for a granary	0	3	0

Issues from the Manor and sale of Stock.

For cattle agisted in the pasture of Beaurepeyr	0	16	0
From sale of a house at Schirebourne	0	25	0
From sale of old timber lying without the gate of Beaurepeir	0	10	0
From sale of an ox	0	12	0
From sale of five cows	0	30	0

Foreign (or extraordinary) Receipts.

100 motons received from the Lord's cofferer, worth	20	0	0
Perquisites of Court	0	4	0
Defaults of rent from various cottages	0	12	9

EXPENDITURE.

Rents resolute (or paid).

To the lord of Chynham	0	32	4
To William le Rughe	0	4	4
To the lord of Schirebourne	0	10	0
To the lord of Bromle	0	0	4
To the Prior of Schirebourne, rent in arrear	0	73	4
To the Bailiffs of Basingstoke for suits to the Hundred Court, released	0	3	4

Cost of the Ploughs and Carts.

A ploughshare, with coulter	0	7	8
Iron bought for repairing the ironwork of the ploughs, and the smith's stipend	0	5	1

	£	s.	d.
Ploughing bought in Moudyesloud for 6 days for fallow [*ad Warettam*]	0	4	0
One due service [*precaria*] of 8 ploughs coming by request [*per prece*] to plough for fallow [*ad Warettam*]	0	2	6
1 cart bought	0	5	0
4 clouts for the cart with nails for the same	0	0	10
Grease for the same	0	0	4
Mending one broken wheel of the cart	0	0	6
Shoeing of horses	0	1	6
Necessary Expenses.			
5 spades	0	0	7½
1 brass pot containing 6 gallons	0	5	6
Making 300 laths of the lord's timber	0	0	5½
Making a hedge in different places about the lands and meadows of Beaurepeyr, 396 perches at 1d per perch	0	33	0
Carrying thorn bushes for said enclosure	0	0	12
Levelling 2 ditches and 2 hedges by Richard le Spycer	0	3	4
Cost of the Houses.			
Sawing boards for doors, &c.	0	4	2
New-making 2 ovens	0	13	4
Making 3 hearths in 3 chambers	0	12	0
Clay pots for carrying water	0	0	4
Carrying a horse-hide for making harness for cart	0	0	8
Making a glass window in the chapel	0	5	4
12,000 tiles for repairing the houses	0	40	0
4 crests and roofs for bed-chambers	0	13	4
33 quarters of lime for the same, and for plastering the walls and making the ovens	0	22	0
Fetching the tiles from Odyham	0	6	0
800 lath-nails for repair of the houses	0	0	16
A man hired to roof the chapel (*by certain agreement*)	0	4	8
A man hired to roof the hall, chambers, and kitchen do.	0	15	0
A man hired to roof the grange do.	0	6	8
Do. do. house next the kitchen do.	0	2	3
Plastering walls of the houses with the lord's lime, do.	0	10	0
Hinges for doors of chapel, grange, and mill	0	0	4
Cost of the Mill.			
New-making mill-wheel from the lord's timber	0	2	6
Mending the 'juke' of the same mill	0	0	13
Cost of the Sheepfold.			
3 quarts of tar for greasing [mixing with the grease] the sheep	0	0	6
Grease bought for the same	0	0	12½
Cost of Weeding and Mowing.			
Weeding in all the lord's corn for the year	0	6	8
Mowing all the lord's meadows this year, by the task (*ad tascham*)	0	15	6

	£	s.	d.
Making the hay	0	2	0
Pitching the hay [*levando*]	0	2	4
Carrying home the hay	0	2	6

Purchase of Corn, Animals, &c.

2 bushels of corn bought for seed	0	2	0
2 quarters of 'berywhete' deliv[d] to Nich[s] Feldyat	0	12	0
3 quarters of barley for seed	0	18	0
2 quarters 4 bushels of buckwheat for seed	0	12	6
12 quarters of oats for seed	0	46	0
2 bushels of rye for the expenses of the Normans [? horses] deliv[d] to J[no] Freston	0	1	6
A horse bought for the cart	0	9	0
A mare	0	9	3
An ox	0	12	0
Sheaves of oats [*garb' avenum*] for cattle-stalls in winter	0	0	20

Cost of Harvest.

Reaping 44 acres of all kinds of corn (by the task)	0	22	0
Seneschal's gift to reapers by way of encouragement—'*ut melius facerent*'	0	0	6

Wages, &c., of Servants.

A man in place of a bailiff for 19 weeks, who was paid by the week the value of a bushel of wheat, viz. 11[d]	0	16[1]	5
Stipend of same [over and above foregoing]	0	6	8
A man in place of a Harvestman and of a Rypereve [reap-reeve, chief of the reapers] for 19 w[ks]	0	9	6
Stipend of same	0	6	8
A ploughman from Pur. B. V. M. to Mich[s] for 34 w[ks] taking value of a quarter of corn for 10 w[ks] (at 5[s] 4[d] per q[r].)	0	18	8
Stipend of same	0	5	0
A driver for 10 w[ks] (at 8[d] per w[k])	0	6	8
An ox-herd for 27 w[ks], from the Annunc[n] to Mich[s], taking value of a q[r] of corn for 10 w[ks] (at 5[s] 4[d] per q[r])	0	14	4
Stipend of same	0	3	0
A lad [*garcio*] for 9 w[ks]—making the pottage for servants, and keeping the Court [*curiam*] for 9 weeks	'3 bushels of tol corn'		
Stipend of same	0	0	5

Expenses of the Seneschal.

For his coming at different times to survey and order the Manor	0	2	0
For holding the Court	0	2	0

Foreign [or miscellaneous] Payments.

To the Collectors of a Fifteenth [subsidy] granted by the lord at Schirebourn	0	6	8

[1] This should have been 17*s.*

	£	s.	d.
Tithe of hay of Beaurepeyr meadows, bought at	0	5	0
Woollen cloth for the 2 Normans	0	6	4
Chest for the Chapel	0	6	8
To Nicholas, the lord's servant, for taking a horse over to Britany	0	22	0
Expenses of Jaket for fetching a bacenet and a haberjon from Southampton	0	0	14
Carriage of 3 q^{rs} of barley and buckwheat from Warnebourn	0	0	8
Expenses of Will^{m} Archer, collecting rent	0	0	18
Wages of Thomas, the lord's page, for three weeks . . .	2	0	0
Do. do. for 11 days after Mich^{s}	0	0	8
Pasture of a bull, ox, and cow, in Schirebourn Park . . .	0	2	0
Amercement paid at Court of William de Fyfhide [William de Fyfhide died 1361, seised of Sherborne Coudray &c.] .	0	0	18
19 hens for stock	0	0	19
Expenses of the lord's page going to London by the lord's command	0	0	4
Shoeing the lord's horses at Greywell	0	0	3
Deliv^{d} to Nich^{s} Feldyat for iron bought after Mich^{s} . . .	0	2	0
Pigs bought for the lord's expenses after Mich^{s}, by the hands of Walter the cook	0	6	8
Delivered to Nich^{s} Feldyat in the lord's chamber, in presence of the lord, for buying oxen at Guldeford	0	5	0
4 bushels of oats bought for the keep of the horse to be taken to Britany	0	0	20
Purchase of a Portiforium [for the chapel].	0	20	0
Expenses of John atte Hethe carrying the charters of Beaurepeyr to Clywar	0	0	6
Delivered to Nich. Feldyat by the hands of W^{m} Archer of rent of Mich^{s}	0	2	1½
Exchange [loss on] of 100 motons at London	0	16	8
1 quarter 4lb. of apples bought for cyder [*cizera*] . . .	0	0	18
Making a pipe of cyder	0	0	6
Purchase of a pipe of cyder	0	0	20
Wages of John Justice for 2 w^{ks} after Mich^{s} in place of a harvestman	sum erased		

Deliveries of Rents and Moneys.

				£	s.	d.
To the lord's Cofferer by the hands of			Richard de Yerdele out of his Mich^{s} rent . .	0	6	8
To the same	do.	do.	Rob^{t} le Wheler out of Mich^{s} farm of Benefeld	0	15	0
To do	do.	do.	Thomas Stevenes out of Mich^{s} farm of Shirborne	0	7	0
To the Cofferer of my lady *per vices*				0	40	0
To John Freston for purchase of 4 q^{rs} of barley for seed .				0	13	4

	£	s.	d.
To same for different affairs of my lord	0	20	8
To Nich. Feldyat for do. after Mich[s]	0	0	4
To the Cofferer for the annual livery [? of the establishment]	0	26	8

[Finis.]

(There is no balance of accounts.)

(Besides the fact that Sir Bernard Brocas was engaged between Christmas 1357 and Michaelmas 1358 in establishing himself at his new estate of Beaurepaire, and that Agnes his wife ['Domina'] was there with him, we gather from this paper that there must have been previously to this date a house of some kind on the estate. The expenditure is one of repair, not of building; but repairs of an extensive kind, showing that hall, chambers, chapel, kitchen, mill, and grange, had fallen into great decay under the late occupation by the Peeches, who had probably built them during the previous century, but, naturally, from the indebted circumstances of the two last owners, had not spent money on repairs.

The accounts are those of a small estate, without, as yet, a park; but even as it is, rents have to be paid to no less than five landowners, and the properties of Benefeld and Sherborne alone as yet contribute rents. There is nothing from those of Bramley or Tadley, which had come with Beaurepaire.

We cannot, indeed, be sure that the accounts of the two previous years may not have contained further receipts and further expenditure on building, and on the expenses of stocking the farm; but we only possess this single account. On the other hand, it has very much the appearance of a beginning, a first establishment of the new lord, who had been absent in the French wars of 1355 and 1356, and was not at all likely to get to work much before this date. Saddok, we see by his title, was a beneficed clergyman, and had ceased to be seneschal at Michaelmas 1358; nor do we ever hear of his name in any other paper. Another point which gives this the character of a first account is that the charters of Beaurepaire are now sent off to Clewer. Saddok was probably a neighbouring parson, to whom Master Bernard Brocas had entrusted these documents till his nephew came into residence. They are now sent for safety during the further absences of the owner to his father's custody at Clewer-Brocas, which was as yet the central home of the family. Perhaps also the 'Domina,' who had rejoined her spouse, had already given occasion of suspicion, and the question of who was heir of Beaurepaire might have to be settled by Sir John in case of Sir Bernard's death. The 100 'motons' have very much the appearance of a portion of the French spoil, and without them the accounts would have presented a very shabby appearance. The Manor Court already brings in 4s.; but suits due to the Hundred Court of Basingstoke very nearly swallow up that sum. The scale of prices, labour, &c., is only one out of many contributions to a subject on which already a good deal of information exists. Cyder seems to be the drink of the establishment; pork comes in 'for the lord's expenses'; 'pottage' is the common fare of servants. The steward seems to be paid remarkably ill for his labours, after making the utmost allowance for change of money-value. Thus perhaps he was not sorry to resign at Michaelmas. It might perhaps be inferred from these papers, taken as a whole, that Sir Bernard makes use of the clergy, Jews and others in legal matters to an extent somewhat disproportionate to the magnitude of his affairs. Southampton seems to be the place of supply for armour, Guildford as in the former accounts from Clewer for cattle, Odiham for tiles. Harness is home-made. The chapel is not only roofed, and its doors fresh hinged, but it is now supplied with a glass window, the former one perhaps broken by little boys throwing stones at it during the absence of the owners of Beaurepaire, with a chest (no doubt for vestments), and with a Portiforium, or Breviary, which costs 20s., or some 20l. of our money—the most expensive item in the whole account. The sums expended on the mill, the most important of a landowner's possessions, are remarkably small, but the carpentering is all done and timber cut on the premises.

The notice of William Fyfhide is the only one which occurs throughout the Brocas papers. This family is noticed (pp. 147, 363) in connection with that of Sandes, which took

their place in these parts by marriage some years after the date of the above accounts. Thus it is with the latter that the lords of Beaurepaire become related, not with the Fyffhide lords of Sherborne Coudray. The William Archer who collects rents makes a constant appearance in the family deeds, gradually raising his family under the shadow of his chief.)

36 Ed. III. Sept. 3, 1362. **103.** *Grant by Sir Bernard Brocas to William Archer, of land &c. which had been J. Walshe's, and also some near Moorgarston.*

Presens indentura testatur quod Dom. Bern^s Brocas miles Dominus de Beaurepeyr tradidit &c. Wil^o Archer de Schyrbourne unum curtilagium et tres pecias terre quondam Joh^is Le Walshe cum una moor et una pecia prati continente duas acras et quarum peciarum terre una vocatur La Bern crofte, alia Pollardescrofte et tertia vocatur La Walssheerofte. Concessit eciam eidem Wil^o unam peciam terre continentem unam acram jacentem juxta portam parci de Moorgarston; redd^o x^s &c. . . test^s Nic^o Le Kenne, Wil^o Ballard, Joh^e le Parker, Joh^e le Cooke, Joh^e le Schyrefeld, et aliis. Datum apud Beaurepeyr die Ven. prox. post fest. Decol. S^ti Joh^is Bapt. an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii a Conq. xxxvi^o.

Rot. Cartarum, 37 Ed. III. Aug.28,1363 *Charter of Free Warren granted to Sir Bernard Brocas in his manors of Beaurepaire, Bradley, Steventon, [North] Fareham, Hanyngton and Hoo.*

Rex eisdem salutem. Sciatis nos de gratia nostra speciali concessisse et hac Carta nostra confirmasse dilecto et fideli nostro Bernardo Brocas Chivaler quod ipse et heredes sui imperpetuum habeant liberam Warrennam in omnibus diversis terris suis in maneriis suis de Beaurepayr, Bradle, Styvyngton, Farham, Hanyngton, et Hoo in Com. Suth^n dum tamen terre ille non sint infra metas foreste nostre. Ita quod nullus intret terras illas ad fugandum in eis vel ad aliquod capiendum quod ad Warennam pertineat sine licentia et voluntate ipsius Bernardi vel heredum suorum super forisfacturam nostram decem librarum. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod predictus Bernardus et heredes sui imperpetuum habeant liberam Warennam in omnibus diversis terris suis predictis dum tamen terre ille non sint infra metas foreste nostre, ita quod nullus intret terras illas ad fugandum in eis vel ad aliquod capiendum quod ad Warennam pertineat sine licentia et voluntate ipsius Bernardi vel heredum suorum super forisfacturam nostram decem librarum sicut predictum est. Hiis testibus, venerabilibus patribus S. Elien. Cancellario nostro, et J. Wygorn. Thes. nostro, Episcopis, Johanne Duce Lancastrie, Ricardo Arundell, Roberto Suff. et Thoma de Vere, Oxon., comitibus, et Johanne atte Lee seneschallo hospicii nostri, et aliis. Datum per manum nostram apud parcum nostrum de Beskwod xxviii^o die Augusti.

Per breve de privato Sigillo.

(This Charter was confirmed by Henry IV. in the 7th year of his reign.)

39 Ed. III. Oct. 23, 1365. **157.** *Grant, at a rent of 6s., from Thomas Wygge of Heghfeld to John and Isabella Le Taylour, of Foblyngesperke, Bromlegh, for their lives, with remainder to grantor in fee.*

. . test^{s} Joh^{e} Helewys, Hen^{o} de Whatysford, Umfrido Gylott, Wil^{o} Ballard, Wil^{o} Fabyan, et aliis. Datum apud Bromlegh die Jov. prox. ante fest. Apost. Simonis et Jude, an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii post Conq. xxxix^{o}.

42 Ed. III. Oct. 1, 1368. **158.** *Grant from John Le Taillour to Sir Bernard Brocas, in fee, of a house in Le Westende, Bromlegh, which had belonged to Nicholas and Margaret Kenne; and of 12d. rent which he received from Peter Lytewerk for John Gregory's tenement in Pamber.*

. . test^{s} Hen^{o} Watesforde, Joh^{e} atte More, Umfrido Gylot, Hen^{o} atte More, Wil^{o} Archer, et aliis. Datum apud Bromlegh die Dom. prox. post fest. S^{ti} Mich^{is} an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii post Conq. xlii^{o}.

(Seal: a stag's head cabossed.)

42 Ed. III. Dec. 3, 1368. **159.** *Quitclaim by Hugh Terry to Sir Bernard Brocas for Helfelyngs in Bromleyhe, containing 5½ acres.*

. . test^{s} Rad^{o} Tyrwhyt, Joh^{e} atte More, Rog^{o} Savage, Umfrido Gylot, Wil^{o} Archer, Joh^{e} Parker, et aliis. Datum apud Bromleghe die Dom. prox. post fest. S^{ti} Andree Ap^{li} an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii post Conq. xlii^{o}.

42 Ed. III. Jan. 15, 1369. *Grant from Edward III. to Sir Bernard Brocas that he may empark Beaurepaire.* (Patent Roll, p. 2, m. 2.)

[*Translation and Abstract.*]

The King to all to whom &c. greeting. Know ye that of our special grace we have granted & given licence for us & for our heirs as much as in us lies, to our beloved & faithful Bernard Brocas, Knight, that he may enclose one messuage called Beaurepeyr, 120 acres of land, & 30 acres of wood in Shirburn Seint Johan, which are not within the metes of our Forest, & 12 acres of land, 2 acres of meadow, & 12 acres of wood in Bromle which are within the metes of the Forest of Pambere, as it is said, & make a Park thereof, & hold the same messuage, land, meadow, & wood so enclosed, & the Park made thereof, to him & his heirs for ever, without disturbance or hindrance of us or our heirs, of our Justices, escheators, sheriffs, or other bailiffs or ministers whomsoever, notwithstanding that the aforesaid land, meadow, & wood in Bromle are within the metes of our said Forest of Pambere. In witness whereof, &c. Witness the King at Westminster on the 15th day of January.

By writ of Privy Seal.

1 Ric. II. Sept. 18, 1377. **162.** *Grant by Henry and Johanna atte More to Sir Bernard Brocas, of lands in Bromlegh in exchange for others in the same place.*

Sciant &c. quod nos Henricus atte Moure et Johª uxor mea dedimus &c. Bernº Brocas mil. duas croftas et unam peciam prati adjunctim jacentes in Bromlegh inter Viam Regiam que ducit de Shirborne Prioris usque ecclesiam de Bromlegh et parcum de Beaurepeir in escambio pro una placea terre et bosci in Bromlegh vocata Northgrove prout &c. . . testº Johº atte Moure, Willº Dykere, Johº Fabian, Umfrido Gylot, Henrico Holte, et aliis. Datum apud Bromlegh die Ven. prox. post fest. Exaltº Sᵗᵉ Crucis an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. Angl. iº.

(Two seals: [1] On a shield between two bars, nine martlets—4, 2, 3, —the arms of Atmore. Legend: [apparently] 'John at More,' and, perhaps, a crest—[?] a cock. [2] Obscure.)

1 Ric. II. March 20, 1378. *Translation of a Close Roll,* 1 *Ric. II. m.* 8.

Know &c. that I Bernard Brocas knight have given &c. to the venerable father in Christ the Lord William by the grace of God Bishop of Winchester, Adam de Hertyngdon, clerk, John de Chitterne, clerk, Peter Golde, clerk, William Hermite, chaplain, & Henry Holte, my manors of Beaurepeer, Northfarham, Hoo, Bradele, Hanyngton, Froylle, & Broxhed, with appurtˢ in the county of Southampton; my manor of Little Weldon with appurtˢ in the county of Northampton; my manors of Horton & Chedyngton with appurtˢ in the county of Buckingham; my manor of Pyperharwe with appurtˢ in the county of Surrey; my manor of Pollyngfold with appurtˢ in the said county of Surrey and the county of Sussex; my manor of Bromle with appurtˢ in the county of Dorset; and all my lands & tenements with appurtˢ in Bromle in the said county of Southampton, & Shirburne Coudray & Stratfeld Mortymer; and also eight marks of yearly rent with appurtˢ in Usseburne; & 40ˢ of yearly rent with appurtˢ in Eldestok in the said county of Southampton; and a certain meadow of mine called Maddemoure next Upton Roberd with appurtˢ in the county of Berks; and also that I have granted to the same Bishop, Adam, John, Peter, William, & Henry, the reversion of all lands & tenements with appurtˢ belonging to me after the death of John Belchambre in Basyng; and also the reversion of the manor of Norton with appurtˢ after the death of Ralph de Norton knight & Margaret his wife; To have &c. [Warranty]. Witnesses: John de Foxle, knight, Walter Haywode, William Hogbyn, Thomas Warenner, John atte More, and others. Given on the twentieth day of March in the first year of the reign of King Richard the Second after the Conquest.

And be it remembered that the aforesaid Bernard came into the King's Chancery at Westminster on the ninth day of April in the present year and acknowledged the charter aforesaid and all things contained in the same in the form aforesaid.

Seal of Isabella de Ponynges, Lady St. John, A.D. 1378
(See p. 409)

Seal of Thomas de Ponynge, Lord St. John, A.D. 1399
(See p. 384)

1 Ric. II. April 1, 1378.

51. *Appointment of Solomon de Fresthorp by Sir Bernard Brocas to be his attorney for giving seisin to five persons acting for him in Wenkles, and in his property at Basingstoke, Basing, Southwick, North Fareham, and Hevere in Kent.*

Noverint &c. me Bernardum Brocas mil^m constituisse et in loco meo posuisse dilectum michi in X^o Salamonem de Fresthorp attornatum meum ad ponendum Dominum A. de Hertyngdon, Joh^m Chitterne, Petrum Golde, Wil^m Hermyte, et Hen^m Holte in plenam et pacificam seisinam in omnibus terris et ten^s meis in Wenkles in Com. Berks, cum pert^s, in omn^s terris et ten^s in Basingstoke, et in duobus molendinis meis adjacentibus in Basing, et in uno prato meo apud Suthwick in Com. Suth^n, et eciam in omn^s ter^s et ten^s in Hevere in Com. Kant., una cum in reversione omnibus ter^s et ten^s que Alicia Taillour tenet ad terminum vite sue in North Farham in Com. pred^o prout in quadam carta eisdem facta inde plenius continetur. Ratum et gratum habiturus quicquid idem Salamon inde in nomine meo ducerit faciendum. In cujus . . . . Datum apud Beaurepeir i^o die mensis Aprilis an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. i^o.

(Small fragments of the Brocas seal.)

(The date of this deed illustrates the events of Sir Bernard's life at this period. A few days previously March 20, 1378 he had granted to William Wykeham and these same five persons the whole of his property except what is here mentioned—*i.e.* he does indeed grant North Farcham to the Bishop and the rest: but here he distinguishes the reversion' of the manor. In that other document there is no mention of the estate in Hevere [which he had inherited from his nephew John, who died in Sept. 1377], nor of the meadow in Southwick, nor of the property in Basingstoke, nor of the two mills in Basing [though the 'reversion' of property in Basing is mentioned], nor of Wenkles in Bray. This then is a supplementary deed, placing the remainder of his property under the same trustees, excluding the Bishop. He had not yet recovered his father's estate, and thus only mentions 'Wenkles,' where Sir John Brocas and his grandson John had a house, now his property.)

1 Ric. II. June 6, 1378.

160. *Grant by Isabella de Ponynges to Umfrey Gylot, of house and land in Bramley.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Isabella de Ponynges Domina de S^to Joh^e in legitima et pura potestate viduitatis mee dedi &c. Umfrido Gylot de Bromle et Elizabethe uxori sue unum mesuagium et duas croftas terre continentes in se xvi acras terre et unam acram prati in eisdem croftis jacentes &c. in Bromle &c. quod quidem mesuagium &c. fuerunt Alexandri atte Mulle: et pred^m mesuagium situatum est apud Le Strode juxta iter Regale ex parte austr. quod se ducit a Redynge versus Wyntoniam inter terram Joh^s de Bromle ex parte occid. et angulum que [*sic*] se extendit in terram vocatam Alissislond, et terram quondam Hen^ci Holte ex parte bor., et aliam viam ducentem a terra dicti Henrici versus Le Strode ex parte orient., et due crofte terre similes cum predictis &c. prati jacent adjuncte ex parte orient. Regalis Vie vocate Osegodesstret ducentis versus ecclesiam parochialem de Bromle, et extendit in terram quondam Joh^s Le Gardener ex parte bor. et Regiam Viam ducentem a Redynge versus Wyntoniam ex parte austr. &c. reddo x^li pro omn. &c. salvis michi Isabelle, heredibus &c. heriettis, et relievis que acciderint secundum consuetudinem manerii mei de Bromle et

sectis curie mee ibidem atque claustruris haie parci mei de Basyngge quantum pertinet ad ten^m pred^m pro omnibus aliis serviciis &c. . . test^s Wil^o Le Hooper, Thoma Wigge, Thoma de Gamene, Wil^o Fabian, Ric^o Lyndeys, Rad^o Whatteford, et aliis. Datum apud Bromlegh die Dom. in fest. Pentecoste an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi i^o.

(A fine seal, which forms one of the illustrations: on a shield three lozenges—two and one—bearing the coats of Poynings, St. John, and Burghersh.)

1 Ric. II. June 6, 1378. **161.** *Grant by Isabella de Pongygges to Umfrey and Elizabeth Gylot, of a house and four crofts.*

This is an exactly similar deed, witnessed by the same persons on the same day. The seal is the same as that of 160, but not so perfect.

3 Ric. II. July 20, 1379. **106.** *Receipt from Thomas Twyhey of Tadley to Sir Bernard Brocas for 8l. for Wodemed meadow.*

6 Ric. II. Jan. 10, 1383. **163.** *Grant by William and Isabella Fyge, to J. Chitterne, W. Hermyte, and H. Holte, of Voxham in Bromleye [in trust].*

Sciant &c. . . quod nos Wil^s Fyge et Isabella uxor mea dedimus . . . Joh^i Chytterne, Wil^o Hermyte, clericis, et Hen^o Holte unum pratum nostrum . . . in Bromele vocatum Voxham cum libero introitu et exitu ad eundem vid^t per quandam viam ad hoc per antecessores nostros adquisitam : . . test^s Joh^e Fabyan, Joh^e Coufolde, Umfrido Gylot, Thoma Leche, Wil^o Fabyan, Thom. Wygge, et aliis. Datum apud Beurepayr x^o die Jan. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. vi^o.

6 Ric. II. May 10, 1383. **164.** *Grant by Walter Haywode to John Chitterne and Henry Holte, of Prevetmede, in Bromley, lying between the lands of W. Fyge and Humphrey Gylot.*

. . test^s Phil^o Baynard, Rob^to atte More, Joh^e Fabian, Umfrido Gylot, Thoma Wyge, et aliis. Datum apud Bromleye die Lune x^o die Maii an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. vi^o.

(Seal: stag's head cabossed.)

8 Ric. II. July 21, 1384. **165.** *Grant by Sir Bernard Brocas to Simon and Isabella Le Parmenter, of two crofts of land in Bromlegh, near the road from Winton to Sherfield.*

. . test^s Phil^o Baynard, Rob^to atte More, Joh^e Fabyan, Umfrido Gyllot, Henrico atte More, et aliis. Datum apud Beaurepeyr die Jov. prox. ante fest. S^ti Jac. Ap^li an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi a Conq. viii^o.

9 Ric. II. July 27, 1385. **166.** *Grant by William Theobald of Silchester to Sir Bernard Brocas, of a meadow called Wodemede, on the road from Bromle to Silchester.*

. . test^{s} Phil^{o} Baynard, Umfrido Gylot, Joh^{e} Fabian, Thoma Wygge, Petro Fabian, et aliis. Datum apud Bromle die Jovis prox. post fest. S^{ti} Jacobi Ap^{li} an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi a Conq. ix^{o}.

11 Ric. II. Dec. 26, 1387. **108.** *Acknowledgment of a debt of* 100*l. by Robert atte More to Sir Bernard Brocas, senior.*

11 Ric. II. June 11, 1388. **167.** *Grant by Agnes, widow of William Wike of Silchester, to John Avery and Thomas atte Delle, chaplains, of three crofts of land in the village and fields at Farylane, Bromley.*

. . test^{s} Humfrido Gylot de eadem, Thoma Wygge, Wil^{o} Fabian, Joh^{e} Clerk, et Hugone Terry, et multis aliis. Datum apud Bromley in fest. S^{ti} Barnabe Ap^{li} an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. xi^{o}.

Oct. 12. 12 Ric. II. 1388. (*Pat. Rolls.*) *License to Sir Bernard Brocas to enlarge his park. He may add* 100 *acres of land and wood in Bromle, Shirburn St. John and Prior's Shirburn, notwithstanding that* 64 *acres are within the metes of the King's Forest of Pamber.*

12 Ric. II. Dec. 6, 1388. **168.** *Grant by J. Avery and Thomas atte Delle to Sir B. Brocas, 'senior,' of the same land granted them in* 11 *Ric. II.* (*See* 167.)

13 Ric. II. May 19, 1390. **169.** *Grant from Thomas Wygge to Sir Bernard Brocas, of a rent of v^{s}, and land in Bromley, which John and Isabella Taillour held for life with reversion to Sir Bernard.*

. . test^{s} Joh^{e} Fabyan, Joh^{e} Coufolde, Umfrido Gylot, Ric^{o} Lynle, Joh^{e} Wadefeld, et aliis. Datum apud Bromlegh die Jovis prox. post fest. Ascencionis D^{ni} an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. Angl. xiii^{o}.

14 Ric. II. April 4, 1391. **171.** *Grant by Henry and Joan atte More to Sir Bernard Brokas, of eight feet of land from Fishermeade water to Holemore water and thence to Wheeler's croft.*

. . test^{s} Phil^{o} Baynard, Rob^{to} atte More, Joh^{e} Fabian, Humfrido Gilot, et aliis. Datum quarto die Ap^{s} an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. xiv^{o}.

(Seal: a [?] beetle. Legend: 'More.')

15 Ric. II. March 10, 1392. **172.** *Grant by Thomas and Isabella Leche to Sir Bernard Brocas, senior, of Trandelmede in Bramley.*

. . test^{s} Joh^{e} Fabian, Joh^{e} Coufolde, Humfrido Gilot, Thoma Wygge, Ric^{o} Lynle, Joh^{e} Wadefelde, Hugone Terry, et aliis.

19 Ric. II. Feb. 29, 1396. **173.** *Grant by William Edward, chaplain, and John Chedyngton to Johanna, wife of Sir Bernard Brocas, of a tenement and land called 'Barksdale' in Bromlegh, which they had lately received from Sir Bernard Brocas.*

. . test^{s} Umfrido Gylot, Ric^{o} Gylot, Joh^{e} Coufolde, Joh^{e} Fabyan, Joh^{e} Walays, et aliis. Datum apud Bromlegh pred. ult. die mensis Febr. an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. xix^{o}.

26 Ric. II. Dec. 2, 1396. **174.** *Appointment by Sir Bernard Brocas, junior, of John Surman as attorney to deliver seisin to William and Wilhelmina de Hoo of all his lands, &c., which he had granted them in Bromle.*

22 Ric. II. Dec 1, 1398. **175.** *Grant by Sir Bernard Brocas (junior) to Thomas and Isabella Leche, of Prevetmede in Bromlegh.*

. . test^{s} Joh^{e} Fabian, Joh^{e} Cowfolde, Umfrido Gylot, Nic^{o} Gylot, Rad^{o} Wattesford, et aliis. Datum apud Beaurepaire die Dom. prox. post fest. S^{ti} Andree Ap^{li} an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. Angl. xxii^{o}.

2 Hen. IV. Sept. 30, 1400. **176.** *Quitclaim by William Thebaud of Silchester to William Brocas, for Wodemede and Stertemede in Bromle.*

. . test^{s} Phil^{o} Baynard, Rob^{o} atte More, Olivero Brocas, Joh^{e} Coufolde, Joh^{e} Surman, Joh^{e} Shirlonde et Nicholao Gylot, et aliis. Datum apud Beaurepayr in crastino S^{ti} Mich^{is} an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. ii^{o}.

13 Hen. IV. March 9, 1412. **180.** *Quitclaim by William Warbelton to his kinsman William Brocas, for Westfeld in Bromlegh.*

Noverint &c. me Wil^{m}. Warbelton arm. &c. quietum clamasse Wil^{o} Brocas arm. consanguineo meo totum jus &c. que habeo &c. in quodam campo vocato Westfelde &c. jacente in Bromlegh juxta parcum dicti Wil^{i} Brocas &c. . . test^{s} Rob^{to} Petwardyne, milite, Bernardo Brocas, Rob^{to} Dyneley, Olivero Brocas, Rob^{to} Baynard, et aliis. Datum apud Bromlegh xxix^{o} die Mar. an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. xiii^{o}.

(Seal: a wyvern or gryphon).

13 Hen. IV. March 27, 1412. **179.** *Grant by John Wadfelde to William Brocas, of Westfeld in Bromlegh.*

. . test^{s} Rob^{o} Petwardyne et Joh^{e} Dabrichecourt militibus, Edwardo Coudray, Olivero Brocas, et Rob^{to} Baynard, et aliis. Datum apud Bromlegh xxvii^{o} die Mar. an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. xii^{o}.

5 Hen. V. June 23, 1417. **112.** *Grant by John atte More of Wythforth to William Brocas and others, of all his goods moveable and immoveable.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Joh^{s} atte More de Wythforth dedi . . . Wil^{o} Brocas de com. Sowthh^{n}, Edwardo Coudray, de eodem com., et Wil^{o} Woyde

de Wintonia omnia bona et catalla mea mobilia et immobilia cujuscumque generis existentia tam viva quam mortua ut indebitis vel in aliis reliquis ubicumque fuerint inventa: hab^m et ten^m omnia predicta bona et catalla ac debita universa recuperanda et levanda prefatis Wil^o, Edw^o, et Wil^o heredibus, executoribus, et assignatis suis ad daudum, vendendum, et legandum quibuscumque voluerint &c. . . test^s Rob^o Dyneley de Wolforton, Ricardo Lyndey de Bagehurst, Ingelramo atte More de Hanyton, Wil^o Luyde de Bagehurst, et Joh^e Couke de Pamber, et aliis multis. Datum apud Wyhforth in vig. S^ti Joh^is Bapt. an. r. r. Henrici Quinti post Conq. Anglie v^o.

5 Hen. V. July 26, 1417. **181.** *Lease by John and Elizabeth Barett of Creysulle, Berks, to William Brokas, of land in Bromle between Coufolde Park and Lockesbrigge.*

7 Hen. V. Sept. 29, 1419. **178.** *Lease by William Brocas to William and Sibilla Wolston, of land in Bromley, for life.*

Omnibus &c. Wil^s Brocas arm. &c. Nov^s me demisisse &c. Wil^o Wolston et Sibille uxori ejus unam parcellam terre arabilis et pratum jacens juxta Le Frythe in par. de Bromley, &c. hab^m &c. ad term. vite eorum . . . reddendo &c. xii capones pretio iii^s, ad fest. Natale Domini, et xii catapultres capitat. pretio ii^s, ad fest. Nativ. S^ti Joh^is Baptiste . . . test^s Joh^e atte More, Thoma Leche, Petro Raungere, Thoma Whyte, Thoma atte Hyde, et aliis. Datum apud Beaurepaire in festo S^ti Mich^is Arch^ti an. r. r. Henrici Quinti post Conq. vii^o.

(Small seal: the Moor's head, and 'W. B.' The meaning of the word 'catapultres' has not yet been ascertained: they are probably a species of poultry).

6 Hen. VI. Jan. 2, 1428. **183.** *Grant by John Russell to Agnes Leche, of Fysshewermede, with a grove near some Brocas lands called Jurgenfyrth and Highfeld.*

6 Hen. VI. Sept. 8, 1427. **184.** *Grant by John Sadelere to William Brocas, of Sadeler's Crofts in Bromle.*

7 Hen. VI. Nov. 1, 1428. **185.** *Grant by William Brocas to Ingelram and Alice atte More of a toft and four crofts in Bromley, a field lying between Pamber Forest and William atte More's croft (Stancroft), and a meadow near the Forest on the East Shyrborne road, at a rent of 14s.*

. . test^s Bernardo Brocas, Rob^to Baynard, Joh^e atte More, Wil^o Shyrfelde, Wil^o atte More, et aliis. Datum apud Bromley pred. in fest. Omn. Sanct^m an. r. r. Henrici Sexti post Conq. Angl. vii^o.

7 Hen. VI. May 1, 1429.

490. *Copy of deed of settlement by which [on the death of Johanna, widow of Sir Bernard Brocas] John Golafre and William Warbelton, surviving trustees of William Brocas, settle Beaurepaire on his heirs male, then on his brother Bernard and his heirs male, and finally on William Brocas' right heirs.*

Sciant &c. quod nos Joh[s] Golafre arm. et Wil[s] Warbelton arm. tradidimus, &c. Wil[o] Brocas arm. et Johanne uxori ejus manerium nostrum de Beaurepaire cum pert[s] in Com. South[ae] et Berks quod quidem manerium cum pert[s] inter cetera nuper habuimus conjunctim cum Joh[e] Wynteresbull et Ric[o] Soarbuyth superstitibus, et cum aliis personis jam mortuis ex dono et feoffamento pred. Wil[i] Brocas: hab[m] et ten[m] manerium pred. &c. Wil[o] Brocas et Joh[e] et heredibus masculis de corpore pred. Wil[i] Brocas legitime procreatis &c. Et si contingat ipsum Wil[m] Brocas sine herede masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis obire, quod absit, tunc post decessum pred. Wil[i] Brocas et Johanne manerium pred[m] cum pert[s] Bernardo fratri pred. Wil[i] Brocas et heredibus de corpore ipsius Bernardi legitime procreatis remaneat, tenendum de capitalibus &c. Et si contingat ipsum Bernardum sine herede masculo de corpore suo legitime procreato obire, quod absit, tunc post decessum pred. Bernardi man[m] pred. cum pert[s] rectis heredi[s] ipsius Wil[i] Brocas remanent in perpetuum &c. . . test[e] Waltero Sondes et Stephano Popham militibus, Joh[e] Uvedale, Rob[o] Dyneley, et Petro Coudray, armigeris, et multis aliis. Datum apud Beaurepaire i[o] die Maii an. r. r. Henrici Sexti post Conq. vii[o].

(The importance and bearing of this family settlement, made upon the death of Dame Johanna Brocas, has been noticed in Book III. It remains to observe that the lawsuit which resulted in the marriage of Bernard Brocas of Horton to Anne Pexsall appears to have had its origin in the interpretation of this deed. At the Inq. p. m. taken on the death of Sir Pexsall Brocas, the heir of Bernard and Anne, the escheators' verdict is that he derived his title to Beaurepaire through the Horton branch of the family, by the above settlement on Bernard Brocas [of Alton] brother of William Brocas of Beaurepaire, on the failure of William's heirs male. 'The said William and Joan died,' they say, 'without heirs male of the body of William,' as if the descent was limited to William's heirs male by Joan. But there is no such limitation; and if it had been so, William's son William Brocas [2] by his former marriage would have been excluded from the inheritance of Beaurepaire; but he not only enjoyed it on his father's death without molestation, as far as we know, but it descended from him through four generations of the elder branch before the lawsuit commenced. Perhaps it was argued that though the estate might descend through William's heirs male, the limitation to the heirs male of the junior branch would take effect as soon as the heirs male of the senior came to an end; but the contingency only applied on the death of the first William, and if either of the two Pexsalls were to be sued, it should have been Ralph, the father, and not Sir Richard, the son. As already said [p. 204,] it is difficult to perceive how any amount of legal ingenuity could have forced Sir Richard Pexsall into the matrimonial compromise to which he so reluctantly consented. And it is observable that in this statement the existence of Bernard Brocas of Bromley, son of William and Johanna [as we learn from the Sandes bearings quartered on his surcoat], is ignored, or had, in the interval of two centuries, been forgotten. He had died, indeed, *s.p.*)

13 Hen. VI. Sept. 29, 1434.

186. *Lease by William Brocas to Robert and Margery Litelworke, of a house and land in Bromeley, which had belonged to Richard Seymour, for the rent of* 8*s., twelve capons at Christmas, and twelve catapultres at Easter.*

(See Note to deed 178, p. 413.)

18 Hen. VI. Aug. 1, 1440. **187.** *Grant by John, son of Thomas Shirfeld, late of Bromeley, to William Brocas, of Le Hyghfeld which 'now lies' within Beaurepaire Park, and was close to Fishwermede.*

. . test^{s} Wil^{o} Warbelton, arm., Joh^{e} atte More, Ingelramo atte More, Wil^{o} Chamberleyn, Jac^{o} Tarry, et aliis. Datum apud Bromeley, in fest. S^{ti} Petri quod dicitur Ad Vincula an. r. r. Henrici Sexti post Conq. xviii^{o}.

18 Hen. VI. Aug. 4, 1440. **188.** *Quitclaim by William Brocas to John Shirfeld for the rent he used to receive from him for Shorfeldesland, in exchange for Le Hyghfeld in Beaurepaire.* (*Nearly the same witnesses.*)

18 Hen. VI. Aug. 4, 1440. **115.** *Quitclaim by John Shirfeld to William Brocas for Le Hygfeld, now enclosed within Beaurepaire Park.* (*Nearly the same witnesses.*)

19 Hen. VI. June 4, 1441. **189.** *Grant by Benedict atte Combe to Oliver Leche, of Le Smythe's Place in Bromeley, lying between Beaurepaire Park and William Clement's croft.*

. . test^{s} Wil^{o} Brocas, Ingelramo atte More, Thoma Clement, Joh^{e} Tanner, Jac^{o} Terry, el aliis. Datum apud Bromeley in fest. Pentecoste an. r. r. Henrici Sexti post Conq. Angl. xix^{o}.

29 Hen. VI. April 20, 1451. **190.** *Quitclaim of Simon Alman to John Leche and William Joye for Wodemede in Bromeley, which he lately had of the gift of John Russal of London.*

30 Hen. VI. Sept. 21, 1451. **191.** *Grant by John Leche and William Joye to Simon and Agnes Alman, of Le Wodemede in Bromeley.*

. . test^{s} Wil^{o} Brocas, arm^{o}, Wil^{o} Warbelton, arm^{o}, Ingelramo atte More, et aliis. Datum in fest. S^{ti} Mathei an. r. r. Henrici Sexti xxx^{o}.

7 Ed. IV. Feb. 13, 1468. **193.** *Grant by Oliver Leche to William Brocas, of Le Smythe's Place, in Bromley.*

. . test^{s} Mauricio Berkeley, Joh^{e} Paulette, Joh^{e} Baynard, arm^{s}, Wil^{o} More, Edwardo More, Thoma White, Thoma Clemente, et aliis. Datum apud Bromley die Sabati prox. ante fest. S^{ti} Valentini an. r. r. Edwardi Quarti post Conq. vii^{o}.

13 Ed. IV. Aug. 10, 1473. **194.** *Lease by William Brocas to William and Joan Wygley, of Smethes 'apud Park Gate juxta Bromley chirche,' lately held in socage by Edward Talliour, for* 80 *years at a rent of* 5*s.*

13 Ed. IV. Oct. 4, 1473. **118.** *Lease by William Brocas to William Wigley, of Frielonde, Venesun Croftc, and Stertmede, lately held by John Bye, for 34s. rent, a goose, or 4d. in lieu of it, and Court suit of Beaurepaire manor.*

20 Hen. VII. Feb. 10, 1505. **196.** *Grant by Francis Dyneley, John Skyllyng, John Benger, Thomas Parkyns, and Thomas More, to Edward More, son of Edward More, of their property in Bromley; received [in trust] from Edward More, sen., of Sherfelde super Loddon.*

PAMBER.

42 Ed. III. Oct. 9, 1368. **299.** *Grant by Peter and Agatha Lytewerk to Sir Bernard Brocas, of Tyghecrofte and Le Holm in Pamber.*

Sciatis &c. quod ego Petrus Lytewerk et Agatha uxor mea dedimus &c. Bernardo Brocas mil. tres croftas terre nostre in Pambere quarum due crofte vocantur Le Tyghecrofte jac^{m} juxta viam regiam de Bromlegh versus Shyreborne Monachorum, et una crofta vocatur Le Holm &c., extendit super la Foriyste de Bromlegh &c. . . test^{s} Hen^{o} Wateforde, Joh^{e} atte Moure, Umfrido Gilot, Hen^{o} atte More, Wil^{o} Archer, et aliis. Datum apud Pambere die Lune prox. post fest. S^{te} Fidis Virg^{s} an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii post Conq. xlii^{o}.

4 Ric. II. March 20, 1381. **300.** *Grant by Sir Robert Hethe, clerk, vicar of Aldermaston, and others, to John Chitterne and others (in trust for Sir Bernard Brocas), of Brodehalewyke and Le Holemore in Pamber.*

Sciant &c. quod nos D^{nus} Robertus atte Hethe, vicarius ecclesie de Aldermaston, D^{nus} Rob^{s} Wheler, capellanus, Joh^{s} Bernard, Rogerus Savage, et Joh^{s} Le Englisse dedimus &c. Joh^{i} Chitterne cler^{o}, Petro Golde cler^{o}, Wil^{o} Hermite cler^{o}, et Hen^{o} Holte, pro quadam summa pecunie nobis premanibus solute unum campum terre voc^{m} Brodehalewyke et unam moram voc^{m} Le Holemore que nuper habuimus ex dono &c. Joh^{s} atte More in Pamber jacentia ad invicem inter terram Bernardi Brocas mil^{s} et terram Joh^{s} Le Clere de Bromlegh ex parte orient. et terram Hen^{i} atte More ex parte occident. et bor. &c. . . test^{s} Joh^{e} Le Hay, Hugone Camoys, mil^{s}, Phil^{o} Baynard, Joh^{e} Fabian, Wil^{o} Wyke, Umfredo Gylot, et aliis: Datum apud Pamber xx^{o} die Mar. an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi iv^{o}.

Five seals: (1) Broken; a figure with falcon on wrist.
(2) A seated figure with a Cardinal's hat, and a smaller figure standing up as if learning from the Cardinal.
(3) On a shield a chevron between three martlets.
(4) On a shield, a bendlet; over all a cross flory.
(5) Obscure; not heraldic.

4 Ric. II. April 1, 1381. **301.** *Quitclaim by John atte More to Chitterne &c. as above (in trust for Sir Bernard Brocas) for Brodehalewyke and Le Holemore in Pamber. Witnesses the same as above, with the addition of Sir Hugh Camoys.*

(Seal: On a shield, between nine martlets, 4, 2, 3, two bars. Legend: 'Sigillum at More:' same as that of 162.)

16 Ric. II. April 30, 1393. **302.** *Grant by Joce, Culak, Blake, and Payn, trustees of John Ynge of Fountel Giffard, to Sir Bernard Brocas, senior, of Knovilesland in Pamber.*

Sciant &c. quod nos Johes Joce, Edmundus Culak, Thomas Blake, et Johes Payn capels, dedimus &c. Bernardo Brocas, seniori, mil., omnia terras . . . vocs Knovilesslond infra Forestam de Pember in Hundredo de Barton Sacy que nuper habuimus ex dono &c. Johis Ynge de Fountel Giffard in Com. Suthn &c. . . tests Nicho Dabrichcourt, Philo Baynard, Robo atte More, Rico Daunes, Heno atte More, Johe Dyker, Thoma Twyhey, et multis aliis. Datum apud Pember die Merc. prox. ante fest. Apost. Phili et Jacobi an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. Ang. xvio.

16 Ric. II. May 7, 1393. **303.** *Agreement (dated from Marlebergh) between Sir Bernard Brocas, senior, and John Joce, as to security against the reclamation of Knovilesland in Pamber by the original feoffor, John Ynge of Fountel Giffard.*

(Small seal: Moor's head and crown between 'b' and 'c.')

21 Ric. II. Dec. 20, 1397. **291.** *Lease by Sir Bernard Brocas (the second) to John and Agnes Carter of a croft at Knovile.*

Hec indentura facta inter Bernm Brocas mil. ex parte una et Johm Carter et Agnetam uxorem ejus ex parte altera testatur quod preds Bernes tradidit &c. predo Johi et Agnete uxori ejus unam croftam terre vocm Multwardescroft apud Knovile &c. Reddo iis et xd &c. et acquictando Dom Bernm et heredes suos annuatim de vid de assart erga Dom Regem, et faciendo sectas curie predi Berni et heredum ipsius Berni, et dant dicto Berno pro ingressu habendo viiis &c., et fecerunt Berno fidelitatem, at admissi sunt tenentes &c. . . tests Johe Hayward, Johe Couper, Simone Arundel, et aliis. Datum apud Knouvile predm die Jov. prox. ante fest. Nativ. Dom. an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi xxio.

? 10 or 13 Hen. IV. June 24, 1412. **304.** *Appointment by John Fabian of Nich. Gelot to give seisin to Oliver Brocas of the lands Fabian had in Pamber from John Byflete, and also lands in Tadley.*

Sachent touz gentes moy John Fabian avoir ordeynges &c. et en mon lieu mys mon cher et bien amee Nycholas Gelot de Bromles pur deliverer pesible possession et plener sesine au fee simple a Olivere Brocas en touz les terres et tens quex jadys estoient a Johan Hammond en Pamber et les quex jeo le dit Johan Fabian avoie de don et graunte de Johan Byflete: de auxi de deux prees en la paroche de Tadlee apeles *Fecneysmede, Oldmede, et Vinmede*

eyaunt ferme et stable tout ceo que le avant dit Nicholas ferra en ma propre persone . . . En testmoyngnaunce . . . Done a Schirborne Seynt Johan le xxiiii jour de Juin le an de regne le Roi Henri Quart puis le Conq. dixieme (or treizieme) [nearly effaced].

14 Hen. IV. March 11, 1413.

305. *Quitclaim by Thomas and Alice Norchampton to Oliver Brocas for the lands in Pamber recently granted him by John Fabian.*

Noverint &c. nos Thomam Norchampton et Aliciam uxorem ejus &c. quietum clamasse Olivero Brocas omnia illa terras &c. que quidem fuerunt Johis Hamondi in Foresta de Pamber in Com. Suth^n, et que predc Oliverus nuper habuit ex concessione &c. Johis Fabian de Basynge &c. . . . testc Wilo Brocas, Wilo Warblynton, Edwardo Cowdray, Rolo Baynard, Johe Baynard, et aliis: datum apud Pambere in Vig. St^i Gregorii, Pape, an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. Ang. xiiii^o.

8 Hen. V. April 23, 1420.

306. *Grant by Oliver Brocas to William Brocas, of the lands in Pamber granted him by John Fabyan, late Lieutenant of Pamber Forest.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Oliverus Brocas dedi &c. Wilo Brocas arm. omnia illa terras &c. voca Hamondesland in Pambere simul cum duobus pratis in paroch. de Tadley voca Elmede et Newmede alias voc. Fourneysmede, que quidem terras &c. nuper habui ex dono &c. Johis Fabyan nuper locum tenentis Foreste de Pambere &c. . . tests Johe atte Moore, Wilo Shirfeld, Wilo Mothe, Wilo Chamberleyn, Johe Cook de Pambere, et aliis. Datum apud Pambere in fest. St^i Georgii martiris an. r. r. Henrici Quinti post Conq. Ang. viii^o.

(Seal: On a shield, the Brocas lion. Legend: 'Sigillum Oliveri brocas.' This is given as one of the illustrations.)

8 Hen. V. May 6, 1420.

307. *Appointment, made at Schirborne St. John, by Oliver Brocas, of Thomas Leche, park-keeper of Beaurepaire, to give seisin to William Brocas of Oliver's property in Pamber and Tadley.*

(Same seal as 306.)

6 Hen. VI. March 31, 1428.

308. *Lease by William Brocas of Le Gretefeld, part of Knovile, in Pamber (for* 14*s. rent to the King for the Assart, and* 2*s. rent to him) to Nicholas, son of John Sadeler of Bramley.*

. . test^s Johe atte More, Ingelramo atte More, Jacobo Terry, Johe Quekeleryk, Johe Norehampton, et aliis. Datum ult. die Mar. an. r. r. Henrici Sexti post Conq. vi^o.

10 Hen. VI. April 25, 1432.

310. *Exchange between John Russell of London and William Brocas, of meadows in Pamber and Bromley.*

Omnibus &c. Johis Russell de Londonia nuper de Bromley: Noveritis me dictm Johm Russell dedisse &c. Wilo Brocas armo totum illum pratum . . . .

voc^m Fyssheweremede . . jacens in Pambere in escambium unius prati voc. Wodemede in Bromley jac^s juxta boscum voc^m Le Frythe &c. : et quia pred^m pratum voc^m Wodemede est majoris valoris per an. obligo me . . . Wil^o Brocas . . . ad solvendum sibi annuatim iii^s et iiii^d . . test^s Wil^o Warbelton, Rob^o Dyneley, Joh^e atte More, Ingelramo atte More, Simone Alman, et aliis. Datum apud Bromley in fest. S^ti Marc. Evang. an. r. r. Henrici Sexti post Conq. x^o.

21 Hen. VI. June 29, 1443. **311.** *Grant by William Brocas to John Carter of Knovyles-land in Pamber, for rent of a rose and court-suits (besides* 14*s. to the King).*

Sciant &c. quod ego Wil^s Brocas dedi &c. Joh^i Carter . . tres croftas, unam pasturam et unum pratum voc. Knovyleslond . . in Pambere que quidem crofte . . . jacent inter terram Wil^i atte More voc. le Eldhome ex parte oriente et viam que se ducit versus Forestam de Pamber ex parte occid. et viam que ducit de le Pryorye de Shyrburne versus Bromle ex parte austr. et terram dicti Wil^i atte More voc^m Marbelesynborne ex parte bor. &c. redd^o ann^m Dom^o Regi xiv^s &c. et nobis &c. unam rosam et sectam curie manerii nostri de Beaurepayr &c. . . testibus Joh^e atte More, Ingelramo atte More, Olivero Leche, Jacobo Terry, Rogero Styf, et aliis. Datum apud Pamber pred^m penult. die an. r. r. Henrici Sexti post Conq. Ang. xxi^o.

38 Hen. VI. Oct. 10, 1459. **312.** *Quitclaim by John Carter, late of Kynnys, in Hampshire, to William Brocas, for Knovyleslonde.*

19 Hen. VII. Sept. 29, 1503. **313.** *Lease by William Brocas to John South, of Hamonds lands in Pamber, for twenty years at a rent of* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Final Transactions at Pamber and Tadley.

In 1572 Pamber and Tadley are places in which Sir Richard Pexsall held Brocas property.
„ 1613 Sir Pexall Brocas sells land in Tadley (416).
„ 1639 Robert Brocas grants a lease of 'lands in Pamber and Tadley" (211).
„ 1680 John Thorner and others grant land in Pamber in trust.

THE SMALLER ESTATES IN HAMPSHIRE.

Basingstoke.

Undated. *c.* 1250. **97.** *Quitclaim by Johanna, widow of William de Haniton, to Alice and her son, Peter de la Clyth, for her dowry upon twenty-two acres of land in Basingstoke, on payment of a rent of* 2*s. and half a quarter of wheat.*

Notum sit omnibus quod ita convenit inter Johannam quondam uxorem Wil^i de Haniton ex una parte et Aliciam de la Clyth et Petrum filium ejus ex altera scilicet quod pred^a Johanna remisit et quietum clamavit de se pred^s Alicie et Petro et eorum hered^s quicquid juris &c. habuit vel habere potuit in viii acris terre et una acra prati cum pert^s in Basingstoke quas ipsa

in curia de Basingstoke clamavit versus predictos Aliciam et Petrum ut rationabilem dotem ipsam contingentem de xxiv. acris terre et iii acris prati in eadem villa quas dicta Alicia et Petrus de la Clyth quondam vir ejus habuerunt de dono dicti Wil[i] quondam viri predicte Johanne ita quidem quod pred. Alicia et Petrus filius ejus et eorum heredes seu quicunque pred. terram tenuerit reddent singulis annis in fest. S[ti] Mich. eidem Joh[e] ad totam vitam suam ii[s] et medietatem unius quarteri bladi quem terminum si per unum mensem transgressi sunt duplicabuntur tam denarii quam bladum pred. eidem Joh[e] pro dampnis suis: Ad quam duplicationem eos compellent Ballivi de Basingstoke qui pro tempore fuerint post lapsum mensis predicti: et ita quod dicta Johanna cum commoditate dictorum Alicie et Petri sequatur placitum suum si ipsi voluerint donec suum Warantum vocaverint et donec placitum illud terminetur: et quicquid versus Warantum suum recuperari poterit ipsis Alicie et Petro et eorum hered[s] remanebit: nec poterit dicta Johanna versus pred[s] Aliciam et Petrum aliquid in predicto placito recuperare per defaltam vel alio modo: sed quicquid ipsa aliquo modo recuperaverit vel recuperare poterit in dicto placito versus ipsos vel alios totum ipsis Alicie et Petro solute et quiete remanebit. Et ad securitatem hujus rei pleniorem sigilla parcium huic scripture alternatim sunt appensa. Hujus rei testes sunt Magister Joh[s] de Witechurch, Dom[s] Walterus de Merton, Henricus Flandrie, Ricardus de London, Ricardus Cocket, Joh[s] Le Cope, Rob[s] Le Duc, Galfridus de Winton capellanus, Ricardus Lauerk.

(A beautifully written deed. Seal: less than half left—'. . . C L. . . . . stoke '—perhaps it has been 'Clyth, Basyngstoke.')

16 Ric. II. Dec. 12, 1392. **99.** *Grant from John Lauerans and Stephen Doget to Sir Bernard Brocas, senior, of Vyables-place and Vyables-londe, in Basyngstoke.*

Sciant &c. quod nos magistri Joh[s] Lauerans [? Laurence] clericus et Stephanus Doget dedimus &c. Dom. Bernardo Brocas mil. seniori, omnia illa terras &c. vocata Vyablesplace et Vyableslondes simul cum duabus schopis &c. in villa de Basyngstoke que nuper habuimus ex dono &c. Roberti Anne de Basyngstoke predicta, &c. . . test[r] Rob. Herryerd et Joh[e] Levermouth tunc ballivis Libertatis de Basyngstoke, Thoma Ipres, Joh[e] Norton, Nich[o] Valeyns, Joh[e] Shupenere, Thoma Ayleward, et aliis. Datum apud Basyngstoke die Jovis prox. ante fest. S[te] Lucie Virg. an. r. r. Ric[i] Secundi post Conq. xvi[o].

(At later dates we hear of different portions of this property under the names of the 'Crown Inn,' 'the farm of Viables,' &c.)

Middelton and Esteneye.

10 Ed. III. May 1, 1336. **292.** *Quitclaim by Thomas Stacy to John Le Faukener of Husseborne for an estate in Middelton and Esteneye.*

Omnibus X[ti] &c. . . Thomas Stacy salutem &c. Noverit universitas vestra me &c. quietum clamasse pro me et hered[s] meis &c. Joh[i] filio Joh[s] Le Faukener de Husseburne-Prior, hered[s] &c. totum jus &c. quod habeo

&c. in uno mesuagio et duabus virgatis terre et dimidia cum &c. in Middelton et Esteneye que mihi accidere poterint ratione Reginaldi Stacy patris mei &c. . . test[s] Thoma de Burhunte, Wil[o] Le Wayte, Gilb[o] de Esteneye, Nic[o] Stake, Joh[o] Stake, Wil[o] Lynacre, Thoma Stake, et aliis. Datum apud Middelton die Merc. in fest. Apost. Phil. et Jac. an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii a Conq. x°.

(The name of Lynacre amongst these witnesses is observable, and may perhaps connect itself with that of the great luminary of the Renaissance. The seal is defaced and broken; the letters ' . . . N E R ' may possibly be a reading, and would denote Faukener. The place here mentioned is Middleton, alias Longparish, 4 m. east of Andover, and S.W. of Whitchurch.)

Newenham and Pollyng near Odiham.

28 Ed. III. Nov. 2, 1354. **316.** *Grant by William de Osberston to John Gogh, of land in Newenham and Pollyng.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Wil[s] de Osberston clericus dedi &c. Joh[i] Gogh archidiacono Meneviensi et Canonico Sarum et Dom[o] Ric[o] de Hornyngton clerico, totum illud mesuagium meum de La Houk infra parochiam de Newenham juxta Odiham in Com. Suth[s], terram, boscum, et pertinentia, que habui de dono &c. Dom. Joh[s] de Bourgh clerici; ac eciam dedi eisdem Dom[o] Joh[i] et Dom[o] Ric[o] iv acras prati jacentes apud Pollyngg &c. in Berkelegh et Newenham. Datum apud Newenham ii° die Nov. an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii post Conq. xxviii° . . test[s] Rob[o] de Sanct. Manyfew, Dom. de Newenham, Thoma Wortyng, Thoma Columber, Ric[o] atte Coufolde, Jeraldo Parker, Jacobo de Hare, Joh[e] Heleweys, Wil[o] le Hunto, Wil[o] Wasshopogh, et aliis.

(Seal: The Virgin and Child, and a figure kneeling before them. Legend imperfect: 'Dei' is one word: and part of 'Osberston' can be made out. This deed, being the only one which relates to the Newenham estate, was no doubt necessary for title. It still belonged to the Brocases in 1572, being mentioned along with Odiham in the list of possessions of Sir Richard Pexsall in that year.)

Stratfield Turgis.

10 Ric. II. Nov. 1, 1386. **315.** *Lease by William Farle to John Godard of land in Stratfield Turgis.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Wil[s] Farle de Stratfelde Turgis dedi &c. Joh[i] Godard de eadem duas pecias terre jacentes inter terram voc. Blakemoreslond ex parte una et terram Joh[s] Pegage ex parte altera, capitando a bosco Prioris de Merton usque ad venellam voc. Blakemorestret: hab[m] &c. redd[o] michi . . iv[d] ad duos anni term[s] . . . [Warranty]: . . test[s] Wil[o] Tanner, Joh[e] Jouster, Joh[e] Copping, Joh[e] Langebrigge, Ric[o] Norman, et aliis. Datum apud Stratfelde Turgis die Omn. Sanct. an. r. r. Ric[i] Secundi post Conq. x°.

(This property was no doubt acquired by Sir Bernard Brocas. It appears in the list of those possessed by Sir Richard Pexsall at his death in 1572.)

Asshemerysworth.

7 Ed. IV. April 7, 1467.

94. *Grant by William Stawey to Sir John Lisle, William Sandes, and William Gunter, of his lands &c. in Asshemerysworth in Hants.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Wil[s] Stawey de Asshemerysworth in com. Suth[n] fil. Steph[i] de Asshemerysworth pred. nuper defuncti dedi &c. Joh[i] Lisle, militi, Wil[o] Sandes arm. et Wil[o] Gunter de Andener [? Andover] in dicto com. omnia terras &c. in Asshemerysworth pred. que nuper habui ex dono &c. dicti Stephani patris mei. et que idem Steph[s] pater meus nuper perquisivit de Joh[e] Polee, et insuper que idem Joh[s] Polee quondam perquisivit de Joh[e] Laberans, parker &c. . . test[r] Thoma Hode, Joh[e] Kynge, Joh[e] Stevens, Thoma Stawey, Wil[o] Haldwey, et aliis. Datum apud Asshemerysworth pred. vii die Aprilis an. r. r. Edwardi Quarti vii[o].

(Ashmansworth is 4 miles from Highclere, where there is a small ancient church. The name does not occur again in the deeds: nor is there anything here to connect the property with the Brocases. The name of William Sandes is the only link.)

Folle Manor.

21 Ric. II. June 3, 1398.

288. *Agreement between Thomas Brocas of Compton, Surrey, and John Weston of Bramshott: the former to pay 50 marks, the latter to deliver Folle Manor to Sir Bernard Brocas, and the deeds to Henry Popham in a box. Sir Bernard Brocas to occupy the manor till the sums are paid.*

Hec indentura testatur quod cum inter Thomam Brocas de parochia de Compton ex parte una et Johannem Weston de Chiltele de parochia de Bramshote ex parte altera &c. fuerunt brige et dissentiones diversarum materiarum tangentium manerium de Folle qui quidem Thomas et Joh[s] concordati sunt sine aliqua alia ulteriori dilatione sub forma que sequitur vid[t] quod pred. Thomas ex parte sua solvet aut solvi faciet eidem Joh[i] Weston vel ejus certo attornato in ecclesia de Bramshote in fest. S[ti] Mich[s] prox. futuro post datum presentium xvi[li] xiii[s] et iiii[d] et in festo Pasche deinde prox. futuro xvi[li] xiii[s] et iiii[d], sme ulteriori dilatione [50 marks in all]. Et quando pred. due summe pecuniarum plenarie sunt persolute pref[s] Joh[s] Weston ex parte sua per rationabilem monitionem vel vi dierum deliberabit seu deliberari faciet Bern[o] Brocas mil. vel ejus certo attornato plenarium seisinam de pref[o] manerio de Folle. Ac etiam prefati Thomas et Joh[s] concordati sunt quod omnes evidencie ad dictum manerium tangentes que pref[s] Joh[s] habet in sua potestate ponentur in quadam pixide sub sigillis pred. Thome et Joh[is]; sigillatam deliberabit Henrico Popham ad custodiendum quousque pred[e] due summe 1 marcarum prefato Joh[i] Weston vel suo certo attornato finaliter sint persolute. Tunc pred[s] Henr[s] Popham deliberabit seu deliberari faciet pred[m] pixidem cum omn[s] evidentiis in eadem existentibus pred[o] Thome Brocas vel suo certo attornato sine aliqua contentione pred[i] Joh[s] seu heredum suorum. Et vid[t] pref[s] Joh[s] Weston licentiabit medio tempore pref[o] Bern[o] Brocas ad ocupandum manerium pred[m] ad usum suum

proficuum quousque conditiones predᵉ ad ult. diem solutionis prenominatum sub forma predᵃ plenarie sunt implete. Et [ad] istas conventiones fideliter in omnibus observanda utraque pars eorundem Thomas Brocas et Johˢ Weston mutuo se alteri obligant heredes et executores suos sub obligatione c marcarum . . testᵉ Henᵒ Popham, Johᵉ Chamflour, Johᵉ Romesey, et aliis. Datum die Lune prox. post fest. Sᵗᵉ Trin. an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. xxiᵒ.

(This is the only deed in which the Brocases of Compton are mentioned along with those of Beaurepaire. 'Folly' is very near Steventon, its proximity to which would make Sir Bernard Brocas a natural person to deal with a dispute in which his cousin was concerned; and it is close to Popham on the other side. It does not seem to have ever belonged to the Brocases of Beaurepaire.)

Alton.

12 Hen. VII. Sept. 11, 1496. **95.** *Grant by Edward Brocas, son of Sir Thomas Brocas, chaplain, to William Baynton of Alton Westbrook, of his property in Alton market-place, called Ladyplace.*

Hec indentura facta xiᵒ die Sept. an. r. r. Henrici Septimi xiiᵒ inter Edwardum Brocas filium et heredem Domini Thome Brocas, capellani, ex parte una, et Wilᵐ Baynton de Aulton Westbroke ex parte altera, testatur quod presens Edwˢ Brocas tradidit &c. predᵒ Wilᵒ totum angulare tenementum suum scituatum in marcato de Aulton predᵒ vocᵒ Ladyplace, cum porta, duobus gardenis, grangea et stabulo adjacentibus. habᵐ ad finem termini lxxx annorum. Reddᵒ &c. xxiiiiˢ &c. &c. . . testˢ Henrico Quynke, Wilᵒ Kyngswell, Robᵒ Felde, Wilᵒ Felder, et aliis. Datum apud Aulton predᵐ die et anno supradicto.

(These members of the family do not appear in the pedigrees. Thomas Brocas, the chaplain, is probably the person referred to in p. 177 as admitted to the priesthood in 1473. He is there styled 'of Haliborne.' His wife had, we must suppose, died, leaving him this son Edward. The deed would come into the family chest through the Brocases of Horton.)

Chynham.

3 Ed. III. April 28, 1329. **219.** *Grant from John Hodemelle to Richard, lord of Chynham, of ten acres of land in Chynham.*

Sciant &c., quod ego Johˢ Hodemelle dedi &c. Ricᵒ Dᵐᵒ de Chynham et Johᵉ uxori sue pro quadam [? summa] pecunie michi penitus soluta x acras terre cum &c. in Chynham quarum tres acre jacent in campo orient. de Chynham unde una acra jacet inter Chynham Seelonge et terram Johˢ North; et alia acra jacet inter terram Hugonis [illegible] et terram Rogeri Carpentarii; et tercia acra jacet in La Firugeden inter terram pref. Ricⁱ Dᵐⁱ de Chynham et terram Rogeri Carpentarii; et tres acre jacent in La Middelfelde in Sloubershe Sealonge inter terram Prioris et conventus de Schirborne et Sealongam que extendit super easdem; et tres acre jacent in campo occid. de Chynham unde due acre jacent inter terram Wilⁱ de La Garston et terram Johˢ North; et una acra jacet inter terram pred. Ricⁱ

D^ni de Clynham et Seelongam super quam dicte due acre &c. extendunt, et una acra jacet in illa Sealonge que vocatur La Bene inter terras Henrici le Nywman ex utraque parte &c. . . test^s Dom. Thom. de Coudray, Dom. Hugone de [? Brayboef], mil^s, Joh^e de Valoyns, Petro de Whateford, Alex^o de Confolde, Joh^e de Herriyerd, Joh^e Pyperwhyt, Joh^e de Anne, Joh^e Banners, Thom. atte Kyngsmelle, Wil^o Hond, et aliis. Dat. apud Clynham die Ven. prox. post fest. S^te Ambrosii an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii a Conq. iii^o.

(For the word Sealonge, *see* note on deed 149, p. 399.)

Esynton, near Froyle.

21 Ed. III. July 13, 1347. { 222. *Grant by James le Foun, Vicar of Farnham, to Master Bernard, and Sir John and Margaret Brocas, of land at Esynton.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Jacobus le Foun perpetuus vicarius ecclesie de Farnham dedi &c. Magistro Bern^o Brocas, Rectori ecclesie S^ti Nicholai de Guldeforde, et Dom. Joh^i Brocas mil. et Margarete uxori dicti Dom. Joh^s, unam acram terre cum pert^a in Esyntone que vocatur la Scurescrofte; dedi eciam eisdem Magr^o Bern^o et Dom. Joh^i ac Marg^e unam acram prati &c. jacentem in Esynton predc^o in quodam prato voc^o Brodemede in medietate inter pratum quoddam Ric^i Grym et pratum quoddam Ric^i atte Fischwere: dedi eciam eisdem &c. unam acram prati &c. in Esynton . . jacentem in la Westmore in medietate inter pratum quondam Joh^s Alwyne et pratum quoddam Ric^i le Mounte: dedi eciam &c. eisdem &c. tres perticas prati &c. apud Esynton &c. in quodam prato voc^o la More in med. inter pratum quoddam Steph^i le Dunse et pratum quoddam Rogeri de la Stone, &c. . . test^s Nich^o Huse, Thoma atte Boure, Phil^o Sturmyn, Hen^o Sommerbury, Wil^o Mote, et aliis. Datum apud Froyle die Ven^r prox. post fest. Transl. S^ti Thome martiris an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii post Conq. Angl. xxi^o.

(This place is Isington, a hamlet 1½ miles east of Froyle.—F. J. B.)

Norton.

No deed with reference to this manor is to be found in the Brocas collection; but on Nov. 12, 1368, on the marriage of Ralph Norton with Margaret ——, the manor is settled on them, with reversion, if they died *s.p.*, to Sir Bernard Brocas and Mary his wife in fee; and if the latter couple should die *s.p.*, to the right heirs of Sir Bernard in fee (Ped. Fin. 42 Ed. III. No. 100). This reversion is granted in trust to William of Wykeham and others in 1378 (see p. 408). No light has yet been thrown upon the origin of this contingent interest. Sir Ralph Norton witnesses a Brocas deed in the year last named. This ancient family took a leading place in the county.

CHAPTER III.

THE SURREY ESTATES OF THE BROCASES OF BEAUREPAIRE.

SECTION I.

GENERAL NOTICE OF MASTER BERNARD BROCAS' ESTATES IN SURREY—STOKE, ARTINGTON, 'ON FARNHAM ROAD,' PICARD'S MANOR, SHALFORD, 'ABOVE GUILDON'—OF SIR JOHN BROCAS' ESTATE OF POLYNGFOLD, AND SIR BERNARD BROCAS' ESTATE OF PEPERHAROW.

These estates must, as already mentioned, be distinguished from those held by the family of Arnald Brocas, of Compton, though both branches of the family were planted in Surrey by the two brothers, Sir John and Master Bernard de Brocas. We have no means of ascertaining with accuracy how much and what of his position in Surrey Arnald owed to Master Bernard; but the following deeds account for the earlier acquisitions of the latter, and show that they all came into the hands of the senior branch of the family. They centred in the neighbourhood of Guildford, where he was Rector of the important parish of St. Nicholas, and, as we have seen, successfully asserted before Parliament his rights over St. Katherine's Chapel on Drake (or Katherine's) Hill. Artington (or Ertyngdon, as it was then called), the first village out of Guildford on the Godalming road, was the first scene of his investments. Though in St. Nicholas' parish, Guildford, it is in the Hundred of Godalming. These investments gradually extended, apparently in the direction of Stoke-next-Guildford, and certainly on the old road to Farnham, the exact localities not being at present easily definable. But the death of John Picard of Guildford, in 1349–50, gave the Rector the opportunity of acquiring land which has been known for centuries as 'Picard's Manor,' for which he exchanged with Picard's widow and son certain lands he possessed, called Heysull, in the parish of Chiddingfold, a few miles south of Godalming. This exchange brought his estates close up under his own eye. Picard's Manor, on the Guildford side of St. Katherine's Hill, was held of the Crown. It was sold to Sir William More, of Loseley Place, in 1585. The Gascon rector also acquired lands 'above Guildon,' at Shalford, and in the Hundreds of Woking and Godalming. A portion of his lands (probably the Artington part of that which lay along the old Farnham road) was mentioned in Deed 454 as seized or purchased by Edward IV. for the enlargement of Guildford Park; but beyond that transaction, and the sale of Picard's, we have no record of the manner in which Master Bernard's property passed out of the hands of the elder branch of the family. It will be observed that the families with

which he was chiefly concerned, either by way of purchase or as witnesses to his deeds, were those of De Dool, or Le Dol, Le Gras, and Braybeef. These were lords of different manors in his large parish. The De Dools were lords of Loseley manor under the Earls of Gloucester for several generations, Robert, the last male owner, dying in 1357. The manor descended in two moieties through his two daughters (in whose time, 1371, it was worth annually 8*l*. 18*s*. 10*d*.) to the families of Westbrook and Crosse. The Westbrook moiety remained in that family till they sold it to Christopher More in 1515. The Crosse moiety was passed to trustees, of whom Arnald Brocas was one, in 1395 (the very year of his death), for William Sidney, Arnald's brother-in-law, and remained with Sidney's descendants till his great-grandson sold it to Christopher More in 1532–3. More thus came into possession of the whole estate, which is now, with additions, in the hands of his descendants by female inheritance. The Sidneys had before this settled at Penshurst, in which connection alone they are popularly known.

The family of Le Gras were lords of Littleton, close to Artington, Walter le Gras being sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1316 and 1317.

The family of Braboef, or Braybeef, came to England at the Conquest, and held the manor which still retains their name, close to Artington and Picards. John's name is not found in the pedigree given by Manning and Bray, from whom the above facts are derived. We also find this family in Hants, where they were again near neighbours of the Brocases and frequently witnessed their deeds.

The Gostrodes are also a well-known family, belonging to a place of that name near Chiddingfold. John Gostrode's name is not found in Manning and Bray.

The families of Wintershull, Atte Mulle, and Loxley were of importance, their names being found amongst the sheriffs or members for the county. Thomas de Wyntreshull was one of Sir Bernard Brocas' fellow-conspirators. Robert de Loxley was one of the trustees of Sir John Foxley in 1378; and Henry de Loxley was escheator for Surrey in 1388, and knight of the shire for the same county in 1341 and 1344.

The Westons of West Clandon (the property in modern times of the Onslows), the Says, the Stoughtons of Stoughton, and the Polsteds of Polsted (one of the four manors into which Compton was divided), were also county families. The names of Peter Semere, Walter de Wodeland, Richard Prnett, Henry Taverner, Roger Lumbarde, John de Manrok, Robert le Chesendale, and of several of the Hermans, may be found on the rolls of the Members of Parliament for Guildford. We can thus identify something like two-thirds of the names which appear on the Surrey deeds of the Brocas family, but even so good a county history as Manning and Bray's 'Surrey' does not help us further.

Polingfold.

With the Brocas manor of Polingfold we connect the name of Sir John de Brocas, whose position as Warden of the Castle and King's 'Farmer' of the Town of Guildford gave him facilities for obtaining it, and it was sufficiently

near Guildford to enable him to confide its interests to his brother the Rector of St. Nicholas' and his other relatives on the spot, while he was performing his own duties at Windsor and in the wars.

Polingfold is situated in the parish of Ewhurst, about seven miles S.E. from Guildford. It first comes before us in 1345, when Sir John (not 'James,' as erroneously quoted by Manning and Bray), holding *in capite*, receives from the king a charter (No. 20) granting him free warren on his manor. Again, in 1366, his widow, Isabella, releases the manor which she had in lieu of dower to her stepson, Sir Bernard Brocas, for the benefit of her own son Oliver, who is entrusted to his charge. Next, from a couple of Brocas deeds which have found their way into the collection of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and been recently brought to light by the Historical MSS. Commission, we discover Master Bernard of Guildford passing the estate to trustees for the purpose of settlement, and then settling it on Sir Bernard and his wife, with remainder over, at their death, to Sir Bernard's half-brother John and son, Ralph Brocas, both of whom died without issue. This is the only place where Ralph Brocas' name occurs. He probably died quite young, but certainly before 1384, when Bernard, who succeeded his father, is mentioned in the Foundation Deed of the Brocas Chantry, as his heir. Sir John is thus shown to have made over the manor to his brother before his death, with a view to the interests of his second family; and so loyally was the desire of his father recognised by Sir Bernard that we find him passing the manor, in his own lifetime, to young Oliver Brocas, on his marriage, to the exclusion of his own heir: and this though the name of Oliver did not appear in the settlement, but that of his brother John. As John would seem to have been still alive, he probably received some compensation of which we do not hear. At any rate, Oliver and his wife were settled at Polingfold, which he designates as 'my manor,' and he dates from that place in the deeds by which, after old Sir Bernard's death, he makes it over to Sir Bernard Brocas, junior. Here, again, we have no clue to the compensation given by the latter for this relinquishment of Polingfold, but, as Oliver was at the same moment settling at Cranes, close to Beaurepaire, where he goes on for many years residing and acquiring property, which falls in eventually to the Beaurepaire estates, and as the later Sir Bernard's name appears among those of the witnesses of the principal deed, it is clear that an amicable family arrangement was taking place in consequence of the death of old Sir Bernard. It is by no means impossible that some presentiment of the catastrophe which was so soon to overtake the family may have influenced the new chief in bringing its members together for mutual protection.

We hear no more of the manor. By the endorsement on the deed mentioned in the Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, we learn that it was sold, before 1456, to William Sidney of Loseley; from whom, about the time when the Sidneys parted with their ancient home to the family of the Mores, it came to the family of Bray. In 24 Henry VIII. it is in the possession of Edward, Lord Bray.

Peperharow.

The manor and advowson of Peperharow are first heard of in connection with the Brocas family in 1369, the year after the death of Master Bernard Brocas of Guildford; but were probably in their possession a little previously. We may fairly guess that the Rector had a share in securing them for his nephew, Sir Bernard, who was lord of the manor, and presented to the living in the above year,[1] and whose position in Hampshire had already been made by the instrumentality of his uncle. They succeeded the family of Braunche; John Giffard, second husband of Maria, widow of Thomas Braunche, having in 1366 presented to the living in right of his wife.

No family deeds exist of the earlier period which might throw light on the etymology of this curious name, but as far as the orthography of a locality can be indicated by the record of Wykeham's Register and an escheat, the suggestion of the county historians that 'Peper' represents an ancient family named Pipard is confirmed; for in 1399 the place is called Pypereharewe (Inq. p. m. on Bryan Wyndesore, 22 Ric. II. 52). The second part of the word (the 'herge' of Domesday Book) is considered by those authors to represent 'estate'; but by others it is held to stand for 'hearge,' a place of worship, referring, in this case, to some Saxon chapel once perhaps identified with the above family, and this is also thought to be the most probable derivation of 'Harrow' on the Hill, and other places where we find the name[2]; but it may also be remembered that 'herce' or 'hercis' was the old Norman-French word for a common harrow, which in its transitional form would be 'hargh,' 'harwe,' and 'harewe,' as we often find the name of this place spelt; and just as the common old word 'plough' finds its way into proper names, so it is possible enough that land under the harrow might receive its designation from that familiar implement. The ancient harrow was not very different from the plough, and derives its name from the cognate form of the word.

The Inquisition on the death of Bryan de Wyndesor of Stanewell (1399) states that Sir Bernard Brocas (the son of the first of the name) held the manor of Pypereharewe of Bryan and his heirs by service of one knight's fee and a rent of 6*s.* 8*d.*, paid every twenty-four weeks. This sum would seem, by an earlier Inquisition, to have been due in lieu of twenty-four weeks' service on Castle guard at Windsor. In the year 1400 the Royal Commissioners at Guildford, reporting to the king on the forfeited property of the conspirators of 1399, say that the above Sir Bernard Brocas had certain chattels in the manor of 'Piperhargh,' viz. 100 sheep, price 60*s.*; 4 oxen, price 40*s.*; 8 cows and one bull, price 60*s.* 'To whose hands they have come they know not,' but William Gye delivered to them one 'lorica,' price 26*s.* 6*d.* The escheators do not mention that these 'chattels' had all been granted to Sir Bernard's widow immediately after his execution. The

[1] From Wykeham's Register (i. 33) for the year 1369, we find that John de Gamelgay was instituted to 'Piperharwe' church, *ad presentationem nobilis viri dom. Bernardi Brocas ejusdem ecclesie de Piperharwe patroni.*

[2] See a paper on Peperharow read by the Hon. George C. Brodrick before the Surrey Archæological Society.

manor itself was one of the few which were not protected by a lease or trust, and so incurred forfeiture for the short period during which the attainder lasted.

The earliest Brocas deed concerning Peperharow now in the chest is no earlier than the reign of Henry VIII. There are four more documents of a later date, ending with the sale of the property by Sir Pexall Brocas, at the same time as he sold Picards; and these complete the list. They have some slight interest of their own, besides giving incidental notices of the Brocas family and their tenants in the time of the Tudors. Sir Richard Pexsall's proceedings at the place, already noticed in the text, are characteristic, and we may trace indications of great improvement in the value of the property, such as was going on all over England during the reign of Elizabeth. The sale is also characteristic.

That there was in the Brocas period of occupation, lasting more than two centuries, a respectable manor-house, is shown by its being thought sufficiently good for the residence of Johanna Brocas in 1492. She had been previously widow of a Lord Mayor, and, it may be presumed, was a person of some importance, as indeed we may gather from her monumental brass and her will. Sir Richard Pexsall also, in 1562, was living at the house. No traces of any ancient building, besides a portion of the church, appear to remain in the present day; but the name of the place has been saved from obscurity by having, after passing through the Smyths to the Covert and Holles families, become the seat of the Lords Midleton, who settled there in 1712, and have made it into a fine residence.

The names of the successive rectors of the living put in by the Brocas patrons, ending with an appointment by a person to whom Sir John and Lady Savage, then resident at Beaurepaire, had granted, probably sold, their right, are given by Manning and Bray. The county is fortunate in having had historians whose work must be placed amongst the very few of the sort which recognise the requirements of modern research. They would have been more than human if they could have avoided several mistakes in reference to the Brocas family.

Remaining Surrey Properties.

Nothing need here be said of the manor of Apse in Walton, or of Great Ditton and Moulsey, the Surrey properties which came to the family with Sir Oliver Brocas and his son John; since they only remained for seventeen years with Sir Bernard of Beaurepaire, and, without leaving any record in the family chest, passed to strangers.

For the same reason the estates of the Arnald Brocas family, at Compton, find no place in this summary, but the family of Arnald are treated as a whole in a note to Book III.

There is no record of the sale of the smaller estates in Surrey owned by the Brocases of Beaurepaire.

SECTION II.

SURREY DEEDS.

Undated, *c.* 1230.

474. *Grant by William le Bav to Robert de Reisnes, of land in Stokelane by the Eastern side of the road between Stoke and Guildford—(the title-deed, no doubt, to some of the Brocas property at Guildford).*

Sciant &c. quod ego Wil^s Le Bav filius et heres Wil^i le Bav dedi &c. Rob^o de Reisnes tunc servienti de Fulcham et de Heringee pro homagio et servicio suo duas partes tocius terre que fuit Serich' [*sic*] le Fesant in Stoke Lane a p^te orient. Regie Vie que se extendit inter Stoke et Guldeford, vid^t illas duas partes que jacent propinquiores terre que fuit Wil^i Werte a p^te australi. Habendas &c. . . . Reddendo inde . . . . viii^d ad iv term^s anni . . . [Warranty] : . . test^s Wil^o de Stoke, fil^o senioris, Rad^o de Stocton, Ric^o de Stocton, ... de Wike, Symone de Stoke, Jacobo fil. Philippi, Joh^e Werde, Ada fil. Edwini, Rob^o Longis, Rob^o Albo, Wil^o clerico, Odone de Stonhuse, et multis aliis.

10 Ed. III. Sept. 7, 1336.

436. *Grant by John Costyn de Lytleton to Master Bernard Brocas, of half an acre of land, apparently in Ertyndon.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Joh^s Costyn de Lytleton dedi &c. Magistro Bernardo de Brocas unam dimid. acram terre . . . jacentem in quodam loco voc. la Nye inter terram Wil^i de Wanetynge ex p^te orient. et terram Joh^s Mareschal ex p^te occid. : hab^m &c. . . . [Warranty] : . . test^s Rob^o de Dool, Laurentio Le Gras, Joh^e de Hegfelde, Wil^o Wanetynge, Andree atte Wych, et aliis : datum apud Ertyndon die Sab. Vig. Nat. Beate Marie an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii a Conq. x^o.

11 Ed. III. July 10, 1337.

437. *Grant by Laurence le Gras of Lytleton to Master Bernard Brocas, of three acres of land in Ertyndon upon Guildene.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Laurens^ le Gras de Lytleton dedi &c. Magistro Bernardo de Brocas tres acras terre simul jacentes in Ertyndon super Guldedene inter terram Joh^e matris mee ex p^te austr. et pasturam voc^m Crasesdone ex p^te bor. : hab^m &c. [Warranty] : . . test^s Rob^o de Dool, Joh^e le Braybeef, Wil^o atte Parke, Hen^o atte Donne, Joh^e Gosestrode, Wil^o Wanetynge, Andree atte Wych, et aliis : datum apud Ertyndone die Jov. prox. post fest. Transl. S^ti Thome mart. an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii a Conq. xi^o.

(Seal: a hound couchant. Legend 'Laur. Le Gras.')

13 Ed. III. Sept. 29, 1339.

438. *Deed by which Master Bernard Brocas enables Laurence le Gras to relinquish his bargain for a grant of lands in Ertyndon on payment of* 40*s.*

Omn^s &c. Bernardus de Brocas sal^m in D^no ; Cum Laur^s le Gras me et her^s meos de iv acris terre simul jacent^s in Ertyndon super Guldedone apud la Marlingpitte per cartam suam feoff^i feoffaverit, prout in eadem carta

melius continetur: Noveritis me concessisse pro me et hered^s meis quod si ipse Laur^s, her^s sui, vel assig^t veniant et michi, hered^s meis vel assign^t a die S^ti Mich^s Arch^li an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii a Conq. xiii^o quod erit in fine vi annorum prox. sequent. in ecclesia S^ti Nicholai apud Guldeford et ibidem persolvent xl^s sterl. quod extunc dicta carta vacua et irrita permaneat . . . hiis test^s Rob^o de Dool, Joh^e Le Braybef, Wil^o atte Parke, Wil^o le Fynch, Andree atte Wych, et aliis. datum apud Ertyndon die S^ti Mich. et an. supradicto.

14 Ed. III. ? April 9, 1340.

440. *Grant by Laurence le Gras to Master Bernard Brocas of two pieces of land at Ertyndon.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Laur^s le Gras &c. dedi &c. Mag^ro Bernardo de Brocas duas pecias terre jacentes in Ertyndone in quodam loco voc. le Nye quarum una pecia terre jacet inter terram Wil^i de Wanetynge ex p^te orient. et terram Andree atte Wyche ex p^te occid., et alia pecia terre jacet inter terram pred^i Wil^i Wanetynge ex p^te occid., & terram Thome Rattescroft ex p^te orient.: Habm. &c. [Warranty] . . [Witnessed as above]. Datum apud Ertyngdone die Lune prox. post. fest. S^ti Ricardi an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii a Conq. xiv^o.

16 Ed. III. Mar. 7, 1342.

441. *Quitclaim by Gena atte Lane for lands she had held in Ertyndon along with her husband, by demise of John atte Lane.*

Omn^s &c. Gena quondam uxor Rob^i atte Lane sal^m &c. Noveritis me &c. quietum clamasse Mag^o Bernardo de Brocas et hered^s suis totum jus &c. quod habui &c. in omn^s terris &c. que habui simul cum pred^o Rob^o atte Lane viro meo ex dimissione Joh^s atte Lane in Ertyndon, excepto capitali messuagio cum curtilagio . . test^s Rob^o de Dool, Joh^e le Braybef, Laur^o le Gras, Wil^o atte Parke, Hen^o atte Done, Wil^o le Fynch, Andree atte Wych, et aliis. Datum apud Ertyndon die Jov. vii^o die Marcii an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii a Conq. xvi^o.

17 Ed. III. Sep. 14, 1343.

446. *Grant by Laurence le Gras to Master Bernard Brocas, of land by the road from Guildford to Farnham.*

Sciatis &c. quod ego Laur. le Gras dedi &c. Mag^o Bernardo de Brocas unam peciam terre mee in paroch. S^ti Nicholai de Guldeford vocatam Byrd quam quidem peciam terre nuper inpingnoravi eidem Mag^o Bernardo: et jacet in long. inter terram dicti mag^ri Bernardi ex p^te orient. et quandam pasturam de Lytleton que vocatur Lytleton ex p^te occid.: et in lat. inter terram quam idem mag^r Bernardum adhuc tenet inpingnoratam ex dimissione mea ex p^te austr. et Regiam Viam que ducit de Guldeford versus Farnham ex p^te boreali: hab^m &c. [Warranty]: . . test^s Rob^o de Dol, Joh^e de Heghfeld, Wil^o de Parke, Wil^o le Fynch, Andree atte Wych, Joh^e Gosterode et aliis. Datum apud Ertyndon die Domin. prox. ante fest. S^ti Mathei Ap^li an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii a Conq. xvii^o.

23 Ed. III. June 20, 1349.

442. *Quitclaim by Richard le Gras to Master Bernard Brocas for land near Guildford.*

Omn^s &c. Ricardus le Gras de Lytleton sal^m &c. Noveritis me quietum clamasse Mag^o Bernardo de Brocas et hered^s et assign^s totum jus &c. quod habui &c. in omn^s terris &c. in Ertyndone jacent^s inter viam qua itur de Guldeford v^s Farnham ex p^te boreali et viam qua itur de Ertyndon v^s Compton ex p^te austr. et la Markerewe ex p^te orient. et le Marlynepitt Lane ex p^te occid. quas duas terras &c. idem Mag^r Bern^s sibi duxit tenere prius ad term. vite sue ut patet per quandam cartam indent. inde confectam in qua melius continetur de faciendo capit^s dom^s servicia inde debita &c. Ita quod &c. [Warranty]: . . test^s Rob^o le Dool, Joh^e de Worldham, Wil^o atte Parke, Joh^e Pykard, Wil^o le Fynch, Thoma de Gostrounde, et multis aliis: Datum apud Ertyndone xx^o die mens. Jun. an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii a Conq. Angl. xxiii^o et regni sui Francie x^o.

(John de Worldham was the son and heir of Cecilia Brabeuf by her first marriage with — Worldham, and in 1348 was upwards of 40 years of age. Peter de Worldham, who probably was her husband, was Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1316-7-8.—F. J. B.)

24 Ed. III. May 29, 1350.

435. *Exchange of lands between Master Bernard Brocas and Margaret, widow of John Pykard of Guildford, and son. For their lands in the Hundred of Godalming and parish of St. Nicholas, Guildford, he gives Heysull.*

Hec indentura facta apud Guldeford die Sabb. prox. post fest. S^te Trin. an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii Anglie xxiv^o testatur quod tam Mag^r Bernardus Brocas quam Margareta que fuit uxor Joh^s Pykard de Guldeford et Joh^s filius ejus in escambium dederunt &c. tenementa subscripta: viz. pred^s Mag^r Bern^s dedit &c. prefatis Margarete et Joh^i et hered^s ipsius Joh^s omnia ter. et ten. &c. in Chudyngefold vocata Heysull, et pred^a Margareta et Joh^s eidem Mag^o Bern^o omnia terras &c. in Hundredo de Godalminge et in parochia S^ti Nicholai de Guldeford: hab^m &c. [Warranty]: . . test^s Hen^o de Loxle, Wil^o atte Park, Joh^e Braybocff, Joh^e Piper, Petro Semere, Simone Brocas, et aliis. Data die, loco, et anno predictis.

(This is the estate afterwards known in the Brocas deeds as 'Picards,' and 'Picard's manor.' The Picards had recently obtained a verdict from an Inq. ad q. d., in favour of their granting the Erdyngton portion of their land to Bernard Brocas. It had not been in their possession for more than one generation before it came to the Brocases, having previously belonged to the Turnhams. Part of it was in the Hundred of Godalming.)

36 Ed. III. Feb. 23, 1362.

469. *Grant by Margaret, widow of Alan Herman, to Master Bernard Brocas, of land in Shalford called le Fyfacre.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Margareta nuper uxor Joh^s fil. Alani Herman de Guldeford dedi &c. Mag^o Bernardo Brocas persone ecclesie beati Nicholai de Guldeford totam illam peciam terre mee &c. . . jacentem in campo de Schaldeford in feodo de Bromlegh juxta Cropetteslane et vocato le Fifacre:

hab^{m} &c. [Warranty]: . . test^{s} Petro Semere, Walt^{o} Wodelond, Ric^{o} Pruet, Hen^{o} Taverner, Rog^{o} Lumbarde, Joh^{e} Manrok, Rob^{o} Patrick, et aliis: datum apud Guldeford die Merc. in crastino S^{ti} Petri in Cathedra an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii a Conq. xxxvi^{o}.

(These Hermans of Guildford seem to have been amongst Bernard Brocas' chief friends. In the same year he employs Walter Herman, chaplain, in a matter of business. Arnald Brocas was succeeded by Walter Herman as Rector of Ash in 1368, who, again, we find as chaplain of Erytndon in 1371.)

36 Ed. III. Dec. 8, 1362.

433. *Appointment by Master Bernard Brocas of Walter Herman and Simon Brocas as attorneys to receive seisin of all his lands in Surrey and Sussex, which he had previously passed to three trustees, clergymen, of whom Arnald Brocas was one.*

Noverint universi me Bernardum Brocas clericum attornasse et in loco meo posuisse dilectos michi in X^{to} D^{num} Walterum Herman, capellanum, et Simonem Brocas, vel eorum alterum ad recipiendum nomine meo de omn^{a} illis terris et ten^{a}, redd^{s}, et serviciis seisinam de quibus magistri Rob^{s} de Parnycote [parson of Ash in 1357], Joh^{s} Chapman, vicarius ecclesie de Godalming, et Arnaldus Brocas michi concesserunt feoffare ad term. vite meo in Com^{a} Surre et Sussex, et que quidem terras et ten. iidem Rob^{s}, Joh^{s}, et Arnaldus nuper habuerunt de dono et feoffamento meo. Ratum habens et gratum quicquid iidem Walterus et Simon . . . in premissis secundum tenorem carte quam iidem magistri Rob^{s}, Joh^{s}, et Arnaldus michi facient nomine meo in premissis . . . . . Datum apud Suthwerk die Jovis prox. post fest. S^{ti} Nicholai an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii a Conq. xxxvi^{o}.

15 Ric. II. Nov. 6, 1391.

447. *Quitclaim by John Pilton to Sir Bernard Brocas, junior, for sixteen acres of land upon Gyldedown in St. Nicholas' parish.*

Omn^{a} &c. Noveritis me Joh^{m} Pilton consanguineum et heredem Wil^{i} Say, consang. et her^{m} Hen^{i} Say et Johanne uxoris ejus . . . quietum clamasse Bernardo Brocas, militi, juniori, et Rob^{o} Chesenhale de Guldeforde totum jus meum &c. in xvi acris terre jacent^{s} simul super Gyldedonne in paroch. S^{ti} Nicholai de Guldeford in Com. Surre quas quidem xvi acras terre idem Rob^{s} tenet ad term. vite sue ex dimissione Bernardi pred^{i} et que post decessum ipsius Rob^{i} Bernardo Brocas pred^{o} et hered^{s} suis imperp^{m} revertent: et unde lis pendebat inter Wil^{m} Say et dict^{m} Rob^{m} Chesenhale coram Justic^{s} . . . Datum apud Guldeforde die Lune prox. post fest. Omn. Sanct^{m} an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. xv^{o}.

(Guildown is the elevated tract of land on the summit of which Booker's Tower now stands.)

5 Hen. IV. Sept. 29, 1403.

448. *Lease by William Brocas to Thomas Brocas of all his lands in Guildford and Ertyndon, and in the Hundreds of Woking and Godalming, for twenty years, at a rent of* 16 *marks. (Copy on paper, much damaged.)*

Hec indentura facta inter Wil^{m} Brocas ex p^{te} una et Thomam Brocas ex alt. testatur quod pred^{s} Wil^{s} tradidit &c. et ad firmam demisit prefato

Thome omnia ter. et ten. sua in Guldeforde et Ertyndon cum omn^a reddit^a, serviciis &c. que Rob^s Chisenhale nuper de pred^o Wil^o ad firmam tenuit in hundredo de Wokkynge et Godalmynge hab^m &c. a data present^m usque ad finem xx annorum . . . reddendo inde annuatim . . . xvi marcas ad duos term^s an. . . . [Clause of distraint]. Et pred^s Wil^s et heredes sui omnes domos tenementorum predictorum, et muros circa tenementum principale, bene et sufficⁱ reparabunt sumptibus suis propriis, sed postquam reparati fuerint predictus Thomas, heredes sui et assignati eos sic sustentatos et reparatos in finem term. sui dimittent, et omnia alia onera incumbentia supportabunt . . [Warranty] . . Et si contingat quod aliqua parcella terrarum tenementorum, et reddituum predictorum versus pred^m Wil^m vel heredes suos recuperari tunc pred^s Wil^s vult et concedit pro se et hered^s suis quod pred^s Thomas, heredes, et assignati sui allocationem inde habebunt. In cujus rei &c. Datum apud Guldeford in fest. S^ti Mich. an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. quinto incipiente.

(The date should properly be the fourth year of Henry IV., as his fifth year began on the next day, viz. September 30, 1403. This and the deed 288 of 1398, in which Thomas is styled 'of Compton parish,' prove a close connection between the cousins. Being settled at Compton, Thomas was the natural person to have the lease of the Guildford and Godalming lands, which had come to the Beaurepaire branch from Master Bernard Brocas. The Robert Chesenhale mentioned in this deed is described by the special Commissioners who held an Inquisition at Guildford upon the estates of the 'traitors' of 1399 (Jan. 17, 1 Hen. IV.) as holding for life 'a fourth part of the manor of Ertyngdon, with divers lands and tenements in the Hundred of Godalming, and tenements and rents in Guildford, which were of Bernard Brocas, chivaler, convicted of divers treasons, for 16 marks by the year, the reversion of which belonged to the said Bernard on the day of his forfeiture.' The Commissioners place the name of Thomas Wyntreshull at the head of those who 'falsely and traitorously rebelled, with Thomas Earl of Kent, to slay and destroy the Lord the King.' Robert de Chesendale had been M.P. for Guildford.)

5 Hen. IV. Mar. 30, 1404. — **456** (**467** is a duplicate). *Quitclaim by John Smyth, grandson of Peter de Heysull, to William Brocas, for Heysull and other lands in the Hundred of Godalming.*

Omnibus &c. Joh^s Smyth fil. et heres Margarete que fuit filia et una heredum Petri de Heysull &c. Noveritis me quietum clamasse Wil^o Brocas arm. et Joh^i Pycarde, hered^s et assig^s ipsorum Wil^i et Joh^s, jus meum &c. in omn^s terris &c. que quondam fuerunt pred^i Petri avi mei apud Heysull et alibi in Hundredo de Godalmyng: Ita quod . . [Warranty]. In cujus rei test. in presentia Wil^i Godebrug, Wil^i Colverdon, Joh^s Skymere de Wonhersh, Joh^s Potenham, Joh^s Colyn, et aliorum. Data apud Wonhersh pred^m die mensis in fest. Pasche an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post. Conq. v^o.

(Seal: a cock. Legend: enigmatical.)

Undated, but *c.* 1400 —1404. — **451**. *Rough memoranda of John Chitterne, agent to the Brocas family, for the Guildford estates.*

Item: illum pratum voc. Wanermede in paroch. S^ti Nicolai de Gyldeford cont. x acras; pretio acr. ii^d.

Item: unum campum voc. Longefeld cont. xxx acras terre arabilis, pretio acr. iiii^{d}.

Item: unum aliud campum voc. Moredene cont. xxxi acras arabilis pre^{o} acr. iiii^{d}.

Item: xl. acras pasture a Regia Via de Guldedene usque Parcum Dom. Regis de Guldeforde pre^{o} acr. i^{d}.

Item: de Joh^{e} Redyngherssh de redditu assie per annum vi^{s} viii^{d}.

Item: de Rob^{o} Bussebrug xiii^{s} ii^{d}.

Item: de Joh^{e} Rose v^{s}.

Item: de Petro atte Barre pro uno prato iii^{d}.

Endorsed: Mem. quod Joh^{s} Chitterne resc^{t} . . de Benardo Brocas Chiv. cclxiii^{li} x^{s} v^{d}.

Summa resolutionis . . . [sum erased].

Item resc^{t} de Wil^{o} Brocas fil. Bernardi Brocas in fest. S^{ti} Joh^{s} Bapt. an. r. r. Henrici v^{o} [sum erased].

Item: resc^{t} de eodem festo de Bernardo patre dicti Wil^{i} viii^{li} vi^{s} viii^{d}.

(Printed for the sake of the names of estates and rent of land.)

8 Hen. IV. Nov. 29, 1406.

449. *Quitclaim by Stephen Edolf to Johanna, who was the wife of Bernard, son of Sir Bernard Brocas, for the Brocas lands in Guildford and the Hundred of Godalming.*

Omn^{s} &c. Stephanus Edolf . . . Noveritis me prefatum Steph^{m} . . . quietum clamasse Johanne que fuit uxor Bernardi fil. Bernardi Brocas mil. totum jus meum &c. in omn^{s} ter. et ten. &c. in villa de Guldeford et Hundredo de Godalmynge, &c. . . test^{s} Nic^{o} . . . , Joh^{e} Wyntereshull, Wil^{o} Weston, Joh^{e} Stoghton, Rob^{o} atte Malle, et multis aliis: datum in Vigil. S^{ti} Andree Ap^{li} an. r. r. Henrici Quarti post Conq. viii^{o}.

10 Hen. VI. Feb. 7, 1432.

114. *Quitclaim of personal action by Bernard Brocas, son and heir of Bernard Brocas of Alton and Horton, to William Brocas, and Johanna, who was the wife of his father and executor of his will.*

Noverint universi per presentes me Bernardum fil. et heredem Bernardi Brocas arm. remisisse . . . et quietum clamasse Wil^{o} Brocas arm. et Johanne que fuit uxor pred. Bernardi Brocas arm. executoribus testamenti ejusdem Bernardi omnimodas actiones personales quas unquam versus eos habeam, habeo, seu quovismodo in futuro habere potero reversione, debita, . . . causa vel titulo pred. testamenti vel ultime voluntatis prenominati Bernardi Brocas a principio mundi usque diem confectionis presentium. In cujus rei &c. . .: datum vii^{o} die Feb. an. r. r. Henrici Sexti x^{o}.

Seal: crest of the Moor's head with Oriental crown.

Endorsement: 'Mem. y^{t} y^{s} said Bernard Brocas was at Missenden to fore y^{s} grant making as his moder said [to] me W Brocas xxi yere olde.'

(The two deeds, 449 and 114, refer to two different Johannas. The first is probably Johanna, the widow of the second Bernard Brocas, whose designation as knight has been accidentally omitted. She had dower in all the Surrey estates of her husband, and some claims which had arisen during the period of forfeiture are here relinquished. The deed concerning the second Johanna has turned out to be of great importance, and

has necessitated an unexpected reconstruction of a part of the family pedigree as laid down in numerous Visitations hitherto accepted by genealogists. At the same time it has removed the difficulties which were inseparable from the received descent. We now discover that there were four heads of the junior branch of the family named 'Bernard Brocas,' succeeding one another after the execution of Sir Bernard Brocas in 1400, instead of three. The one here making the quitclaim to Johanna, late wife of his father, is Bernard of Horton, son of Bernard of Alton; and the William who was co-executor of the father, along with Johanna, is probably his brother, William of Alton, and, on Johanna's death between 1454 and 1458, of Bradley. Bernard at least, if not William, seems to have been the son of Sibilla Croke, the first wife of Bernard of Alton, for Johanna is not here spoken of as his mother. The confusion incident to the repetition of the name 'Bernard' has extended itself to the wives. The various Johannas are not very easy to disentangle from one another, and the 'Emmeline' of 1466, who was supposed to be a daughter of the Sandes house and second wife of Bernard of Alton, turns out to be Emmeline Erwin, wife of his son. This will be seen in the Pedigree at the end of the volume.)

Undated (1461–1483.)

454. *Draft of a proposed Order from Edward IV. on the Exchequer for* 60*l. to be paid out of the London Tonnage and Poundage for Brocas land enclosed in Guildford Park.*

Please it your most noble Grace to graunte youre letters of Privie Seal to be directed unto the Tresorer and Chamberleyne of yo^r^ Eschequier in the forme here following.

'Edward, by the grace of God, &c., to the Tresorer and Chamberleynes of our Exchequier gretyng. Where we nowe late purchased of oure trusty and welbeloved William Brocas certain landes and tenements lyeng beside Guldeforde for the some of c^li^ which landes nowe we have enclosed within our Parke of Guldeford wherof we have paide unto the seid Wil^m^ Brocas xl^li^ in p^tie^ of payment of the seid c^li^, and so remayneth yet due unto the seid Wil^m^ Brocas the some of lx^li^ parcell of the seid c^li^ wherof as yet the seid Wil^m^ Brocas hath nothyng receyved: We therefore willyng the seid Will^m^ Brocas to be satisfied & contented of the seid lx^li^ woll & charge you that ye make unto the seid Wil^m^ Brocas a sufficient assignement of the seid lx^li^ to be taken of the subsidie of tonage & poundage growyng in our port of London by the handes of the Collectors of the same subsidie in the seid porte for the tyme beyng, & that ye faile nat herof as ye will so be pleased, and thees our letters shalbe unto you sufficiant warant in the behalve: Yoven under oure Privie Seal, &c.,

Endorsed: 'Sale of lands in Guildford by William Brocas to y^e^ Kinge.'

(The existence of this paper can only be taken as an indication that some of the Brocas lands about Guildford had been taken for the Royal Park, but there is nothing beyond the presumption arising from its form to show that the above is a true statement, or whether the debt said to be due from the Crown was ever paid. It seems very probable that a part of the land thus acquired by Edward IV. was that mentioned in the Memorandum [451] as '40 acres of pasture extending from the King's Road of Guildown as far as the King's Park.')

16 Hen. VII. Sept. 22, 1500.

452. *Lease of Pycotts [Picards] by William Brocas to Aldam Gyllys and Alice his wife for* 20 *years for* 7*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

This Indenture made the xxii^d^ day of Sep^r^ in the xvi^th^ yer of the rayne of Kynge Harry the VII^th^ betwene Master Wyll^m^ Brokes Esquyer of y^e^ one

partye, and Aldam Gyllys and Alyce hys wyffe of the paryeh of oure blessyd lady seynte Marye in Gildforde in the schyre of Sothyrrey on that other partye, Witnessyth that the seyde Master W^m^ Brokes hath grauntyd, demysed, & to ferme hathe leytyn unto the foreseyd Aldam Gyllys & Alyce hys wyffe hys maner called Pycotte, set & lyyng in y^e^ pariche of Seynte Nicholas in Gildforde . . . to have & to hold . . . unto y^e^ full ende & terme of xx yeres . . . yeldynge & paynge y^r^fore yerely to y^e^ fore seyde . . . . vii^li^ v^s^ viii^d^ of goode & lawfull money of Inglonde . . [Clauses of Distraint and Warranty] . . . And the seyde Aldam Gyllys and Alyce hys wyffe schall bere all manner reparacyons as of closyng & heggynge of the seyde grounde all y^e^ seyde yeres at y^r^ owne privy coste & charge. In witnes wherof the partyes before rehersyd to these Indentures interchaungeabully hathe putte ther sealys the day and yere before seyde.

(This 'Pycotts' is the 'Pycardes' of the next deed, and no doubt the land which Master Bernard Brocas obtained in 1350 from the widow of John Pikard of Guildford [deed 435] and there called 'lands and tenements in the Hundred of Godalming and in the parish of S^t^ Nicholas, Guildford.' As the dimensions of this property are nowhere given, we cannot judge whether it was out of it that any part of the land had been taken to increase the King's Park. We find by the next deed that the lease only lasted for three years 'or less' out of the twenty; and that a premium had to be given to the new tenant for recovery of lapsed rents and services.)

18 Hen. VII. Feb. 20, 1503. **453.** *Lease by William Brocas to Thomas Polsted of Pycardes for* 12 *years for* 7*l.*

Hec indentura facta xx^o^ die Feb. an. r. r. Henrici VII. xviii^o^ testatur quod Wil^s^ Brocas arm. tradidit &c. Thome Polsted totum manerium suum voc^m^ Pycardes cum omn^s^ terris, ten^s^, pratis, pascuis, et pasturis, boscis, redd^s^, et serviciis ac omn^s^ aliis proficuis et commoditatibus eidem manerio pert^s^, situatum et jacens in Parochia S^ti^ Nicholai juxta Guldeford et beate Marie Virginis de Guldeford: hab^m^ &c. . . . . usque finem et term. xii annorum. . . . redd^o^ . . . vii^li^ . . . . . et pred^s^ Thomas &c. supportabunt omnia servicia erga Dom. Regem et capitalem dom. feodi . . . expensis suis . . . [Clause of repairs, &c.] Et . . si contingat pred^m^ Wil^m^ aut heredes suos recuperare vel optinere aliqua redditus seu servicia olim manerio pred^o^ pertinentia et nunc a retro existentia per auxilium et laborem pred^i^ Thome infra term. supradict^m^ quod tunc idem Wil^s^ et her^s^ sui habebunt et gaudebunt unam medietatem eorundem . . . et alteram medietatem . . . Thomas et assignati sui habebunt et gaudebunt durante termino supradicto . . . [Clause of distraint] . . . Datum die et anno supradicto.

28 Eliz. June 12, 1586. **455.** *Sale of ten-twelfths of Picards by Pexall Brocas to Sir William More for* 350*l.*

This Indenture made the twelveth daye of June in the xxviii yere of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lady Elizabeth &c. betwene Pexall Brocas of Stevington in the Countye of South^n^ Esquier on the one parte, & Sir William More of Loseley, in the Co. of Surre, knight, on the other parte:—Witnesseth that the said Pexall Brocas, . . . in consid^n^ of the some of cccl^li^ doth grant bargain & sell all those tenne partes in twelve partes to be

devided of one messuage, and about eight score acres of lande, meadow, pasture, and woodgrounde, &c. called or knowen by the name of Pickards, and heretofore accepted, reputed, taken &c. as parte, parcell, or members of the said messuage & premysses, or letten or occupied with the same, scituate lyinge & beinge in the parishes of S^t^ Nicholas of Guildeford and Shaulford in the said Countie of Surre, and nowe in the tenure or occupacyon of one Richard Bromfeld or of his assignes: and all other landes & ten^ts^ of the said Pexall Brocas lyinge & beinge in the parishes and felds of S^t^ Nicholas & Shalford aforesaid in the said Countie: together with all and all manner of deeds &c. concernynge the said tenne partes of the said messuage &c. To have & to holde &c. And the said Pexall Brocas &c. doth covenaunt and graunt to and with the said Sir Wil^m^ More &c. that the said Sir P. B. is the very trewe & perfect owner of eight parts of the said tenne parts of the messuage & premysses . . . and every part & parcell thereof . . . . And that the said P. B. is likewise seized of the said other two parts residewe of the said tenne parts in rem^r^ or reversion in fee tayle by good & lawful conveyance. And that he after the estate of Bernard Brocas & Anne Brocas his wief, father & mother of the said Pexall, who hold the same for the tearme of theire lives, hath full power & lawful & rightfull auethoretye in his owne right to bargain, sell &c. the said eight parts of the said tenne partes of the said messuage &c. & also that the said Barnard, Anne, and Pexall have likewise good right and auethoretie to sell the said two parts residewe of the said tenne parts to Sir W^m^ More . . . . And also the said Pexall Brocas &c. doth covenaunt &c. to discharge &c. the said Sir W^m^ More . . . from all former bargaines, sales . . . joyntures, dowers, the dower & tytle of dower of Dame Elinor now wief of Sir John Savage of Rocksavage in the Countie of Chester, Knight, &c. Witness whereof the parties above said . . . .

(Signature 'Wyl^m^ More' over seal: on a shield a cross hulette charged with 5 martlets: crest, a griffin.

The cause of the division of all the Brocas properties into twelfths is explained in page 209, each of Sir Richard Pexsall's four daughters coming in by law to one-fourth of one-third of all his estates, or, in other words, of one-twelfth. That Pexall Brocas could only dispose absolutely of eight-twelfths was due to the fact that his father and mother were still alive, and that they held, besides their own twelfth, the share which they had purchased from Anthony Brydges and his wife. He had the reversion of those two-twelfths; but the remaining two were in the hands of his aunts and their husbands, and were not bought in till after his death.

According to Manning and Bray [vol. i. p. 91] Pexall Brocas sold Picards to Henry Smith on July 10, 1585, nearly a year before the above deed of sale to Sir William More. If so, the purchase could not have actually taken place, though negotiations may have commenced; for some notice of the fact must otherwise have appeared in the document by which the estate actually passed. On July 13, 1585, he sold Peperharowe to Henry Smith, but the name of the latter does not occur in any connection with Picards elsewhere, except under this statement of Manning and Bray, for which no authority is given. It is possible that the dispute between More and Brocas as to certain 'assuerauuces' in 1588–1591 may have some reference to a previous transaction with Smith before the sale to Sir W. More [see p. 216]. For an account of the distinguished family of More of Loseley see Manning and Bray, Kempe's Losely MSS., &c. The writer of these pages is indebted to the kindness of Mr. Molyneux More, of Loseley House, for the opportunity of examining the Loseley MSS.)

Polyngfold.

41 Ed. III. 1367. *Brocas deed in possession of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, by which Sir Bernard Brocas obtains seisin of Polyngfold manor.*

(No. 1148: as printed in Historical Manuscript Commissioners' Ninth Report, Appendix p. 39.)

Abstract:—Letter of Attorney of Bernard Brocas, clerk, appointing Robert de Loxlee, senior, and Simon Brocas, to deliver seisin of certain lands, &c., at Pollyngfold, in County Surrey, to Sir Bernard Brocas, Knight.

42 Ed. III. Oct. 4, 1368. *Brocas deed in possession of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's by which three persons, appointed for that purpose by Sir Bernard Brocas as his attorneys, grant Polyngfold manor to Sir Bernard and Mary Brocas, with remainders to John and Ralph Brocas.*

(No. 1150, as printed in Historical Manuscript Commissioners' Ninth Report, Appendix p. 39.)

'Abstract:—Grant by John de Sandford, Rector of the church of Walhope, John Waryn, Rector of the church of North Waltham, and Robert Terry, to Sir Bernard Brocas, Knight, and Mary his wife, of the Manor of Polyngfold, &c. in the Counties of Surrey and Sussex, for the term of their lives, with remainder to John Brocas, son of Sir John Brocas, Knight, and the heirs of his body, with remainder to Ralph Brocas, son of Sir Bernard Brocas, Knight, and the heirs of his body, with remainder to the right heirs of Sir Bernard Brocas, Knight. Dated at Beaurepeyr, Wednesday after the feast of S^{t}. Michael, 42 Ed. III.

'A memorandum is added in a later hand to the effect that John Brocas and Ralph Brocas died without issue, and that Bernard Brocas had issue Bernard Brocas, Knight, who had issue William Brocas, who sold the said manor to William Sydney.

'Fragments of three seals attached.'

Undated; but *ante* 1395. **468.** *Draft of a proposed deed by which it was attempted to make over the reversion of Polyngfold manor to Oliver Brocas and his heirs by his wife 'Margaret Tirwhit,' with reversion to Sir Bernard Brocas' heirs.*

Sciant &c. quod nos Arnaldus Brokas clericus et Hen^{s} Holt dedimus &c. Bernardo Brokas mil. manerium de Ponyngfold cum pert^{s} in Com^{s} Surre et Sussex: hab^{m} et ten^{m} pred^{m} manerium prefato Bernardo ad totam vitam suam &c. Ita quod post mortem pred^{i} Bernardi manerium pred^{m} cum pert^{s} Olivero fratri pred^{i} Bernardi et Margarete filie Radulphi Tirwhit, et hered^{s} quos idem Oliverus de corpore predicte Margarete procreabit remaneant imperpet^{m}. Ita quod si idem Oliverus obierit sine herede de corpore pred^{e} Margarete procreato manerium pred^{m} cum pert^{s} rectis heredibus ipsius Bernardi masculis remanent [*sic*]. Ita quod si idem Bernardus sine herede masculo obierit rectis heredibus ipsius Bernardi remanent [*sic*] imperpet^{m}. Et nos &c. Warant.

(Here the deed stops, and is properly endorsed, doubtless by William *Brocas*, 'Nichil valet': and elsewhere 'In this ys no substenanz.' The careless Latin suggests a hasty draft, which is further evidenced by the mistake in the name of Oliver's wife, which other deeds show to have been 'Beatrix.' The next four deeds comprise all that we have as to Polyngfold; and they are really one document, by which Oliver conveys to the second Sir Bernard Brocas, soon after the death of the first, the manor itself and all the right he ever had, or could have, in it.)

20 Ric. II. May 26, 1397. **466.** *Grant by Oliver Brocas to Sir Bernard Brocas (2) of his manor of Polyngfold.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Oliverus Brocas dedi &c. Bernardo Brocas mil. manerium meum de Polyngfold cum omn^s^ pert^s^ in paroch^e^ de Cranlygh et Rhugywyke: hab^m^ &c. [Warranty]: . . test^s^ Walt^o^ Knoll, Rob^o^ atte Mull, Thoma Wyntershull, Will^o^ Sydeney, et Walt^o^ Landemere, et aliis. Datum apud Polyngfold xxvi^o^ die mens. Maii an. r. r. Ric. II. post Conq. Angl. xx^o^.

(Walter Knoll was one of the family of Knoll at Cranley. His monument, without a date, is mentioned by Manning and Bray, i. 536. This record of witness confirms the guess there made.)

20 Ric. II. May 26, 1397. **465.** *Appointment by Oliver Brocas of William Sydney to give seisin to Sir Bernard Brocas.*

Noverint &c. me Oliverum Brocas ordinasse &c. Will^m^ Sydeney ad liberandum nomine meo Bernardo Brocas mil. plen^m^ seisinam in manerio de Polyngford . . . . . Datum apud Polyngfold [as above].

(Seal: on a shield the Brocas lion. Legend: 'Oliver Brocas.'

20 Ric. II. May 26, 1397. **463.** *Appointment by Sir Bernard Brocas of attorneys to receive seisin of Polyngfold from Oliver Brocas.*

Noverint &c. Bernardum Brocas mil. ordinasse &c. Joh^m^ Surman de Basyngstoke et Will^m^ Belchaumbre de Basyng meos attornatos . . . ad recip^m^ nomine meo plen^m^ seisinam de Olivero Brocas in manerio de Polyngford. . . Datum apud Beaurepaire [as above].

(Seal: on a shield Roches 1 and 4, Brocas 2 and 3. Legend broken off nearly all round. It is the same seal as 341 a, where the legend is preserved, 'Bernard Brocas.' No doubt by some mistake of the engraver, 'Roches' takes precedence of 'Brocas' in this one instance only out of the whole collection.)

20 Ric. II. May 30, 1397. **464.** *Quitclaim of Oliver Brocas to Sir Bernard Brocas for Polyngfold.*

Noverint &c. me Oliverum Brocas &c. quietum clamasse Bernardo Brocas mil. totum jus &c., que habeo &c. in manerio de Polyngford . . ita quod &c. [Warranty] . . Datum apud Polyngfold . . xxx^o^ die mens. Maii an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. Angl. xx^o^.

(Very complete seal; same as 465.)

Seal of Arnald Brocas, Clerk, a.d. 1393

(See p. 310)

Seal of Oliver Brocas, a.d. 1420

(See p. 440)

PEPERHAROWE.

21 Hen. VIII. March 20, 1530. **458.** *Lease by Ralph Pexsall to John Mothe, fuller of Sherborne St. John, of the farm and mansion of Peparharowe for ten years.*

This is a lease, in English, in which 'Rauf Pexsall' is styled 'of Bereper, in the County of South^n, Esquire.' It is for ten years at 10*l.*, reserving the fishing, or rather 'all maner of prinsipall and hed fysshe taken from the waters there,' and 'all perquesite of Courtes fines,' and also providing not only that the lord may fish at all times, but that the tenant shall find for two days and nights 'lodging, beddes, mete, drink, haye, litter & provender' for the lord, or his steward, when the Court of the Manor is held. This tenant (imported from the neighbourhood of Beaurepaire, where his family had long been tenants of the Brocases) would appear to have settled permanently on the spot, and become the progenitor of a useful band of yeomen. In a Muster-book of 1583 Thomas Mothe and Hugh Moethe are returned among the Peperharow archers and billmen 'of the beste sorte.' (Loseley MSS., quoted by the Hon. G. C. Brodrick, as above.)

1 Mary. Between July and Nov. 1553. **460.** *Petition of William Joure to Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Chancellor of England.*

After reciting that 'one William Brokas was lawfully seised of and in the manor of Pepperharowe as of fee, whereof one messuage and 30 acres of land &c. had tyme out of mynde of man's remembrance bene parcell—being coppiehold and dyvysable,' and that William Brokas granted the same to Thomas Joure, William's father, who paid his Fine, was admitted, and died leaving William his heir, by reason whereof one Raufe Pexhall who was lord of the manor, and Edith his wife, or else one Mary, late wife of the said William Brocas, then deceased, and mother to the said Edith, who had the estate of the said William Brocas of and in the said manor (by conveyance from Henry Polsted, Esq., steward), did devise the said manor to William Joure, who paid his Fine, and was admitted, and made entry, and was seised in his demesne as tenant in fee by copy of Court Roll, and had taken the profits for 33 years; and now one Richard Pexall, knight, has the estate of William, Edith and Mary, and along with John and George Rigden has proceeded to expel the 'Orator' at a Court held at Peperharowe on March 20 in 6 Ed. VI. (1552), demanded the copies of Court Roll which proved the tenure of his father and himself, and caused your Orator to come secretly to Sir Richard's chamber at Pepperharwe, and then and there threatened him with expulsion and bodily hurt unless he would sign a bond of xx^li, which, being in bodily fear and from dread of expulsion from what was the livelihood of himself, wife, and the 'pore yonge children,' he sealed; and yet they, not being satisfied, 'entered on his messuage and 30 acres last Michaelmas, and did make an assaute and affraye on one Margery, his wife, and Richard and Alice, his children, and theym did beat, wound, and evile entreat to the greatt loss and hindrance of your said Orator, and wrongfully distrain his cattle; and since Michaelmas, depasturing and feeding them three times, and did im-

pound them, and picked up the hedges;' and Sir Richard Pexsall had also sued him for the debt; and all in order to drive them from the tenement, and to put in John Rigden; and he cannot recover the copies of Court Roll he had handed over to Sir R. Pexsall, 'and, as he has no redress, being only a copy-holder, and will be utterly undone unless your good lordship aid and pity him': he begs for a Writ of Summons on Sir Richard Pexsall and the Rigdens to 'avoyde' the premises, and allow him to hold them peaceably until they can show good cause to the contrary, and to cease from any action or suit for the debt, and also to issue a subpœna for Sir Richard's appearance and that of the Rigdens before Chancery, to make answer as to the premises.

1 Mary, Nov. 24, 1553. **459.** *Writ of Enquiry issued to Sir Oliver Wallop, Knt, and William Wareham to take Sir Richard Pexsall's depositions as to the above Petition, and report to Chancery, he being too ill to attend.*

Maria D. G. Ang. Fran. et Hib. Regina, Fid. Def. et in terra ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice supremum caput dilecto et fideli suo Olivero Wallop mil. et dilecto sibi Wil^o Wareham arm. sal^m; Quia Rob^s Joure quandam peticionem coram nobis in cancell. nostra versus Ric^m Pexsall, mil., Joh^m et Georg. Rygden nuper exhibuit quodque eisdem R. J. et G. per breve nostrum precepimus quod essent coram nobis in dicta Cancellaria nostra ad tertium diem jam preteritum petitioni predicte responsuri; at idem Ric^s adeo impotens sui existit quod usque Curiam cancell. nostre . . ad diem illum ad responsum suum eidem petitioni fiendam absque maximo corporis sui periculo laborare non sufficit, ut accepimus; Nos statum ejusdem Ric^i pie compatientes dedimus vobis potest^m et auctor^m ipsum Ric^m de et super materiam petitionis pred^e diligenter examinandi, responsionemque suam super eadem recipiendum, et in scriptis redigendum, ac attornare quem idem Ric^s . . in premissis coram nobis in Cancel. nostram loco suo coram vobis attornare volumus similiter recipiendum nosque inde in Cancel^a nostram . . debite certificandum.

(We have no further account of this matter, and therefore do not hear the other side. The petition makes no mention of any rent paid or withheld by Joure. The affair may be abstracted as follows:—Sir Richard Pexsall claims to exercise his right of expulsion of a tenant by will of the lord in copyhold. The tenant asserts that, as tenant in fee, he cannot be ejected. Whereupon Sir Richard tries to put in his new tenants, and the Joures resist. Violence is used, and the aid of Chancery is invoked by the plaintiff.)

5 Eliz. Oct. 2, 1563. **461.** *Memorandum: an extract from a Peperharowe Court Roll.*

Peperharowe.

Mem. quod ad Curiam Ric^i Pexsall mil. tent. ibidem sec^o die Oct. an. r. r. Dom. Elizabeth . . v^o sit irrotulat. Ad hanc venit Wil^s Marcholl et cepit de Domino unum mes^m . . voc^m Pages, modo in tenura Agnete Marcholl matris sue; hab^m &c. sibi, Johanne uxori ejus, et Marie fil. sue ad term.

vite corum &c. reddendo &c. iv^{s} iii^{d} i obol . . et duos bonos et pinguides capones, et duos modios cepium, Anglice, two bushels of onyons, ac omnia alia opera et servicia . . et pro Relievo viii^{s} et v^{d}.

per Nic^{m} Burlace, seneschallum ibidem.
pro me Ric^{o} Pexsall.

27 Eliz. July 13, 1585. **462.** *Sale of 'Pepperharrow.'*

Indenture between 'Pexsall Brocas of Grayes Inne in the Co. of Middlesex, Esq., and Henry Smyth of Pepperharrow in the Co. of Surrey, Gentilman,' witnessing the sale for 1500*l.*, of ten parts of the manor and lordship of Pepperharrow, with advowson of the church there (the said manor, lordship, and premises being divided into twelve parts), including buildings, barns, stables, tenements, gardeins, backsides, dovehouses, pondes, fishing, waters, land, . . . wood, underwood, rent, services, liberties, privileges, . . . and hereditaments; to have and to hold &c. . . . to Henry Smyth, his heirs and assigns, to his and their own only proper use . . . 'All which above-said premises being ymproved to the annual rent of one hundred and two pounds, the said Henry Smyth hath purchased to him and his heirs for ever, and hath paid for the same after the rate of twenty years' purchase.'

[Covenants against claims on these ten parts.]

(Seal of Henry Smyth: a stag trippant: Witnesses, Henry Yonge, William Covert, and Roger Preston.

The rent, in 1530, of the farm and mansion was only 10*l.* The Joures had a house and thirty acres of copyhold land on the estate, which they had held from before 1506 [when William Brocas died] to 1553 [at least]. A house on the estate called Pages was also held in copyhold by the Marcholls. Finally, ten-twelfths of the whole estate [apparently] was now sold in 1585 by Pexall Brocas, grandson of Sir Richard Pexsall, for 1500*l.*, the rent being 102*l.*; and this is called twenty years' purchase. The property is said to have been 'ymproved' to this amount. It must have been a great improvement. Manning and Bray give the date July 10, 1585, for this deed, and say that Pexall Brocas, with his father and mother, conveyed to Henry Smyth eleven-twelfths of the estate; but it would appear to have been only ten-twelfths, as the two remaining twelfths did not fall in for many years after this date. [See the remarks on the sale of Picards.] They also tell us that Smyth bought up the remaining share, in 1593–4, from Francis and Margery Cotton, and was thus able to settle the whole on his daughter, Jane Covert, in 1604. The eleventh part would certainly have come to him on the death of Anne Brocas in 1591; but unless some special arrangement had been made for Peperharowe, he could not have procured the last twelfth at the date named by purchase from the then possessor. It is, however, certain that when Thomas Brocas, in 1633, recovers the last twelfth of his inheritance, he has no further connection with any of the Surrey property.)

CHAPTER IV.

MISCELLANEOUS ESTATES IN YORKSHIRE AND OTHER COUNTIES, AND PERSONAL DEEDS UNCONNECTED WITH LAND.

SECTION I.

GENERAL NOTICE OF THE YORKSHIRE ESTATES.

THERE are but two Yorkshire deeds in the Brocas chest; but when these are supplemented by other documents discovered in the Record Office we find ourselves in a position to make some progress towards a comprehension of the mystery, which will probably never be cleared up, in reference to Sir Bernard Brocas' divorce from his first wife, Agnes Vavasour. Agnes was the daughter and heiress of Sir Mauger Vavasour, the head of the junior branch of the ancient family of Haselwood, Barons Vavasour in the time of Edward I.; and, through a more rapid descent than we ordinarily find, the fourth from the Agnes of Denton who brought that manor (and apparently the adjoining manor of Askwyth) to a former Sir Mauger Vavasour. Besides these, the manors of Ottley, Wolsington (or Wolston, or Welfdon), Spofforth, and Scharneston fell into the inheritance in the course of these four generations, and came with the heiress to Sir Bernard Brocas. The following deed (479) exhibits her grandfather, William le Vavasour, granting a house and lands in Denton, mentioned afterwards (in deed 480), under the name of 'Whythall,' to John le Vavasour, his brother; Sir Peter de Midelton and others being witnesses. This estate, by the time of the later deed, 1354, had come to Richard de Midelton of Whythall in Denton, in some such way as that he is required to release his right in it to Sir Bernard Brocas and Agnes his wife, to give warranty for their peaceable possession, and to use his interest with the Lady Isabel de Clifford to release her rights in it. In return Sir Bernard and Agnes give up their claim to the annual rent of 17*s.* 6*d.* which Richard owed them in Wytheton. It will be observed that the later deed speaks of Sir Bernard as already a knight—'Monsieur,' the parson being only 'Sire.' It may be added that no trace or tradition of this particular house and property in Denton now remains. The other places mentioned are all to be found in or near 'Querfdale,' or Wharfedale; and a very fine property in a fine situation Agnes thus brought with her.[1]

Wickley in Northamptonshire also came to the Brocases through her, and was not sold with the rest by William Brocas or his immediate successors;

[1] It is worth observing that Sir Bernard Brocas (2) as soon as he came of age, settled a rent-charge of 20*l.*, issuing out of the estate, upon Henry de Langfield, senior, the husband of Agnes Vavasour, for his life.

for they found it a useful property to the Masters of the Royal Buckhounds. When they visited Little Weldon they were in its immediate neighbourhood. No deeds concerning it remain, having, no doubt, like the Yorkshire documents, been given up when it was sold. It was saved, at the forfeiture of the second Sir Bernard, in 1400, by having been granted by Sir Bernard Brocas to William his son and Sybilla his son's wife in 1398. It was held of the king *in capite*; and its annual value at that date was twenty marks.

It may here be noted that the John Vavasour of Weston who received the family property from William Brocas by process of Common Recovery, was of a still junior branch of the family, being descended from the great-great-uncle of Agnes, younger brother of her great-great-grandfather. The Mauger and William Vavasour who released their rights in Denton to her and her husband, and soon after died *s. p.*, were her cousins, the sons of Richard, youngest brother of her grandfather. This slight sketch will explain the fact that when 'William Brocas of Denton' was under forfeiture for his father's 'treason,' he used as a seal the ancient Vavasour crest, a cock, without a difference. The estates of Agnes came to her in the direct line. The descents after this time become so complicated, through numerous female successions, that it is very difficult to follow them, and in this place would be quite unnecessary.

What is of importance is to set the question at rest as to the allegation that the second Sir Bernard Brocas was the son of Agnes Vavasour, made in some of the later family pedigrees, and repeated in the Parker MSS., Foster's 'Yorkshire Pedigrees,' Burke's 'Commoners,' and many other places. It would indeed be quite sufficient to quote the Inquisitions in which this Sir Bernard is expressly stated by the Jurors to be the son of Mary de Roches, and to point to the fact that, while the De Roches arms were quartered by him and by all his descendants, the Vavasour arms have never yet received any notice whatever from the Brocases except in the single case of William of Denton's seal, which is accounted for by his being the heir of the Yorkshire estates specially settled upon his parents in their infancy. But when, in addition to this evidence, we can trace the foundation and origin of the legend, we may hope that it will now for ever disappear.

The marriage, as we have seen, was dissolved by a divorce 'celebrated between Agnes, daughter and heir of Mauger Vavasour, and Bernard Brocas, knight,' the deed concerning which is amongst the Close Rolls.[1] By this indenture, here abstracted, Agnes releases to Sir John de Singleton, parson of the church of Torlaston, all her right in the manors of Denton in Querfdale, Scharneston, and Pontefract, and two parts of the manor of Askwyth, with reversions, rents, and services, as well of free as of bond tenants, and in a yearly rent of 4*d.* from the lands and tenements which Godfrey Dantri holds in Elslak, &c., which manors &c. Sir John de Singleton had of the gift of the said Bernard and Agnes before the divorce 'celebrated' between them. She also grants that the manor of Wolfton next Tadcaster, which Thomas Jeron and Margaret his wife hold for the term of the life of the same Margaret by name of dower, and which after Margaret's death ought to revert to Agnes and her heirs, shall remain to Sir John, his heirs, &c.

[1] 34 Ed. III. m. 31*d.*

Dated at Westminster the Wednesday after the Ascension (viz. May 20), 34 Ed. III.

This Sir John Singleton was the clerical attorney much employed by Sir Bernard in his earlier days, and he here acts as such. We find him acting in the capacity of a witness to the deed of 1354 given below, at which time he was parson of Melshamby.

The estates mentioned include Pontefract, of which we never afterwards hear, and which Sir Bernard must have sold at once—and exclude Spofforth (or an estate there), which he certainly had, for it is found in several inquests. The manors of Denton, Wolfton, and Askwyth are mentioned as we might expect. There remains Scharneston, afterwards called Sharleston, a township in the parish of Warmfield, near Wakefield, which in this document appears amongst the Brocas estates handed over to Sir Bernard's attorney, but never afterwards. It is the one estate which throws any real light on the subject of the divorce and the progeny of Agnes.

At Michaelmas of the same year as the above deed concerning the divorce (1360) a Fine was levied at York between 'Agnes, daughter of Mauger Vavasour,' and John de Singleton, which passed the manor of Sharneston into the hands of the latter for the life of Agnes, with remainder at her death to Bernard the son of the same Agnes, and his heirs, with remainder to the right heirs of Agnes herself. It will be observed in this document, given below, that Bernard, 'the son of Agnes,' is *not* here said to be the son of Sir Bernard Brocas, her divorced husband, and that the manor of Scharneston, which in the previous May had been amongst those released by Agnes to Sir Bernard, is now at Michaelmas secured to herself and this son in fee, without any remainder to Sir Bernard and his heirs, but to Agnes's own heirs independently. Accordingly we find in 1385 that 'extensive lands in Sharneston, if not the manor itself, are in the possession of a Henry de Langfield,'[1] from whom they descended to Margaret, one of his two daughters and coheirs, who married two sons of Robert Heinyng of Sharneston. Now Sir Henry de Langfield was Agnes' second husband, and thus we may infer that by the year 1385 the son, Bernard, on whom the estate was settled in fee, had already died without heirs. At any rate he has disappeared, and putting these facts together with the non-appearance of Scharneston in the list of the Yorkshire properties of the second Sir Bernard Brocas (whom the authorities named assert to be her son), or amongst those of Sir Bernard's son, William of Denton, we can arrive at only one conclusion. Bernard, the son of Agnes, was not the same person as Bernard, afterwards Sir Bernard, Brocas. By a Visitation recorded in the Harleian MSS. (245, fol. 22) he is stated to have married Johanna, daughter of Sir Thomas de Midelton, the owner of the fine estate on the Wharfe, next to Denton. We have no further information on this point. If necessary, we might strengthen the evidence by the notice given of Ralph Brocas, one of the elder Sir Bernard's sons, in connection with the estate of Polyngfold. In 1368 that manor is settled in remainder, practically by Sir Bernard, on this son Ralph, which places him

[1] *Yorkshire Arch. and Top. Journal*, vol. xxviii. part 1. The editor of 'Dodsworth's Yorkshire Notes' in this journal has unwittingly adopted the received legend as to the parentage of the second Sir Bernard Brocas.

presumably in the position of an older son than Bernard, who, however, shortly afterwards, Ralph having died young, is recognised as his father's only son and heir. The second Sir Bernard Brocas would be thus not only born after his father's second marriage, but not immediately after.

Of the rest of the Vavasour estates, Pontefract and Scharneston being now dismissed, Denton was the chief. It was made over to the younger Sir Bernard Brocas by his father before 1386, placed in trust with Sir Brian Stapelton, Arnald Brocas, and others in that year, passed by them to young Sir Bernard and Johanna his wife in fee, is found in their possession in 1400, and in hers in 1429, and finally comes, through William Brocas of Beaurepaire, her son, to the Vavasours of Weston. (See Inq. p. m., 1 Hen. IV. p. 1, No. 17; and 7 Hen. VI. No. 53.) The manors of Askwyth and Wolston (the former having some relation to the Spofforth property) have a different history. The Vavasour lands in Askwyth were granted in 1364 by the elder to the younger Sir Bernard Brocas, jointly with Johanna, upon their betrothal or marriage contract, as infants. She dies seized of the manor in 1429, as also of Wolston, which came to her in the same manner. Of Ottley we do not hear after 1429, nor of Spofforth; but in 1453 the manors of Wolston and Askwyth, with all the Brocas lands, &c., in those places are finally quitclaimed by, and pass away from, the Brocas family. None of these estates appear amongst those forfeited in 1400, being saved apparently by Johanna's share in them, as testified, in the case of Askwyth, by the Report of the Inquisition which is given below. The surname of this Johanna has been as yet unknown, but the arms on her seal, given at p. 387, seem to be those of Vernon of Little Beligh, or Bileigh, Essex, an important county family, descended from the Vernons of Haddon, whose arms are, however, wholly different.

William Gascoigne (probably the famous judge, whose supposed conduct to the youthful Prince Henry has become a proverb) was one of the trustees of Denton in 1386. The name occurs again in the Recovery by which the Vavasours once more obtained their ancestral domains from the Brocases. The Sir Brian Stapelton above mentioned was a leading member of the important family of the Stapeltons of Richmondshire. Their interesting history has been lately traced by the accurate hand of a zealous descendant, Mr. Henry Chetwynd Stapylton, in the 'Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal' (vol. viii.). It will be seen that the career of Sir Brian was remarkably similar to that of Sir Bernard Brocas.

SECTION II.

DEEDS CONCERNING THE YORKSHIRE AND OTHER ESTATES.

13 Ed. II. Aug. 23, 1319.

479. *Grant by William, son of Sir Mauger Vavasour, to his brother John, of a house, croft, and five acres of land in the Vill of Denton, of which he had been enffeoffed by William de Cave.*

Sciatis &c. quod ego Wil[s] fil. Dom. Mauger le Vavassour dedi &c. Joh[i] le Vavassour fratri meo unum mesuagium cum uno crofto adjacente simul cum

v acris terre per[as] in villa de Denton quod quidem mesnagium habui &c. de feoffamento Wil[i] de Cave: &c. . . test[s] D[no] Rob[o] de Plumton, Dom[o] Petro de Midleton, milit[s], Petro fil. Ric[i] de Midleton, Joh[e] fil. Joh[s] de Denton; datum apud Wykele in Com. Northampton in Vigil. S[ti] Barthol. Ap[li] Edwardi fil. Regis Edwardi xiii[o].

28 Ed. III. April 1, 1354. **480.** *Copy of a Deed of Release by which Richard de Middelton passes his estate in Whytehall in Denton to Sir Bernard and Agnes Brocas.*

Ceste endenture testmoigne les covenauntz tailles entre nous Bernard Brocas et Agneys ma femme dune parte et Richard de Middelton de Whytehall en Dent in de autre parte. En primes que jeo Richard de Middelton en eschaunges des choses apres nomes ay relese et quyte clayme a les avandites Mons. Bernard et Agneis et a les heirs et assignes mons. Bernard tote le droit et le clayme que jeo ay ou aver purroy en totes les terres et tenementz ove les apurtenauntz queux jeo avoy en ma possession en le Whythall en la ville de Denton saunz acune retener: issint [ainsi] que moi ne mes heirs ne nulle en mon nom des ore avant eyoms action, mes soyoms forclose et nostre droyt anyenty a tous jours par ceste endenture. Ensement jeo Richard graunte a les avant ditz Mons. Bernard et Agneys et a les heirs le dit Mons. Bernard affaire la lyvere de tous les chartres, esterytes, et aulters monumentz que touchent la dite terre del Whytehall, a eux ou a leur atoarnes, et ceo saunz targer et delay. Ensement jeo Richard graunte que jeo ayderoy et saunz fayntise mettroy ma diligence et loial procurement de moy, et par bone mediatie de mes amys, que Isabelle la fille Henry de Clifford face une relese a les avanditz Mons. Bernard et Agneys et a les heires Mons. Bernard de toutz les terres et tenemenz de Whytehall enterement. Ensement que jeo Richard et mes heirs garaunteroms a les avanditz Mons. Bernard et Agneys et a les heirs le dit Mons. Bernard et avanditz terres et tenemenz ove les apurtenauntz contre totes genz. Et nous Bernard et Agneys pur le relese & les aultres grauntes avant nometz come en eschaungetz relessoums et quytelamoums pur nous et nos heirs au dit Richard de Middelton et a ces heirs tote nostre droyt et clayme que nous avoms ou aver pourroms en une annuele rente charge de dist et sete sovez et sis deners dargent issaunt de les terres et tenementz le dit Richard en Wytheton, issint que desoremes neo eyoums action a demaunder neo a destrayndre pour la dite rente mes seroms forclose a tous jours par ceste endenture. En testmoygnance de quelez choses a la partie de ceste endenture demurant vers le dit Richard et ces heirs nous Bernard et Agneys avoms mys nos seals, et a la partie de ceste endenture demurant vers les avantditz Mons. Bernard et Agneys et les heirs Mons[r] Bernard jeo Richard de Middelton ay mis mon seal. Ces testmoignes Mons. Thomas de Middelton chivaller, Sire Johan de Sengilton, persone de la Eglise de Melshamby, Johan le fitz Richard de Middelton, et Mestre Johan de Denton, et aultrez. Escryte a Denton de coste Ottelay le mardy prochayne apres la feste de la Anonciation nostre dame lan du regne le roy Edouard tiere apres le Conquest vynt oytysme.

34 Ed. III. Mich^{s}, 1360. — Fine concerning Sharneston, settling it on Bernard, son of Agnes Vavasour, in fee. *Extract from Fines: York:* 34 *Edw.* III. *Michaelmas. No.* 137.

Inter Agnetam filiam Maugeri le Vavasour quer^{m} et Joh^{m} de Sengelton defore^{m} de manerio de Sharneston juxta Wakefeld &c. Hab^{m} &c. eidem Agnete de capit. Dom^{s} feodi illius per servicia que ad pred^{m} manerium pertinent tota vita ipsius Agnete: et post decessum ipsius Agnete pred^{m} manerium cum pert^{s} integre remanebit Bernardo filio ejusdem Agnete et hered^{s} de corpore suo procreatis &c. Et si contingat quod idem Bernardus obierit sine hered^{s} de corpore suo procreatis tunc manerium &c. remanebit rectis hered^{s} pred. Agnete &c.

(The absence of any surname after 'Bernardo' has been noticed in p. 446.)

38 Ed. III. Sept. 30, 1364. — Midelton Deed. *Copy of a Grant by Sir Bernard Brocas, senior, to his son Bernard and Johanna his wife, of an estate in Askwyth.* (*Quoted by the Escheators of* 1400.)

Omn^{s} &c. . . Bernardus Brocas mil. sal^{m} &c. Noveritis me dedisse &c. Bernardo filio meo et Johanne uxori ejus omnia ter. et ten. mea cum &c. in Askwyth et cum red^{s} et serv^{s} omn. liberorum tenentium meorum ibidem: exceptis vii acris prati quarum iv acre jacent in uno loco voc. le Munkeng, et ii acre vocantur le Wedoweng et i acra vocatur Estoneng: hab^{m} &c. [with reversion to himself and his heirs]. In cujus &c. Datum &c. in crastino S^{ti} Mich. an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii post Conq. xxxviii.

(This must be a somewhat late example of child-marriage; but no other interpretation of the deed is possible. Under no theory as to this Bernard could he have been grown up, and, as such, married, in 1364. Living among princes, Sir Bernard had adopted a royal custom. The above copy is found quoted in the Inquisition of the year 1400 taken on the occasion of the second Sir Bernard's forfeiture, and is the only record of the facts concerning the Askwyth estate yet come to hand. The writer owes his knowledge of it to the kindness of Mr. Middleton of Myddelton, near Ilkley, who represents the ancient House, and allowed him to search the deeds which have been preserved for so many centuries. The Inquisition itself is given after the next abstract.)

Close Roll, Nov. 1, 10 Ric. II. (m. 38 d) 1386. — This is an enrolled deed (not necessary to print) by which Sir Bernard Brocas, junior, makes over his manor of Denton, excepting a tenement with appurtenances, called 'Whit hall,' to the following Trustees:—Sir Brian de Stapelton, Knight, Arnald Brocas, clerk, John de Chitterne, clerk, and William Gascoigne.

1 Hen. IV. June 5, 1400. — Midelton Deed. *Copy of an Inquisition upon the estate at Askwith of Sir Bernard Brocas after his attainder and forfeiture.*

Inquisitio capta apud Denton coram Thoma de Bromflete escetori D^{ni} Regis in Com. Ebor. v die Jun. an. Henrici Quarto i^{o} . . . . . literis dicti D^{ni} Regis eidem Escetori directis et huic Inquisitioni . . . . per sacramentum Wil^{i} Faukes, Ric^{i} Scalwra, Rob^{i} Caudray, Walt^{i} Graner, Wil^{i} Wikelay, Wil^{i} Warde, sen., Wil^{i} del Hill, Wil^{i} Luff, Thome de Scalwra,

Walt[i] del Wode, Petri de Stede, et Joh[s] Waite, Juratorum, qui dicunt super sacramentum suum quod Bernardus Brocas, chevaler in dicto . . . . nominato tenuit die quo obiit conjunctim cum Johanna nuper uxore sua adhuc superstite iv messuagia, c acras terre xx acras prati et c solidos red[s] de dono et concessione Bernardi Brocas militis patris pred[i] Bernardi sibi et heredibus de corporibus eorundem Bernardi et Joh[e] exeuntibus pro nomine omnium terr. et ten. &c. in Askwith, et cum red[s] et serv[s] liberorum tenentium ibidem; et dicunt quod dicta ter. et ten. cum &c. in Askwith tenentur de Henrico Comite Northumbrie ut de manerio suo de Spofford, et valent per an. ultra reprisas x marcas.

Close Roll, 31 Hen. VI. (m. 13d) May 6, 1453. { Omn[s] &c. Willielmus Brocas jun. arm. &c. Noveritis me &c. . . . quietum clamasse Rad[o] Dom[o] de Cromwell, Wil[o] Gascoigne, mil., Wil[o] Gascoigne, Wil[o] Scargill, seniori, Rob[o] Neville arm[s], Joh[i] Appulton et Thome Clarell cler[s] totum ius meum &c. in maneriis de Wolston et Askewith cum pert[s] in Com. Ebor.; ac eciam in omn. ter. et ten. &c. in pred[s] villis de Wolston et Askewith que fuerunt Johanne nup. uxoris Bernardi Brocas mil. vel Wil[i] Brocas patris mei: {Warranty} In cujus rei &c. Datum vi[o] die Maii an. r. r. Henrici Sexti xxxi[o].

(This, as observed in Book III., is the last notice of the Brocas connection with the Yorkshire estates. The quitclaim is given by William Brocas [2] in the lifetime of his father, who had already passed the estates, which, it may be said by the way, could hardly have had more respectable trustees than Lord Cromwell and the Gascoignes.)

MISCELLANEOUS DEEDS.—GILDESBURGH AND HADDON, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE; BROKESHAM AND HEVER, KENT; FOUNTELL GIFFARD, BRADENSTOKE CUM CLACKE, WILTSHIRE; ROYSDON (BELCHES), HERTS; POSELYNGFORD, SUFFOLK.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE: GILDESBURGH.

39 Ed. III. May 3, 1365. { **419.** *Lease by Sir Bernard Brocas to William, Agnes, and Alice le Wrytthe, of cottages and land in Gildesburgh for life, at a rent of 5s.*

Noverint &c. me Bernardum Brokas mil. D[num] de Gildesburgh concessisse &c. Wil[o] le Wrytthe in Gildesburgh, Agnete uxori sue et Alicie filie eorum unum cotagium et v acras terre in Gildesburgh cum pert[s] que Rob[t] le Couper quondam tenuit in eadem villa, et unum cotagium cum crofto adjacente et cum v acris terre hab[m] &c. ad term. vite eorum &c. redd[o] &c. v[s] argenti . . . [Warranty]. . . Datum Londonie die Sabb. in festo Invent. S[te] Crucis an. r. r. Edwardi Tercii post Conq. xxxix[o]: . . test[s] Rob[o] Dyne, Hen[o] de Clyfton, Simone Lorkyn de Nortoft, Nich[o] Bazele de Gildesburgh, Joh[e] Cartere de eadem, et aliis.

13 Ric. II. April 27, 1390. { *Grant by Sir Bernard Brocas to Sir Nicholas and Isabella Lylling, of the Manor of Gildesburgh.* (*Close Roll*, 13 *Ric. II.*)

Ego Bernardus Brocas, senior, miles, &c. dedi &c. Nic[o] Lilling et Isabelle uxori ejus, heredibus &c. manerium meum de Gildesburgh cum pert[s] in Com. Northamp[n] et omnia alia ter. et ten. que habeo in villa de Gildesburgh pd[a]. Dat. xxvii[o] Ap. an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi xiii[o].

(Thus Gildesburgh, which was acquired by Sir John de Brocas in 1352 by free gift from Sir Walter de Thorpe, passed out of the family under Sir Bernard, his son. The passage in Bridges' Northamptonshire [i. 506], which mentions these transactions, may here be quoted: 'The next possessor of this lordship that we meet with is Sir Walter de Thorpe, Kn^{t}, who by deed bearing date 26 Ed. III. [1352], gave the manor of Gildesburgh to Sir John Brocas, Kn^{t}, Margaret his wife, and Bernard Brocas their son (*ex Evid. de Gildesburgh*). In 13 Ric. II., Sir Bernard Brocas, senior, gave it up to Sir Nicholas Lillinge, Kn^{t}, Isabella his wife, and their heirs (*ibid.* and Rot. Claus. 13 Ric. II. p. 2).' The above is the document named. It would be interesting to know the grounds of this 'free gift' to Sir John, his wife, and his son (not yet a knight in 1352). It was made in the same year in which Sir John's eldest son died; and the object may have been to make an estate for Bernard, the third son, Beaurepaire not having been yet acquired. He was by this time a rising man. Isabella Lylling was the widow of Sir John de Brocas. Concerning her friendly relations with her stepson some notice has been taken in Book II. Sir Nicholas was a leading man in Northamptonshire, for which county he sat in several Parliaments as Knight of the Shire, and he is also found in the list of Sheriffs. Isabella's maiden name has not yet been discovered.)

Haddon.

22 Hen. VI. 1443–4. **420.** *The Haddon rent-roll.*

Haddon Rentle ibidem fact. an. r. r. Hen. VI. xxii^{o}.

Wil^{s} Gore tenet certam parcellam terre in Haddon; red. per an.	xv^{s}	
Joh^{s} Crowe tenet tenementum de Haddon per an. . . .	vi^{s}	
Edwardus Grusz tenet unum [illegible] terre cum bosco; red. per an.	iiii^{s}	vi^{d}
Joh^{s} Hethman tenet idem; red. per an.	v^{s}	
Joh^{s} Hethfeld tenet idem et unum pratum; red. per an. . .	viii^{s}	
Sume . . .	xxxviii^{s}	vi^{d}

(This is the sole record of the Brocas property in Haddon.)

Kent: Brokesham and Hever.

5 Ric. II. Dec. 15, 1381. **418.** *Receipt from John Uvedale to Sir Bernard Brocas for 16s. rent (due from him by way of dower for Sybilla Uvedale) from the manors of Brokesham and Hevere.*

Noverint &c. me Joh^{m} Uvedale recepisse de Bern^{o} Brocas mil. xvi^{s} &c. de quodam annuali redditu in quo idem Bern^{s} mihi et Sibille uxori mee tenetur pro dote ipsius Sybille de maneriis de Brokesham et Hevere de term^{s} Pasche et S^{ti} Mich. ultimis pred^{s} . . Datum apud Brokesham die Dom. prox. post fest. S^{te} Lucie an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. Ang. v^{o}.

(This receipt shows that Sybilla de Scures, who brought Wickham to her husband, John de Uvedale, had been a widow, and, we know not how, claimed dower in Brokesham and Hever, the estates which Sir Bernard Brocas inherited from his nephew John Brocas, son of Oliver. She may have been some relation of Sir Bernard or his wife, and been assigned dower on his estate in exchange for some other. The families of Brocas and De Scures were friends, if not relatives.)

WILTSHIRE: FOUNTELL GIFFARD.

17 Ric. II. Dec. 20, 1393. **477.** *Appointment by Sir Bernard Brocas, senior, of John Landon as his attorney to receive an annual payment of* 10*l. assigned to him and his heirs on the manor of Fountell Giffard, and on Colmansland, by four persons who had received the land from John Inge or Ynge.*

Noverint &c. me Bernardum Brocas seniorem mil. &c. loco meo posuisse dil^m michi Joh^m Lundon ad recipiendum nomine meo de Joh^e Joce, Edmundo Culak et Thoma Blake capellano, ac de Joh^e Inge, attornamenta de quadam annuitate x^li michi, hered^s &c. per pred^s Joh^m Joce, Edm^m. et Thomam concessa, percipienda de manerio de Fountell Giffard, et de omn^s terris &c. voc. Colmannesloud infra dominium et hundredum de Knoel Episcopi in Com. Wiltes quam quidem annuitatem pred^s Joh^s Inge nuper per scriptum suum eisdem Joh^i Joce, Edm^o. et Thome ac Joh^i Payn capellano, jam defuncto, nuper concessit . . . Datum apud Wintoniam xxi^o Decemb. an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi post Conq. xvii^o.

(Seal: crest of the Moor's head and Eastern crown, 'b' and 'a' on either side: the same as in Deed 303 of the same year.)

17 Ric. II. Dec. 22, 1393. **476.** *Quitclaim of John Ynge of Fountell Giffard to Sir Bernard Brocas, for the annuity of* 10*l. which he had granted to the above persons.*

(There is no further notice of this property.)

BRADENSTOKE CUM CLACKE, IN WILTS.

1 Eliz. March 21, 1559. **475.** *A View of Frank-pledge, Sir Richard Pexsall's Court being held at Bradenstoke cum Clacke.*

Bradenstocke cum Clacke.

Ad Vis. Franc. plegii cum Curia ibidem tent. xxi^o die Marcii an. r. r. Elizabethe, Dei gr. Ang. Franc. et Hib. Regine, Fid. Def. &c. i^o. Ad istam Curiam venit Thomas Reve et cepit de Dom^no reversionem unius messuagii cum gardino et parva clausa eidem pertinente scituata et jacente in Clacke predicta modo in tenura William Plasterer . . . hab^m ad voluntatem Dom^ni . . redd^o x^s &c. et omnia alia opera et servicia inde debita &c. et relevium xx^s; et non alienabit &c. absque speciali licentia &c. sub pena forisfacture &c. Et fecit Domino fidelitatem et inde admissus est tenens.

Nicholaus Burlace seneschallus ibidem.

April 16, 1651. **531.** *Fine levied in* 1651 (*completing a previous imperfect Fine of* 1633), *by which Thomas and Elizabeth Brocas sold the manor of Bradenstoke cum Clacke, in Wilts, along with*

'viginti mesuagiis, decem toftis, triginta gardeniis, triginta pomariis, quingentis acris terre, centum acris prati, ducentis acris pasture, et ducentis acris bosci cum pert^s in Bradenstock,' and also the manors of Bulsden cum Bentworth and Roch Court, and along with 'viginti mesuagiis, novem toftis,

viginti gardiniis, quindecim pomariis, septuagentis acris terre, centum et quinquaginta acris prati, quingentis acris pasture, et ducentis et quadraginta acris bosci cum pert[a] in Bulsden cum Bentworth, Northfaram, Mayles, Titchfield, Quabbe, Prolingworth et Wickham in Com. Suth[a]'—for 1000*l.* to the Lady Margaret Brocas. The Fine is now proclaimed in the name of the 'Custodes libertatis Angliæ auctoritate Parliamenti.'

(The above was the equivalent for Dame Margaret Brocas's claim of dower as Sir Pexall Brocas' widow, the forms of which had not been completed in 1633. This was the estate out of which the younger children of Thomas and Elizabeth were provided for, and which eventually at least the Roche Court portion became the estate of Sir William and Lady Gardiner. Making every allowance for difference of the value of money, the sum of 1000*l.* seems so small a price to pay for 40 houses, 19 tofts, 50 gardens, 35 orchards, and 2590 acres of land, that the transaction must certainly be considered in the light of an accommodation with a view to a family settlement. The completion of the Fine of 1633 had perhaps been arrested by the sale in the same year of Little Weldon and the Mastership of the Buckhounds, for which the Bradenstoke estate had to be pledged as additional security, on Sir Lewis Watson's discovery that Sir Pexall Brocas had at one time assigned the former property for the endowment of his Oxford College [Watson Papers.])

Herts.

2 Hen. VI. April 23, 1424.

488. *Grant by William Belche of Hawrygge, in Bucks, to Bernard Brocas of Co. Southampton, of property in Royesdon, Herts.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Wil[s] Belche de Hawrygge in Com. Buks dedi &c. Bern[o] Brocas arm. de Com. Suth[a] ten[m] meum in Royesdon quod vocatur Belches cum una grana eidem ten[o] adjacente cum &c. terris, pratis, pascuis, pasturis, et omn[s] aliis ceteris suis pert[s] &c. . . test[s] Joh[e] Hyndkode, Thoma Braham, Ric[o] Botiller, Rog[o] Briggs, et aliis. Datum in festo S[ti] Georgii, an. r. r. Henrici Sexti post Conq. Angl. ii[o].

(Hawridge is not far from Chesham or from Great and Little Missenden. The Bernard here mentioned was second son of Sir Bernard Brocas [2], styled in this place 'of Southampton,' but more generally 'Bernard of Alton.'

This is the only deed referring to the Royesdon property, nor is there any other deed concerning Bucks or Herts before 8 Chas. II., when we have the sale of *Little Brickhill* to Alderman Abdy. There is one of 29 Eliz., in which the Brocases are not concerned, referring to *Brill*, and a similar one of 4 Ch. I. referring to *Long Crendon*. Royesdon is, however, one of the seventeen properties in Bucks and Herts passed by Fetherston, trustee of Bernard Brocas of Horton, to the new Bernard Brocas of Horton in 1466, and it is one of the twelve originally acquired by the first Sir Bernard in 1368. The above is a new farm in Royesdon which Bernard acquires in 1424, showing that he was already adding to his estates.)

Suffolk.

17 Hen. VI. Oct. 21, 1438.

431. *Grant by Jocosa Baynard to William Brocas and others, of Overhall in Poselyngford (Suffolk), on condition of their carrying out her will referring to a fuller deed in her own and William Brocas' possession.*

Sciant &c. quod ego Jocosa nuper uxor Rob[i] Baynard arm. dedi &c. Wil[o] Brocas arm. seniori, Wil[o] Warbelton, arm., Rob[o] Dyneley, arm., Galf[o] Rokkell, arm., Joh[i] Swetecok clerico, manerium meum voc. Overhall cum

pert[s] in Poselyngford in Com. Suffolk, quod quidem manerium . . michi jure hereditario devenit: sub hac conditione quod ipsi feoffati, cum per me dictam Jocosam et heredes meos requisiti fuerint, conservent et impleant meam presentem voluntatem et integram intentionem prout in quibusdam indenturis penes me et pred[m] Wil[m] Brocas remanentem plenius continetur &c. . . test[s] Steph[o] Popham, mil., Godfredo Hilton, mil., Edwardo Tyrell, arm., Petro Coudray, Wil[o] Shirfeld, et multis aliis. Datum apud Silchestre in festo S[ti] Dunstani Ep[i] an. r. r. Henrici Sexti post Conq. Angl. xvii[o].

(In Deed 432 Jocosa Baynard appoints attorneys to give seisin of Poselyngford to the above. In 1438 Jocosa made claim to one-half the manor of Silchester, called 'Le Nethercourt,' in right of her husband, as well as to half the advowson of the church. A deed is extant, but not in the family chest, by which William Brocas and his co-trustees make attorneys to deliver these estates to them for Jocosa and her heirs. [By information from Mr. D. G. Cary Elwes.] Probably the Silchester amphitheatre, which was possessed by the Brocas family in recent times, came to them through the Baynards, a Silchester family with which, as said above, they were closely connected for many generations, both in the way of friendship and business.)

PERSONAL DEEDS UNCONNECTED WITH SPECIAL ESTATES.

35 Ed. III. April 16, 1361.

153*a*. *Receipt of Aynon de Ynz from John de Singelton, parson of Quainton Mallet, and attorney general of Sir Bernard Brocas, for* 700 *French gold crowns of John, which had been lent to Sir Bernard Brocas beyond sea.*

Ceste endenture testmoigne que Aynon de Ynz ad resceve de Johan de Sengilton person de Quenynton Mallet attorne general Monsieur Bernard Brocas chivaller le xvi[me] jour de Aprile lan du regne le Roy Edward tierce apres le conqueste xxxv[me] en la meison Saynts Thomas de Acres en Londres cxliiii escutz de Johan en aure: Item iiii[xx]xiii [xciii] phelips de acompter iiii phelips a v Johans, amontent a cxvi et quart: Item xxvii leopars de acompter iiii leopars pour v Johans, amontent a xxxiii Johans et iii quarts: Item xxxvii motons Regis de acompter ii motons pour iii Johans amontent des Johans a lv et demye Johans: Item ii[c]xxxiiii motons Ducis de accompter solom ceo qe Monsieur Bernard Brocas et sieur Johan de Sengilton accomptent ii motons a iii Johans amontent des Johans a iii[c]li, et solom ceste acompte du dit Monsieur Bernard la somme entiere des Johans amont a vii[c] et demye: quele somme forps le demye Johan ceste a savoir vii[c] escutz Johan le dit Aynon appresta a Mons[r] Bernard par de la la mere; et le dit Aynon ceo agree a quant qeste avantdit forpris qil chalenge de Mons[r] Bernard de avoir abatu en la somme de ii[c]xxxiiii motons Ducis iiii[li] et iii[s] desterlings ceste a savoir pur chescune piece des motons Ducis iiii[d] ob. quele alowaunce neo pourra estre faite en le absence le dit Mons[r] Bernard et le dit Aynon se conust estre paie de vii[c] et demye Johans solom le acompte les avanditz Mons[r] Bernard et Sir Johan de Sengilton: et solom le acompte le dit Aynon ils faillent iiii[li] et iii[s] dargent come est avant dite: et les avantditz Mons[r] Bernard et Sir Johan forpris de les avantditz iiii[li] iii[s] acquite par cette endenture a touz jours; en testmoygnance de quellis choses les avanditz Aynon et Sir Johan a les parties de ceste endenture entrechaung-

Seal of John Atte More, used by Henry Atte More, a.d. 1377

(See p. 408)

Seal of Aimon de Ins, a.d. 1361

See p. 454)

Seal of William Warbelton, a.d. 1448

(See p. 354)

iablement ount mys lour seals: Ceux tesmoignetz le mestre de la meison Saynt Thomas de Acres, Johan de Worsted citezayn de Londres, et Gilbert de Ynz, et aultres; escripte en le lieu, le jour, et lan avandites.

(Endorsed: 'Fait a remembrer qe Joh. de Worsted doit estre acquite de la somme compris de deynz ceste endenture pour ceo qil fu charge de ceo en une endenture come de parcele dune grayndere somme et puys la somme fust paie a Aynon de Ynz come pierte de deynz cestes.'

The seal forms one of the illustrations.)

36 Ed. III. June 27, 1362. **104.** *Bond of 50l. from Henry de Aldryngton to Sir Bernard Brocas.*

Pateat &c. me Henᵐ de Aldryngton teneri et per presentes firmiter obligari Bernardo Brokas Chivaler in lᴵᴵ sterling &c. &c. Datum apud Beaurepaire die Lune prox. post festum Sᵗⁱ Johⁿˢ Baptiste anno r. r. Edwardi Tertii post Conq. xxxvi°.

(Seal: party per fesse; in chief two lion's heads couped; in base an annulet.)

42 Ed. III. May 11, 1368. **105.** *Quitclaim by John Gyffard of personal action of all kinds which he and Mary his wife might make for rent against Bernard Brocas, clerk, and Sir Bernard Brocas.*

. . testibus Waltero Withors, Thoma Mussynden, Stephano Asshewy, Radulfo Tyrwhit, Roberto Foxlee, Maculmo Amsare, et aliis. Datum apud Westmʳ xi° die Maii an. r. r. Edwardi Tertii post Conq. xlii°.

1 Ric. II. Dec. 15, 1377. *Grant of custody of his parks and chases by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winton, to Sir Bernard Brocas.*

William par la grace Dieu evesqz de Wyncestre, a touz yceux qi cestes lettres verront ou orront, saluz en Dieu. Sachez nous avoir assignez et ordenez nostre tres cher & bien ame, Monsʳ Bernard Brocas, chivaler, chief surveour & soverein gardein de touz noz parkes, chaces, warannes, & autres noz deductez [pleasure-grounds] pour toute nostre eveschee & seigneurie a les surveier garder & faire garder, al homneur et profit de nous & de nostre eglise sanz nulle wast, damage, ou destruction de savagine [game], herbage ou de boys, en ycelles faire par nulle voie; par qei nous maudons & commandons a touz noz tenantz, servantes, & ministres & prioms a touz autres noz amys & bien voillantz quadit Monsʳ Bernard en le dit office feisant et exerceant soient eidantz & entendantz duement pour nostre homneur & profit avantditz, en toutes choses que a les dites surveue & soveraine garde appartient. En tesmoignance de quele chose, nous avons fait faire au dit Monsʳ Bernard cestes noz lettres patentes ensealeez de nostre seal, a durer a nostre voluntee. Done a nostre chastiel de Farnham le quinzieme jour de Decembre, lan du regne le roi Richard le secunde primere, et lan de nostre consecracion unzime.

'E Registro domini, domini Willelmi de Wykeham, Wintoniensis episcopi.' Tom. ii. fol. clxii. (F. J. B.)

14 Ric. II. May 17, 1391. **170.** *Bond for 40s. by William Terry to Sir Bernard Brocas given at Beaurepaire.*

15 Ric. II. Sept. 7, 1391. **109.** *Acknowledgment of a debt of 200l., by Hugh Plane, chaplain, to Sir Bernard Brocas and three others.*

Noverint &c. me Hugonem Plane, capellanum, teneri et per presentes firmiter obligari Dom. Bernardo Brocas, mil., Will^o More civi et vinetario Londonie, Rob^to Hengrave, capellano, et Umfrido Gylet de Bromley in com. Hampshire in cc^li sterling. . . . solvendis eidem Bernardo . . . vel uni eorum aut eorum dicto attornato &c. . . . Datum vii^o die Sept. an. r. r. Ricardi Secundi xv^o.

19 Ric. II. Feb. 7, 1396. **107.** *Appointment by John Marnham, one of the executors of Sir Bernard Brocas, of John Shirlonde to collect debts due to the late Sir Bernard Brocas.*

Sachent totez gentz moi John Marnham un des executours de Mons. Bernard Brocas le pier. avoir ordeigne de pute et assigne mon cher et bien ame John Shirlonde lever coiller et rescevoir pour moi et en mon nome touz les deniers a moi debbez par quiconque debtours par cause del dit Sieur Bernard, eiant firme et stable tou ceo qil face ou fesse touchant la dit matiere: Purveu tuttez voiez qil face paiement et loial acompt au ditz executours des ditz deniers quant il sera dument par lui eut requis. En testmoignance du quele chose a ycestez iaie mys mon seal. Donne a Londres le vii jour de Febr. lan du regne le Roi Richard Seconde dis-neoffisme.

1 Hen. IV. 1400 or 1401. **111.** *Memorandum of Manors of William Brocas in the hands of the king under forfeiture of Sir Bernard Brocas.*

Manoria Will^i Brocas petita de Domino Rege ratione forisfacture Barnardi Brocas patris predicti Will^i videlicet subscripta :—

Northfaram, Brokesheved } in com. Suth^n
Guldeford, Peperharue } in com. Surri et Sussex.
Bromley in com. Dorset.
Clewer vocatum Brocas in com. Berks.
Dudeworth Maunsell, Buntingbury } in com. Berks.

Added in a contemporary hand, apparently that of William Brocas of Denton :—

"Mem^d that Didworth and Buntingbury weren in the king's honde of mother's tytel befor for one entry that Sir Bernard Brocas maad on the kynge the which was relieved afterwards be plee by William Brocas."

(In Inq. p. m. 1 Hen. IV. part 2, 'concerning the lands of certain traitors,' the manors forfeited to the king's escheators are Bromley Dorset., Peperharow, North Fareham, and lands held in lease of Sir Bernard Brocas by Chesenhale in Guildford and Ertyngdon – thus omitting Broxhead, Clewer-Brocas, Didworth and Buntingbury, the two last, perhaps, for the reason mentioned in the above Memorandum.)

5 Hen. IV. June 24, 1404. **177.** *Receipt of* 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d. from John Chitterne to Bernard son of Sir Bernard Brocas.*

Noverint &c. me Joh^m^ Chitterne cler^m^ recepisse . . . die confectionis presentium de Bernardo Brocas fil. Bernardi Brocas, militis, junioris, viii^li^ vi^s^ et viii^d^ in fest. Nativ. S^ti^ Joh^s^ Bapt^e^ jam instanti michi debitas in partem solutionis majoris summe in qua michi prefatus Bernardus per scriptum suum obligatur, et de Statuto Stapule tenetur pro diversis maneriis, terris &c. in Com^s^ Buks et Suth^m^ que fuerunt Bernardi Brocas, senioris, militis, avi pred. Bernardi &c.

(This shows that Bernard, second son of the attainted Sir Bernard Brocas, had borrowed from Chitterne a larger sum than he now repays, on the security of the Bucks [Horton] and Hants property of the first Sir Bernard, which the latter had settled on his grandson, and placed in the hands of John Chitterne as trustee. Bernard could not derive rents from, but could borrow on them.)

23 Hen. VI. April 6, 1445. **117.** *Bond for* 100*s. from John Nete of Pamber to William Brocas.*

23 Hen. VI. April 13, 1445. **116.** *Bond for* 100*s. from John Tanner of Bromeley to William Brocas.*

(The condition on the back of both deeds shows that Nete and Tanner had been trespassers on the Beaurepaire estates. They are now bound to refrain, under a heavy penalty, which, however, is only half the sum expressed in the charter of Free Warren.)

34 Hen. VI. March 31, 1456. **192.** *Letter from W. Westbury, Provost of Eton, to William Brocas, requiring a payment to the Vicar of Bramley.*

Right worshipful Sir,—

I commaunde me to you desiring you that ye content and pay unto my wellbeloved the Vicar of Bromley xxvi^s^ viii^d^ of the revenoue of the ferme that ye hold of us there: Dew unto the said vicar for a yearly pension that he ought to have of the Person of the chirche of Bromley aforeseide, and this my writyng shalbe unto you sufficient warrant of discharge. Wretyn at Eton the last day of Marche the yere of the regne of King Henry the Sexte xxxiv.

W. Westbury, Provost of Eton.

To my Right Worshipful friend William Brokas.

12 Hen. VIII. Sept. 27, 1520. **92.** *Bond for a debt of* 20*l. due from R. Strowde and John Gardener of Devon to Ralph Pexsall, Sheriff of Devon.*

Noverint &c. nos Ric^m^ Strowde de Plympton in Com. Devon et Joh^m^ Gardener nuper de Tawstok [Tavistock] in Com. Devon, Gent., teneri et firmiter obligari Rad^o^ Pexsall arm. Vicecomiti Devon in xx^li^ sterling. legalis monete Ang. solvend. eidem Rad^o^ exec^s^ seu &c. ad quam quidem solucionem bene et fideliter faciend. obligamus nos et utriusque nostrum heredem et exec. nostros. per presentes: Dat. xxiv^o^ die Sept. an. r. r. Hen. VIII. xii^o^.

Then follow the conditions of the bond, which are of the usual kind.

CHAPTER V.

DEEDS ETC. CONCERNING THE MASTERSHIP OF THE ROYAL BUCKHOUNDS.

Undated, but probably early in the reign of Edward II.

429. *Copy of a Deed of Remembrance concerning lands in Weldon, Northamptonshire, which Michael Fitz Robert had held and forfeited, containing the descent of the Lordship of the lands from the time of Henry II.*

Fet a remembrer que Michel Fitz Robert le fitz Olof tient un mes en la ville de Welledon en le countee de Northampton, et bois, et pree, terre arable ala mountante de quatre vinz acres et rent assiz de ala mountante c^{s} et vii^{s} ove les appurtenances de services et de custumes, et cele meme Michel tient en la ville de Drayton en la countee de Leycester un mes de Hugh de Bernak; tient semblement ove sinkaunt acres terre arable et quatre acres de pree; et mesme cele Hugh tient en mesme la ville xlv acres de terre arable en ii acres de pree; et auxment que cele Michel avantdit fuit felon, et Roger Sydrak de Grant Acle [Oakley] tient un pree la mountante de v acres qui est appelle Pypyngesholme, et lavantdit Michel rent de sa vie xii deners de rent assis de Hugh Walkar de Drayton pur un verge de terre que le dit Hugh tient de lui, et Roger le fitz Robert tient un quartern de terre arable ove deux rodes et demi de pree et rendu v deners par an, et le John fitz William del Hale tient un verge de terre, et le E. de Bernak tient un demi verge de terre et rend a lavantdit Michel v^{s} par an, et lavantdit Michel fut felon nostre S^{r} le Roi pur an comencement a quant dit semblement ove la rente avant dit fuit escete le Roi Henri pier le Roi John; et cele Rois lont dona a Osberne Loveigne son chamberlein ove ses chers donners les avant dits terres et rentes semblement ove prees avant nomis ensement ove la Seignurie que appendu a la tenauntz le dit Michel; ou apres la mort Osberne Lovel le Henri dona ses terres rentes et seignuries avant nomis a William Lovel et a ces heirs, et cest chose a William Lovel son fitz, et dit William a John son fitz qore [qui ore] est.

(By this very rough copy of a paper which seems to defy the rules of grammar, but is contemporary and perfectly genuine, we incidentally obtain the descent of the lordship of Hunter's Manor in Little Weldon; and it is the sole authority for it which has yet been discovered.

Henry II, 'pier le Roi John,' gave this lordship to his Chamberlain, Osberne Lovel [whose name is spelt at the distance of only a few lines 'Loveigne'], and after his death to William Lovel in fee, who is not said to be his son; from whom it descended to William's son William, and grandson John Lovel, then living. This implies three, or perhaps four, generations, through which the lordship of the estate which John Lovel held as hereditary Master of the Royal Buckhounds passed before his death in 1346. As Henry II. died in 1189, it was more probably four generations than three. To what period of John Lovel's tenure the document belongs we could only discover if we knew the year of Michael Fitz Robert's forfeiture; but we may assume that it was early in the reign of Edward II. Hugh de Bernak was one of the lords of the manor of that

name in 1316 ('Parl. Writs'; but 'E. de Bernak' cannot be traced. Walter Fitz Robert, lord of Daventry in the above year, was a person of great importance in the reign of Edward II., but Michael's name, still less his tenure of Little Weldon, or forfeiture, has not yet been found in any other record but this. We might make a fair guess that the latter was connected in some way with the Civil War. As the tenure of Hunter's Manor carried with it in 1216 the Mastership of the Buckhounds, there can be little doubt that the Lovels who preceded John held that office as well as he; but in the list given at p. 264 it has been thought more safe to append a [?] to their names. It may be added here to the previous notices of John Lovel that he was Knight of the Shire for the County of Northampton as early as 1290 [Parl. Writs], thus taking his place in the first regular Parliament summoned by a King of England. 'John Fitzwilliam del Hale' was probably a younger son of William de Hale, who died 20 Ed. I. Neither Hugh de Sydrak nor Hugh Walkar de Drayton were sufficiently important to enable us to identify them. At Bernak [or Barnack] were the great stone quarries out of which the monasteries of Peterborough, Crowland, Thorney, and Ramsey were built.)

5 Ed. III. 1331.

421. *Customs and Rental due to Thomas de Borhunte, Master of the Royal Buckhounds, for the estate of Little Weldon.*

Custumer et Rental des tenauns Thomas de Bourhonte en Weledon feste en lan du regne le Roi Edward ters apres le Conquest quint.

John le Werour tent en villenage i mis et xii acres de terre et rent par an, v^{s} du rente a la feste de Seint Michel et Pasch. par [egales] portions et paiera pannage a la feste Seint Martyn por porcs et por chescuyne chevere ½^{d} a la feste Seint Michel, ed deit sier le ble le Seigneur por iiii jours en Aust ove i homme sauns ren [rien] prendre du seigneur: et deit lever et tasser le feyn du pre le Seigneur, et trere le en la graunge et entre eux tous prendra pour le service iiii^{d}, et det sercler le ble le Seigneur ove i homme por i jour: et det clore les seps le Seigneur ove i homme por i jour, et det arrer a deus sesouns del an por ii jours: et det quiler nois por i jour ove i homme.

Andrew Gilebre tent i mis et xii acres de terre et rent par an de rente v^{s} a deus termes, et fera tote maner services sudites.

Walter Martyn tent i mis et i acre et dimide de terre et rent por an a deus termes xviii^{d}, et fera tote maner services en John de Werrour sauve arrure.

Luce Moke tent tant en Walter Martyn et taunt rente, et fera en totes maner services.

Alice Whitdok tent i cot et rent par an xii^{d} et deit sier le ble le Seigneur pour ii jours ove i homme, et deit lever et tasser le foin du pre le seigneur et trere le en graunge, et deit quiler nois pour i jour et sercler pour dimide jour.

Edith Paie tent tant et taunt fera en totes choses fet en Alice Whitdok.

Reniaud de Sawiar taunt tent et taunt deit en Alice Whitdok.

Alice Alhurt taunt tent et taunt deit en Alice Whitdok.

John le Werrour tent i acre de terre a la volonte le seigneur et rent par an x^{d} a deus termes, Pasch et S^{t} Michel.

Ive le Carpenter tent i acre de terre a la volonte le seigneur, et rent par an vi^{d} a la feste S^{t} Michel.

Rente de Rokyngham par an vi^{d}.

Summa xxiii^{s} x^{d}

withowt y^{e} custumer.

The 'Sum' does not correspond with the details given; but is perhaps made up by the addition of John le Werrour's payment for pannage and of ½*d.* for each goat.

Undated, but between 1318 and 1340. { **427** (**428** is a duplicate). *Duty and Pay of Thomas Borhunt, Master of the Royal Buckhounds, temp. Ed. II. and Ed. III.*

Item a Thomas Borhunt qui tient de Roy en chiefe une chayne de terre en Petit Weldon en counte de Northampton del heritage Margarete la fille et heire John Lovell femme au dit Thomas par certein service destre Venour le Roi des deymers [Master of the Royal Buckhounds] et doit avoir en sa garde xxiiii chiens deymeres, vi leideres [leveres, levriers, greyhounds] des chiens le Roi et prendra pur la pature [peuture, pâture, feed] de chescun chien obol le jour, et deux valettes venours [attendants] dount chescun prendra i^{d} ob le jour pur gage, et une robe par an en drap ou un mar en deniers, et chaunceure, un veutrer [huntsman] a ii^{d} le jour pur gage, une robe par an en drape, ou mar en deniers, pur chaunceur iiii^{s} viii^{d}. Des queux chiens le dit Thomas doit sustener a ses coustages demesnes xl jours en quaresme xv chiens deymers et lun berner [dog-keeper]; et le remenant des chiens et lautre berner et le dit veutrer seront a les coustages le Roi auxi bien de celle seison come toutz par tout le remenant del an. Et le dit Thomas prendra en Court vii^{d} obol le jour pur gages, et hors de Court es busoignes le Roi xii^{d} pur gages et despenses, ii robes par an en drape ou xl^{s} en deners. Et seigne en malades preigne pur livere i^{d} de payn i galon de cervoyse et i messe de groos [porridge] de la quisine, et i messe de rost.

Item: des autres venours soient a la volonte le Roy.

14 Ed. III. 1340. { *Inq. p. m. Thomas de Borhunt*, 14 *Ed. III*, *n.* 22.

Thomas de Borhunt tenuit ad term. vite sue de hereditate Margarete uxoris sue jam superstitis unum mesuagium, lxxviii acras terre arabilis, xl acras bosci, unum molendinum ventrititum et lxxvii^{s} vi^{d} denarat. redditus de diversis tenementis in Parva Weldon et Rockingham de Rege *in capite*, per servicium &c. [as above].

35 Ed. III. 1361. { *Inq. p. m. William Danvers*, 35 *Ed. III.*

William Danvers tenuit die quo obiit man^{m} de Weldon et ballivam custodiendi &c. [as above].

40 Ed. III. May 12, 1366. { **422.** *Writ of 'Inquisitio ad quod damnum' to the King's Escheator with reference to the transfer of the hereditary Mastership of the Royal Buckhounds from Matilda Lovell to Sir Bernard Brocas.*

Rex dilecto sibi Ric^{o} Wydeville escaetori suo in Com. Northampton salutem. Precipimus tibi quod per sacramentum proborum et legalium hominum de balliva tua per quos rei veritas melius sciri potest diligenter inquiras si sit ad dampnum vel prejudicium nostrum aut aliorum si concedamus Matilde Lovell quod ipsa concedere possit quod manerium de Parva Wel-

don ac balliva custodiendi canes nostros damaricios cum pert^{s} que de nobis tenentur in capite ut dicitur et que dilectus et fidelis noster Bernardus Brocas et Maria uxor ejus tenent ad terminum vite ipsius Marie que eciam post mortem ejusdem Marie ad prefatam Matildam et heredes suos reverti deberent, post mortem ejusdem Marie remaneat prefato Bernardo et heredibus suis tenenda de nobis et heredibus nostris per servitia inde debita et consueta imperpetuum necne, et si sit ad dampnum vel prejudicium nostrum aut aliorum tunc quod dampnum et quod prejudicium cujusdam et ad quod dampnum et quod prejudicium aliorum, et quorum et qualiter et quo modo et de quo vel de quibus manerium et balliva predicta teneantur, et per quod servicium et quantum valent per annum in omnibus exitibus juxta verum valorem eorundem. Et inquisicionem inde distincte et aperte factam nobis sub sigillo tuo et sigillo eorum per quos facta fuerit sine dilatione mittas, &c. Teste me ipso apud Westm. xii^{o} die Maii anno r. nostri xl^{o}.

40 Ed. III. May 22, 1366. **423.** *Return of Inq. ad q. d. upon the above writ.*

Inquisicio capta apud Northampton die Ven. prox. ante fest. Pentecostis an. r. r. Edwardi III. post Conq. xl^{o} coram Ricardo Wydeville Escaetore Domini Regis in com. North^{n} virtute cujusdam brevis Dom. Regis eidem escaetori inde directe &c. per sacramentum Wil^{i} Quarreour [Werreour] de Weldon, Gilb^{i} Smyth, Joh^{s} Robelot, Joh^{s} Berd, Joh^{s} Baptiste, Wil^{i} Berd, Wil^{i} Saressone, Rob^{i} Shubbokr, Ric^{i} Wylkyns, Rob^{i} Yve, Henr. Boresworthe, et Rogeri Howman, qui dicunt super sacramentum suum quod non est ad dampnum nec prejudicium Dom. Regis aut aliorum licet Dom. Rex concedat Matilde Lovell quod ipsa concedere possit quod manerium de Parva Weldon et ballivam custodiendi canes Dom. Regis damaritios cum pert^{s} que de Dom. Rege tenentur in capite et que Bernardus Brocas et Maria uxor ejus tenent ad term. vite ipsius Marie que constat post mortem ejusdem Marie ad prefatam Matildam et heredes suos reverti deberent post mortem ejusdem Marie remaneant prefato Bernardo et heredibus suis tenenda de Dom. Rege et heredibus suis per servicia inde debita et consueta imperpetuum. Et dicunt quod predicta manerium et balliva custodiendi canes Dom. Regis damaricios cum pert^{s} tenentur de Dom. Rege in capite per servitium custodiendi quatuordecim canes Dom. Regis damaricios cum uno Bernere custodiente illos vocato Berner per tempus quadragesimale sumptibus suis propriis ; et quod supradicta manerium et balliva custodiendi canes Dom. Regis damaricios cum pert^{s} ut supra valent per annum in omnibus exitibus juxta verum valorem iiii^{li}. In cujus rei test. predicti Jurati huic Inquisitioni indentate sigilla sua apposuerunt.

40 Ed. III. June 6, 1366. *Patent Roll* 40 *Ed. III. p.* 1, *m.* 20.

[*Translation.*]

For Bernard Brocas.—The King to all to whom &c. greeting. Know ye that of our special grace and for four pounds which our beloved and faithful Bernard Brocas Knight has paid to us, we have granted and given

license for us and our heirs as much as in us is to Matilda Lovel, that she may grant that the Manor of Little Weldon and the bailiwick of keeping our Buckhounds with appurt^{s}, which are held of us in chief, and which the aforesaid Bernard and Mary his wife hold for term of the life of the same Mary, which also after the death of the same Mary ought to revert to the aforesaid Matilda and her heirs, after the decease of the same Mary shall remain to the aforesaid Bernard and his heirs, to hold of us and our heirs by the services therefore due and accustomed for ever; And to the same Bernard that he may retain the Manor and bailiwick aforesaid with appurt^{s} after the death of the same Mary to him and his heirs, to hold of us and our heirs by the services abovesaid for ever, by the tenor of these presents. We have likewise given special license, not willing that the aforesaid Matilda or her heirs, or the aforesaid Bernard or his heirs, by reason of the premises shall be troubled molested or grieved by us or our heirs or our Justices, Escheators, Sheriffs or other bailiffs or ministers whomsoever in any wise. In witness whereof &c. Witness the King at Westminster on the 6th day of June. [1366.]

And the aforesaid 4*l.* have been paid into the Hanaper.

(The 4*l.* is paid to the king, not Matilda. It is one year's income. What he gave her for the reversion appears from the transaction with Simon Levelys.)

40 Ed. III. June 11, 1366.

429a. *Agreement between Sir Bernard Brocas and Simon Levelys of London with reference to sums of money in which they are indebted to each other, to be paid on certain contingencies occurring to Sir Bernard Brocas in connection with the Mastership of the Buckhounds.*

Ceste endenture faite Loundres le xi jour de Juyn en lan de regne le Roi Edward tierce apres la conqueste qarantisme perentre Mons. Bernard Brocas chivaler dunepart et Simond Levelys, brewere et citezein de Loundres dautrepart tesmoigne que come le dit Mons. Bernard soit tenuz al dit Simond en deux cents livres par une reconisaunce de Estatut Marchant de ceo fait devant John Lovekyn Mair de Loundres et William de Merston clerk del dit Estatut apaier a la feste de touz seinz proschene avenir; nienmeintz le dit Simond voet et graunte que si le dit Mons. Bernard et ses heirs ou ses executeurs ou ascun autre en leur nom paieitt al dit Simond, ses heirs, ou ses executeurs, cynkaunte livres le Vendredy proschein apres la quinzeyne Seint Michel proschein avenir en la eglise de Seint Paul en Loundres, et autres cynkaunte livres en mesme le lieu le Mekerdy proschein apres la quinzeyne de Paske adoungs prochein ensiwaunt, qadonque le dit Estatut perde sa force et autrement estoise en sa force. Et come le dit Simond soit tenuz a mon dit S^{r} Bernard en gage cent et qatre vyntz marz par un autre reconisaunce de Estatut Marchant fait devant les mesmes les Mair et Clerk et en vynt marz oblige a lui et a ses heirs par ses lettres obligatories apaiers a la dite feste de Tous Seintz, nient moyntz le dit Mons. Bernard voet et graunte que por tot le temps que lui ses heirs ou leur assignez tiegnent paisiblement le manor de Weldon en le counte de Northampton et la Baillie de garder les chiens Nostre S^{r} le Roi pur ses deyns sanz estre oustes de ceo

ou de nul parcel de celles par juggement ou par autre maner sanz fraude ou mal engyn del dit Bernard ou de ses heirs ou lor assignez par ascun clamant droit en ycelles come heir ou par escheat de la possession Margarete Bourhunte nadgaire femme a William Daunvers et tenaunte del dit manoir et Baillie, que le paiement des sommes compris en les ditz Estatut et obligation cessent &c. Et en cas qil aviegne qe le dit Mons. Bernard, ses heirs, ou ses assignes soient oustes del dit manoir ou Baillie ou de nul parcel dicelles par juggement ou par autre maner par ascun clamant droit en icelles come heir a dite Margarete ou par eschete de la possession la dite Margarete a quel Maud Lovell qui fuit la femme Thomas Treweman se dit estre cosyn et heir, le dit Mons. Bernard ou ses heirs ou lor executors porteront brief de dette de les ditz vyntz marz devers le dit Simond a Viscomte de Northampton retornable devaunt les Justices del Comune Banuk nostre S^r^ le Roi et sur ceo ferount garnir le dit Simond a ses tenementz en Loundres estaunte mesme ceste Simond en vie en presence de qatre bones gentz de ses voysynes pur un mois devaunt le jour qe le brief soit retornable. Et si le dit Simond viegne al dit jour et puisse mayntener par voie de plee qe la dite Maud soit cosyn et vroi heir al dite Margarete, et ceo soit trove par verdicte denqueste de genz del dit Countee de Northampton en la dite suite qadounqes le dit Simond, ses heirs, et ses ex^ors^ et terre tenauntz soient quitement deschargez si bien del Estatut Marchant come del obligacion. Et sil aviegne qe sur la garnisement affaire par le maner et sur le brief de dette le dit Simond ne viegne, ou en cas qil viegne et plede qe ladite Maud fuit cosyn et heir al dite Margarete [line left blank] et soit trove par verdicte denqueste qe la dite Maud ne fuit cosyn et heir al dite Margarete ou le contrairie dautre plee qe le dit Simond pledra en la dite suite, et le dit Simond ou ses heirs ou ses ex^ors^ paient al dit Mons. Bernard ou a ses heirs ou a ses ex^ors^ deux cents et cynkaunte marcz deviz le demy an apres lenqueste passe, qe le dit Simond, ses heirs, et ses ex^ors^ soient de les ditz Estatut et obligacion par le dit Simond faitz deschargez. Et le dit Mons. Bernard graunte qe execution des ditz Estatut et obligacion faitz par le dit Simond cessent et soient suspenduz taunque la defaute de paiement des ditz deux cents et cynquaunte marcz soit trove en le dit Simond en la forme susdite. Et si le dit Mons. Bernard, ses heirs, ou ses assignez apres la mort le dit Simond soient oustez de la dite manoir ou de la Baillie ou parcel dicelles par ascun vroi heir a dite Margarete autre qe la dite Maud ou heirs al dite Maud, ou par ascun autre ciaunt estat des ditz heirs, ou par aucun clamant droit par eschete pur defaute de heir la dite Margarete de la possession la dite Margarete et apres ceo qe le dit Mons. Bernard, ses heirs, et ses assignez soient oustez del manoir ou Baillie ou parcel dicelles en la maner susdite, et es ceo les terre tenauntz duement garniz et deviz le demy an apres la dite garnisement paient deux centz et cynkaunte marcz al dit Mons. Bernard ses heirs et ses assignez qadounqes les ditz Estatut et obligacion faitz par le dit Simond soient voidez et anientiz. Et si le dit Mons. Bernard, ses heirs, et ses assignez apres la mort Simond ne soient oustez des ditz manoir et Baillie ou ascun parcel dicelles en la maner susdite qe execution cesse, et en cas qe apres la mort le dit Simond le dit Mons. Bernard, ses heirs et ses assignez soient oustez en la maner susdite et grement fait come dessus est dit, qadounqes les ditz Estatut et obligacion

faitz par le dit Simond estoisent en lor force, et autrement nemie apres la deces le dit Simond. En tesmoignaunce de quele chose les parties avaunt ditz a cest escrit endente interchaungeablement ount mys lor seals.

(Fine seal: a shield, not heraldic, surmounted by a cross fitché. Legend: 'Sigillum Simonis Levelys.')

41 Ed. III. May 1, 1367. **474.** *Letter Patent of Edward III. concerning one of his huntsmen.*

Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie Dominus Hib^e et Aquitanie omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali et pro bono servicio quod dilectus nobis Joh^s Cotell unus garcionum nostrorum venatorum nobis a diu impendit, et quia tali infirmitate detinetur quod non potest in servicio nostro diucius laborare, ut accepimus, concessimus eidem Joh^i in auxilium sustentationis sue unum denarium et unum obolum percipienda singulis diebus de exitibus Comitatus Wiltes per manus Vicecomitis ejusdem Comitatus qui pro tempore fuerit ad totam vitam ipsius Joh^s, vel quousque pro statu suo aliter duxerimus ordinandum. In cujus rei test^m has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes . . Teste me ipso apud Westm. i^o die Maii an. r. n. xli^o.

(Sir Bernard Brocas having become Master of the Buckhounds in 1366, this provision made by the king the year afterwards, for one of his huntsmen, would be in his province. There is nothing to show why the pension should have been charged on the revenues of Wiltshire any more than the whole payment of the Mastership, at a later date, on those of Surrey and Sussex. The King's 'garciones venatorum' did not always bear so dignified a name as the above. In the Exchequer accounts we find two of them paid under the appellations of 'Mustard' and 'Garlek.'

9 Hen. V. July 16, 1421. **450.** *Part payment of wages by the Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex to William Brocas as Master of the Buckhounds.*

Mem. per istam billam indentatam quod Joh^s Halle, Vicecomes Surre, solvit per manus Ric^i Wockynge Wil^o Brocas arm. xii^li in partem solutionis Vadianorum. Datum apud Gyldeford xvi die Julii an. r. r. Henrici Quinti ix^o per manus Wil^i Harper.

(Endorsed: 'Surrey & Sussex.'

Seal: A shield surmounted by a mural crown: dexter half defaced, sinister half bearing the three lions of England.)

3 Hen. VI. Dec. 15, 1424. **424.** *Copy of Warrant under the Privy Seal from Henry VI. to the Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, to pay William Brocas, 'Master of our Buckhounds,' and his subordinates, their wages and allowances.*

Henri par la grace de Dieu Roi dengleterre, de France, et Seigneur dirlande. A nostre Viscomte de Surre et Sussex saluz. Nous vous mandons que des issues de votre baillie faitz paier gages de venouure et de staure de nos chiens en le manere desouz escripte cest assavoir a William Brocas Maistre de noz Bukhoundes dousze deniers le jour, a Johan Bakhous, Johan Hunte, berners, a service de eux un demi et maill le jour, et a Johan Napper veautrer deux deniers le jour pur leur gages; et pur la puture

de six leverers et vint et quatre chiens demerez [buckhounds] pur chescun de eux maill le jour del vint et noesisme jour de Septembre darrein passez jusques a le vint et quart jour de Juyn adonques prochein ensuant lun jour et lautre acomptez, forspris la puture de quinsze chiens currantz chascun de eux a maill le jour et le gages dun valet Berner pur quarant jours en quaresme quils serront as custages dudit William par le Statut de nostre hostiel. Et faitz aussi paier audit William pur ses gages en Court sept deniers et maill le jour et a les susditz Johan Bakhous et Johan Hunte, berners, a chascun de eux un demi et maill le jour et a Johan Napper deux deniers le jour de gages de siz leveres et vint et quatre chiens curranz pur chascun de eux maill le jour [defaced] de Juyn prochein avenir tanque a vynt et outisme jour de Septembre delore prochein ensuant lun jour et lautre acontez. Et [defaced] William pour sez deux robes pur lan quarant souldz, et as ditz berners et veautrers a chascun de eux pour ses robes tresze souldz [defaced] pur chauceure quatre souldz et oyt deniers pur lan fesant endenture perentre vous et mesmes les persones tesmoigneaux [defaced] et vous leur eusi ferrez par quellee et par cestee nous volons que vous en ciez due allouance en vue a compte. Done sous nostre Prive [defaced] le xv jour de Decembre lan de notre regne tierz.

(This is the first document which names the limit of time, though probably understood all along, during which the payment for feed and keep of the dogs is to be made. This time begins and ends fairly well with the 'Tyme of grece' given in the 'Book of St. Albans,' just excluding that period:

'Tyme of grece begynnyth at Midsomer daye,
And till Holy Rode daye lastyth, as I you saye;'

i.e. from June 24 to September 14. The payment is here ordered to be from September 29 to June 24.)

23 Hen. VI. Feb. 19, 1445.

425. *Copy of Warrant under the Privy Seal from Henry VI. to the Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, to pay 'William Brocas, Esquire, Master of our Buckhounds,' and his subordinates, their wages and allowances.* (*Almost identical with* 424.)

Henri par la grace de Dieu Roi Dangleterre et de France et Seigneur Dirlonde a nostre Viscount des Countees de Surre et Sussex saluz: nous volons et vous mandons que des essues de votre baillie vous faitz paier gages des venours et puture des chiens en maner come de soubez cestasavoir et William Brocas Escuier maistre de noz Bukhoundez xii^{d} le joure, a Richard Hunte et Piers Hunte Valettez Berners a chescon de eux i^{d} ob le joure, et a Thomas Tanner valet Veautrer, ii^{d} le joure pur lour gages, et pur la puture de sis leverers et xxiiii chiens currantz pur chescun de eux maile le joure du primer joure doctobre lan nostre regne xxiii tanque a xxiiii joure de Juyn lors prochein ensuantz lune joure et lautre accomptes forspris la puture de xv chiens currantz pur chascun de eux maile le joure et les gages dun valet Berner par xl jours en quaresme queux serront as costages dudit William par le Statut de nostre hostiel. Et auxi facez paier a dit William pur ses gages en Court vii^{d} ob le joure, a les ditz Richard Hunte et Piers Hunte valettz Berners a chescun de eux i^{d} ob. le jour; a Thomas Tanner valette Veautrer ii^{d} le joure pur lour gages et vi leverers et xxiiii chiens currantz a chescun de eux ob. le

jour, de la xxv jour du dit moys de Juyn tanque a darrein jour de Septembre adonqes prochein ensuant lun et lautre jour accomptez. Et en autre facez paier audit William pur ses deux robes pur lan xl^{s}, et as ditz Berners et Veautrer pur lours robes a chescun de eux xiii^{s} iiii^{d}, et pur chaucer a chescun de eux iii^{s} viii^{d} pur lan. Et des paiementz queux vous ensi ferrez nous volons que pur costez vous en aiez du allowaunce in nostre acompt. Done soulz nostre Prive Seel a Westminster le xix jour de Feverer lan de nostre regne xxiii.

Rolls of Parliament. 27 Hen. VI. 1449.

Petition of William Brocas to Parliament for better payment of his salary as Master of the Buckhounds.

Granted.

To the King our Sovrain Lord: Bisecheth mekely your humble servaunt William Brocas Squyer, Maister of your Bukhounds. Forasmuche that he holdith of you, and alle his auncestres of tyme that no mynde is have holden of your noble progenitours, the Manor of Lityll Weldon, in the Counte of Northampton, by Graunte Sergeaunte, that is to witte, to be Maister of your Buckhoundes, & to kepe xxiiii rennyng houndes, & vi grehoundes, & to fynde a yoman Veautrer and two yomen Berners; which office was of olde tyme ordeyned for the pleasir and disporte of your noble progenitours and their successours; to the which office soo to mayntene and susteyne, been accustomed & due certeyn wages and fees, by statute & ordenance of the Houshold of your noble progenitours and yours of olde tyme purveyed, as hit apperith in a Cedule to this bille annexed. Of which wages & fees the said Bisecher and his auncestres have been paid of the issues & profitz of the Countees of Surre and Sussex, by the Shirref for the tyme ther being by virtue of a Warante under your Pryve Seal yerely to him made & direct, fro the tyme of your noble progenitour Kyng Edward the Thirde unto thre yeres last past, that the Shirref of the said Countees for the tyme beyng seth that tyme is soo charged of othir wages & annuytees graunted by your Letters Patentes to othir divers personys, that the issues & profitz of the said Countees wolle not suffice to contente the wages & fees of your said Bisecher, over the wages & annuytees soo graunted to other personys; & soo your said Bisecher cannot be paid of the Shirrefez of the Shirez for the tyme beyng, because that the said wages & fees were assigned yerely to be paid by waraunte of your Pryve Seal, & not by waraunte of your Letters Patentes. And thus he is like to lese his wages and fees forsaid, withoute that your most habundaunt grace be shewed unto him in this partye. Wherefore please hit unto your Highnesse as well tenderly to consider these premises as the trewe contynuell service that your said Bisecher hath doon unto your noble progenitours as to your Highnesse, by th'advys of your Lordes Spirituell & Temporell beyng in this presente Parlement, to graunte unto your said Bisecher the said wages & fees by your letters patentes to be made in due fourme after the tenure of a Cedule to this Bille annexed; & he shall pray God for you.

Responsio.

Soit fait come il est desire, juxste le continue d'un Cedule a yeest Peticion annexe.

The Schedule

annexed recites the Petition, admits the facts alleged (including the 'tenure in Grand Serjeantry beyond the memory of man'), distinguishes the several payments, as in the preceding Warrants under the Privy Seal annually issued, amounting to 50*l.* a year, and ends:—

Nos premissa considerantes de gracia nostra speciali ac de avisamento Dom. Spir. et Temp. in pres. Parl^o nostro existentium, ac ad speciales requisitionem et supplicationem communitatis regni nostri Anglie in eodem Parl^o existentibus auctoritate ejusdem Parliamenti, concessimus eidem Wil^o dictas 1 libras percipiendas annuatim sibi et heredibus masculis de corpore suo exeuntibus, de exitibus et proficiis de Comit^s predictis pervenientibus, per manus Vicecomitis eorundem Comitatuum, ad term. Pasche et S^ti Mich^is per equales porciones. Ita semper quod idem Wil^s et heredes sui predicti de eisdem 1 libris, dicta vadia iij^d per diem dicto valetto Veantrer, et i^d ob. per diem utrique dictorum Valettorum Berners pro temp. existentibus, ac pro robis eorum cujuslibet xiij^s iv^d, annuatim ut predictum est solvant et solvere teneantur. Et ulterius concessimus auctoritate predicta [quod] idem Wil^s et heredes sui predicti de solutione annua dictarum 1 librarum ex causis predictis, ante omnes et singulas annuitates sive concessiones alicui persone sive quibuscunque personis per nos factas seu faciendas, ante eas omnes et singulas ac alios quoscunque auctoritate predicta preferantur, et habeant annuatim de tempore in tempus debitam, promptam ac celerem solucionem: et quod ipsi habeant pro eorum solucione sibi inde facienda Brevia nostra &c. sub magno sigillo nostro facienda, una cum speciali clausula in eisdem de preferramento hujusmodi faciendi et habendi; aliquibus statutis, ordinacionibus, provisionibus, actis vel materiis quibuscunque in contrariis factis, aut eo quod expressa mencio de aliis donis et concessionibus eidem Will^o aut heredibus suis predictis, aut dictis tribus Valettis, seu eorum alicui, per Nos seu progenitores nostros ante hec tempora factis, presentibus minime facta existit, non obstantibus. In cujus &c.

(It will be observed that in this Petition the dog-keepers are called 'yomen berners.' The word 'yeoman' gradually becomes official. In a general collection of all the offices in England in the king's gift, before 1630, but apparently of the seventeenth century, the heading 'Buckhoundes' occurs, and underneath it are ranked

THE MASTER,
SERJEANTS,
YEOMEN PRICKERS.

—MS. of Sir John Doderidge, Judge; Add. MSS. 3479, ff. 70, et seq.: Brit. Museum.)

It may be here remarked that the use of the word 'Staghounds' for the Royal 'Buckhounds' appears to be quite a modern innovation.

3 Hen. VII. Oct. 28, 1487. — *Abstract of a Writ summoning John Brocas of Beaurepaire to account for retaining the office and manor of Little Weldon without licence or homage, after the death of his father.*

[*Close Rolls, cl.* 54 *d.*]

Whereas by a certain Inquisition taken at Bulwell 20 Oct. 2 Ric. III., late king of England de facto et non de jure, before Richard Burton, the

said king's escheator co. Northampton, and returned to the said king's Chancery, it was found amongst other things that William Brocas, Esq., deceased, held in the said county on the day of his death, in his demesne as of fee, the manor of Parva Weldon called 'Hunters Manor,' with its appurtenances, &c., and that the said manor was held of the said King by fealty and the service of 'keeping the King's dogs called bukhoundis.' And that the said William Brocas died on 22 April 1 Ric. III., and John Brocas was son and heir of the said William and was 40 years of age: and whereas it has been made known to the present King that although the said manor, through the death of the said William, was taken into the said late King's hands by pretext of the aforesaid Inquisition, and still remains in the present King's hands) the said John without due licence, presentation, or livery, &c. &c. has held the said manor with its appurtenances from the aforesaid William, and still holds it, &c. &c. Writ to the Sheriff of Northampton to summons the said aforesaid John Brocas to appear before the King in the Chancery on the morrow of St. Martin next to come, to show reason why he should not answer to the King for the issues and profits of the said manor from the time of the said William's death, &c. &c., and render homage and fealty to the King in respect of the premises.

[Close Rolls] cl. 54 d.

(From 'Materials for the History of the Reign of Henry VII.,' RS., pp. 201, 313, &c.)

PAGE 1, 'BROCAS AND GARDINER PAPERS.'

6 Hen. VIII. 1514.

429 *b. Copy of Petition from George Warham, Ralph Pexsall, and their wives, Anne and Edith (daughters and coheiresses of William Brocas), for payment of the arrears of the salary of Master of the Buckhounds for the year* 1513.

Georgius Warham et Anna uxor ejus una et Radulphus Pexsall et Editha uxor ejus altera filiarum et heredum Williami Brocas armigeri, nuper Magistri de lez Bukhoundys Dom. Regis, queruntur versus Godardum Oxenbrigge militem nuper Vice Comitem Surre et Sussex presentem hic in Curia super compoto suo de officio suo predicto hic ad hoc Scaccarium reddendo de eo quod pred[s] nuper Vicecomes eis debet et injuste detinet quinquaquinta libras et sex solidos argenteos: et pro eo injuste quod que ipsi Georgius, Anna, Radulphus, et Editha in jure ipsarum Anne et Edithe seisiti existunt de manerio de Parva Weldon cum pert[s] in Com. Northampton vocato Hunters Manor in dominico suo ut de feodo: et manerium illud tenent de Dom. Rege in capite per fidelitatem et servicium essendi Magistri Venatores Dom. Regis et custodiendi xxiv canes damaricios et vi leperarios Dom. Regis; capiendo de et pro officio illo excipiendo annuatim vadia, feoda, et regarda eidem officio ab antiquo debita et consueta; ipsique Georgius, Anna, Radulphus, et Editha, et omnes antecessores ipsarum Anne et Edithe et omnes illi quorum statum iidem G. A. R. et E. habent in eodem manerio in tempore cujus contraria memoria hominis non existit tenuerunt manerium illud de Dom. Rege in Capite per servicium pred[m] et per idem tempus fuerunt Venatores Dom. Regis reciting

details of the various salaries, as in the warrants given above, and the process of the annual issue of the King's warrant, mentioning also the names of the under huntsmen as in the warrant of 1518, Carbanell, Love, and Stephyns, and proceeding as follows :—Que quidem vadia, et servicia et feoda superius recitata et allocata attingit [*sic*] in toto ad pred^m^ summam l^li^ vi^s^ modo petitorum : et quod ipse Dom. Rex voluit quod dictum breve de Privato Sigillo suo esset eidem jam Defendenti nuper Vicecomiti dictorum Com. Surre et Sussex sufficiens warrantum : et quod idem Defendens per breve illud in compoto suo de exitibus Ballive sue ad Scac^m^ dicti Dom. Regis reddendo debitam haberet allocationem prout in breve illo plenius continetur : quod quidem breve dicti Georgius et Radulphus vii^o^ die Junii an. r. Dom. Regis nunc quinto apud villam Westm. in Com. Midd^x^ deliberaverunt prefato jam Defendenti tunc Vicecom. dictorum Com. Surre et Sussex pro solucione l^li^ vi^s^ predictis [torn] jam querentibus a retro existente pro vadiis venatorum et putura canum Dom. Regis et robis suis et chauncez suis [torn] Radulphus Pexsall ibidem optulit ad deliberandas literas suas acquietancie pro vadiis, feodis, et regardis predictis [torn] pro Dom. Rege in ea parte eidem jam Defendenti confectas : Et dicunt ulterius iidem jam Querentes quod ipsi in jure ipsorum [torn] seisiti fuerunt in dominico suo ut de feodo de manerio predicto cum pert^a^ in dicto festo S^ti^ Mich. Arch. dicto anno quarto [torn] dicti xxv diem Junii tunc prox. seq., et a dicto xxv die Junii dicto anno [torn] unum annum integrum : et [remainder lost]

(On reference to the Exchequer of Pleas Judgment Rolls, Hilary, 5 Hen. VIII., this Petition is ascertained to be a correct copy, the parts torn being of no consequence. On presentation of the Privy Seal, the Sheriff had refused to pay, and he now alleges that he has no issues out of which to pay. Judgment is given that the Plaintiffs do recover against the Sheriff 50*l.* 6*s.* and 20*s.* damages. A writ of Elegit was issued, but was not executed by succeeding sheriffs because the late Sheriff's lands were in a certain liberty. Another writ was therefore issued, but it does not appear whether the Plaintiffs succeeded in obtaining their due.)

Undated. **426.** *Copy of Warrant under Privy Seal from Henry VIII. for the payment of Ralph Pexsall as 'Master of our Buckhounds'—as above.*

Henry par la grace de Dieu Roy Dangleterre et de France et Seigneur Dirlande a nostre Viscount de Surrey et Sussex saluz : nous volons et nous mandons que vous faitz paier des issues de vostre baillage pour les gages de nos venours et puture de nos chiens en maner come desoubz escripte : cestassavoir a Raulphe Pexsall Maistre de nos Bukhounds xii^d^ le jour, a Thomas Carbonell veaulterer ii le jour, a John Love et John Stevens varlettes berners chacun deulx i^d^ ob le jour pour lour gages et le puteur de vi leverers et xxiiii chiens courantz pour chacun deulx ob le jour . . . . [remainder as in former Warrants. It ends :—] Done sub notre Prive Seale a notre manoir de Grenewiche le vi jour de Marche, et [incomplete].

Abstracts of three trials in 1517, 1518, *and* 1519, *on Petition of Ralph Pexsall.*

[*Exchequer of Pleas, Judgment Roll, Trinity*, 9 *Hen. VIII. ro.* 10.]

Middx. Ralph Pexsall & Edith his wife, Master of the 'Bukhoundes' of the Lord the King in right of the said Edith d. & h. of W^m^ Brocas Esq.

late master of the 'Bukhoundes, complain by bill against John Legh Kt late Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, for detaining 50l 6s &c. (as in 5 Hen. VIII.). A Privy Seal dated 13 Nov. 7 Hen. VIII. (1515) is given as the authority for the payment. The Sheriff says he is 'not advised' as to his answer. Adjourned to Michās term.

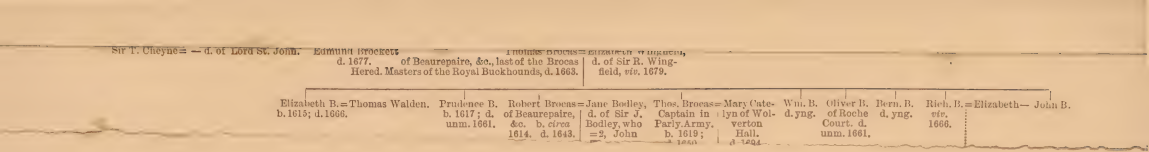
Ib. ro. 12. (Michaelmas.) Repetition of preceding. Edith is since deceased, having left issue by Richard, who therefore remains in possession of the manor and office. After several adjournments because the Sheriff was 'not advised,' in Trinity term following he denied the truth of Plaintiffs' allegations, and protested that Ralph and Edith did not hold the Manor by the service alleged, and that the Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex had no allowance of the sums claimed for wages and 'rewards,' and that Edith did not die seised of the Manor, as she was living on 16 Oct. 8 Hen. VIII. The Court not being 'advised' as to the judgment to be given in the premises, the matter is adjourned to Michaelmas term. (No result.)

[*Exchequer of Pleas, Judgment Roll, Michaelmas,* 10 *Hen. VIII. m.* 3.]

Middx. Ralph Pexsall Master of the 'Bukhoundes' *v.* W^m^ Asshburnham Esq. late Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex—as before—amount of fees &c. 50l 0s 8½d, Edith his wife being dead &c. The fees &c. were to be paid by the Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex for the time being at the town of Westm^r^. Plaintiff was seised of the same by the hands of Roger Copley, late Sheriff for Easter and Michās in 6–7 Hen. VIII. Ralph and Edith had issue 'one Richard.' Defendant is not yet advised as to making answer &c. (No result.)

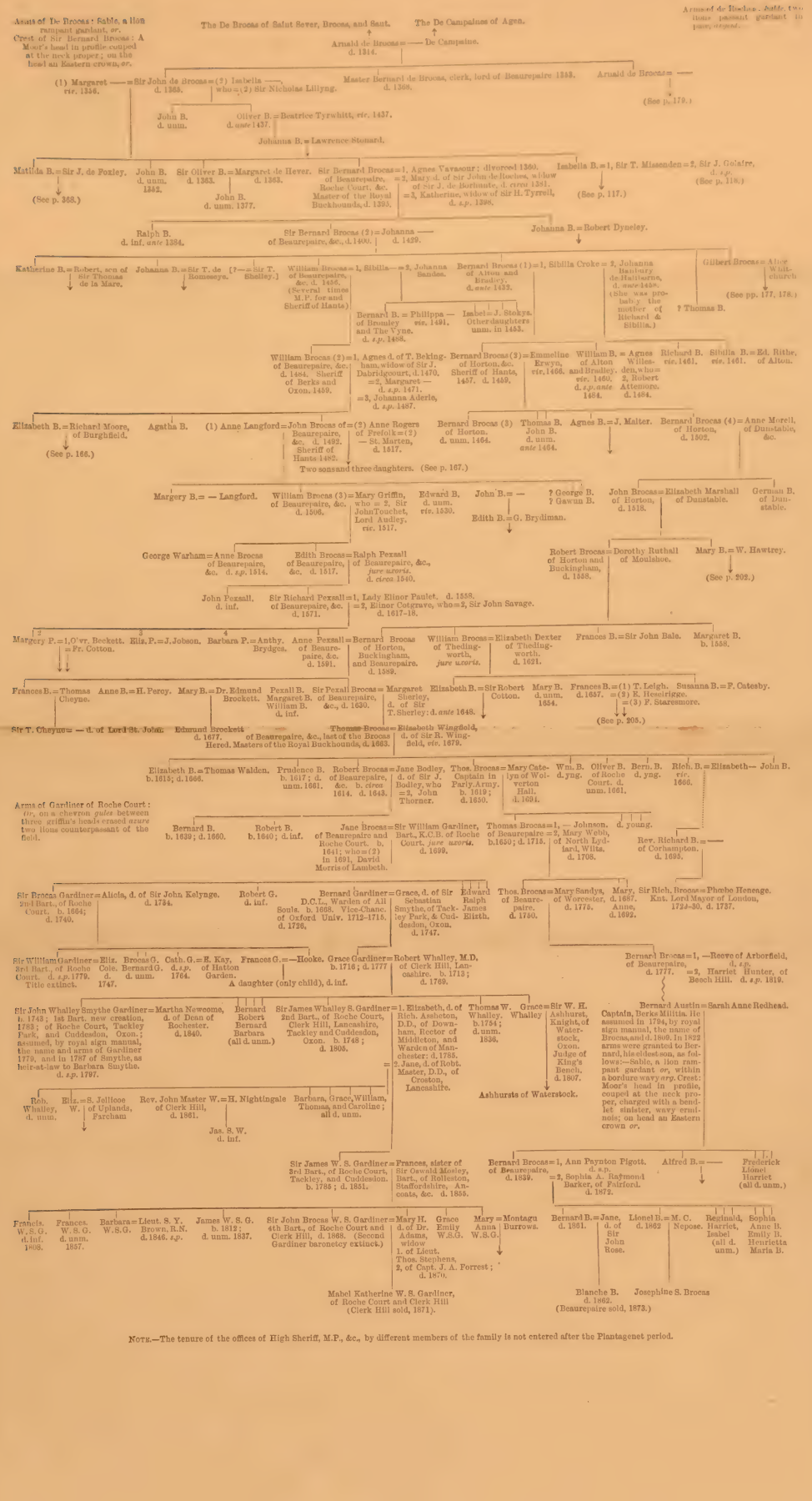
[*Exchequer of Pleas, Judgment Roll, Hilary,* 11 *Hen. VIII. ro.* 23.]

Middx. Ralph Pexsall Master of the Buckhounds claims 50l 0s 8½d against Nich. Carew Esq. Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex (as in previous rolls). He alleges that the Sheriffs of those counties have had allowance of that sum yearly at the Exchequer from time immemorial. The Sheriff appeared, but was not advised, and the matter was adjourned, but at the second hearing the Sheriff 'nihil dicit,' and Plaintiff demanded judgment. Nothing further is recorded.


Sir T. Cheyne = — d. of Lord St. John.
Edmund Brocket of Beaurepaire, &c., d. 1677. Hered. Masters of the Royal Buckhounds, d. 1663.
Thomas Brocas = Elizabeth Wingfield, last of the Brocas d. of Sir R. Wingfield, etc. 1679.
Elizabeth B. = Thomas Walden. b. 1615; d. 1666.
Prudence B. b. 1617; d. unm. 1661.
Robert Brocas of Beaurepaire, &c. b. circa 1614. d. 1643.
Jane Bodley, d. of Sir J. Bodley, who =2, John
Thos. Brocas = Captain in Fairy Army, b. 1619;
Mary Catelyn of Wolverton Hall.
Wm. B. d. yng.
Oliver B. of Roche Court. d. unm. 1661.
Bern. B. d. yng.
Rich. B. etc. 1666.
Elizabeth —
John B.

PEDIGREE:

BROCAS OF BEAUREPAIRE, AND GARDINER OF ROCHE COURT.



NOTE.—The tenure of the offices of High Sheriff, M.P., &c., by different members of the family is not entered after the Plantagenet period.

'Sigillum pro Brevibus coram Justiciariis'; used in 34 Henry VIII.

(See p. 343)

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

P. 2, l. 5, *for* 'divided' *read* 'held.'
Pp. 53, 57, 185, *before* 'Guildford' *insert* 'St. Nicholas'.'
P. 68, last line, *for* 'signs himself' *read* 'witnesses as.'
„ 81, end of note. While these sheets are being printed off a fresh notice of Sir John Brocas has been found, perhaps the type of many more, in Exchcq. Q. R. Min. Accts. $\frac{233}{1}$, 30-31 Ed. III.; viz. four receipts for money paid to him by the Mayor and Bailiffs of Oxford, of the farm of the town. This may have been the payment due to the king for the cattle-market, which the mayor and burgesses rented of him in farm for 100*s.* per annum.
Pp. 81, 309, 310, *for* 'Whichors' *read* 'Whithors.'
P. 90, l. 11, *for* '1361' *read* '1360.'
„ 91, l. 2 from bottom, *after* 'days' *insert* 'with a name of that sort.'
„ 99, l. 1, *for* 'is still' *read* 'was formerly.'
„ 110, lines 3 and 6, *for* 'brother' *read* 'nephew.'
„ 118, l. 2; and p. 120, l. 16, *dele* statement as to Southwick, and Isabella Golafre having been a member of that society. This lady simply took the vow of chastity, without joining a religious community.
„ 122, l. 2, *for* 'conferratum' *read* 'consecratum.'
„ 124, l. 17; and p. 219, l. 2 from bottom, *for* 'Chapter' *read* 'Book.'
Pp. 132, 148, 155, 165, 175. It was not till the deeds which appear in Book VI. were printed that their full bearing on the minuter points of the family history could be properly appreciated. It was then too late to alter the sheets which had already been printed off. Fortunately the only changes thus rendered necessary were of an unimportant character, and are set straight in the notes which occur in Book VI. as well as in the final pedigree.

Thus the reader is requested to take notice that in pp. 132 and 148 the wife of Sir Bernard Brocas (2) was not Johanna Banbury of Haliborne, as there stated, but another Johanna, who is mentioned in p. 447. What is said in those earlier pages about the connection of Sir Bernard's wife with the Haliborne estates must therefore be taken to apply not to her, but to the second wife of her second son, 'Bernard Brocas of Alton,' from whom that Bernard took the title. This leads to the further remark that in pp. 148 and 155 it has been assumed that the connection with Alton was formed through the marriage of Bernard with Emmeline, daughter of Sir W. Sandes, and sundry indications to that effect are brought forward in support of what had hitherto been always received; but the deeds discover that the surviving wife of Bernard of Alton was named Johanna—the above-mentioned Johanna of Haliborne, and not an Emmeline at all; and Mr. Baigent has pointed out to the writer that Bernard of Alton's son, Bernard, is reported in the Visitation of 1565 to have been the husband of an Emmeline Erwin of Bedington, relict of — Kinsill. This lady corresponds as to date with the Emmeline of the Close Roll 7 Ed. IV. m. 1[d]., whose great age, if she had been Emmeline Sandes, made a formidable difficulty in the received pedigree. Thus everything falls into its place. Bernard of Alton's two sons, Bernard of Horton, and William of Alton and Bradley, appear to be the children of his first wife, Sibilla Croke, the latter obtaining his designation of Alton from the inheritance of Johanna's estates. These, as he had no children, would seem to have returned to her relations, as Bradley, which had been settled on his father by William Brocas of Beaurepaire, returned to that William's family. It seems probable that Sibilla Brocas, who married an Alton gentleman named Rithe, and Richard, her brother, who are mentioned as children of Sir Bernard Brocas (2), in pp. 159, 160, 176, were really the children of Bernard of Alton by the above-mentioned Johanna, his second wife. It remains to ask the reader to cancel that part of the note to p. 154 in which the Johanna mentioned in deed 449 (p. 435) is supposed to be the same with the Johanna of deed 114—and thus to be a previously unknown and divorced wife of Bernard Brocas of Alton. It is now pretty clear that the deeds refer to different persons, and that they are the persons stated in the note to p. 435.
P. 151, l. 3, *erase* 'Denton and.'
„ 152, l. 5, *for* 'protected by the trust, &c.' *read* 'protected by the share in the Yorkshire estates held by his mother Johanna.' Correct in this sense the last line in Note 1, p. 126.

P. 154, l. 18. It is doubtful if this Bernard Brocas was ever called 'Bernard of Horton.' He possessed the Bucks estates, but the name was probably first assigned to his son, on the separation of the Bucks estates from those of Alton and Bradley.

„ 160, l. 1, *for* 'his' *read* 'Bernard's.'

„ 161, lines 5 and 6, *for* '1463' *read* '1464'; *for* 'the half brother' *read* 'his brother'; and *for* 'third' *read* 'fourth.'

„ 165, l. 28, *for* 'Horton's' *read* 'Alton's.'

„ 174, lines 7, 8, 9 from bottom, read the sentence thus: 'Emmeline, his mother, was alive in 1466, and the reversion of the manor of Cheddington, which manor she held for life, passed in that year from the trustee to her son.'

„ 175, l. 14, *for* '(3)' *read* '(4)'; and l. 24, *for* '(3)' *read* '(2).'

„ 178, pedigree, *for* 'fifth' *read* 'third.' The wife of Humphrey Brocas was Alianor Scovile, coheiress of John Scovile, of Brockley, Somerset. The lands came through her grandmother, daughter and heir of — Panes. (*Ex. inf.* Mr. J. Whitmarsh.)

Pp. 187 190. These pages were penned before the writer was aware that Mary, widow of William Brocas (3), had taken for a second husband Sir John Touchet, son of the attainted Lord Audeley, who was restored to the Audeley peerage in 1512, and had estates in Hampshire.—F. J. B. The marriage took place before September 1512, and as that date corresponds with the marriages of Pexsall and Warham, their success in obtaining the Mastership of the Buckhounds becomes more intelligible than it would otherwise be. The references to Dr. Brewer's volumes should be 'Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.'

P. 204, l. 11, *for* 'fifth' *read* 'sixth.'

„ 212, l. 10, *for* 'Elizabeth' *read* 'Margery.'

„ 226, l. 11, *for* 'Thomas' *read* 'Robert.'

„ 241, l. 7, *for* 'exactly twenty,' *read* 'twenty-two.'

„ „ l. 5 from bottom. The entry on the rolls in 1639 must refer to some other William Gardiner; those of 1649 and 1651 to Sir William, who was not more than 20 years of age in 1648, nor 33 when he married. (See Publications of the Harleian Society, vol. xv.) Correct in this sense p. 242, l. 14 from bottom.

„ 242, l. 7, *for* 'Downham Hall,' &c. *read* 'Middleton.' The 'Colonel-generall' belonged to a branch, now extinct in the male line, of the ancient Lancashire family of Assheton, represented in the present day at Downham Hall.

„ 248, l. 18. *for* 'which had been,' *read* 'which lands were, in the reign of Edward II.'

„ 253, note 3, *erase* the second sentence.

„ 274, l. 5 from bottom, *for* 'linen' *read* 'silk.'

„ 327, l. 15, *for* 'Horton,' *read* 'Alton.'

„ 332, l. 9, *for* 'his' *read* 'Sir Richard's'; and after l. 22 it should have been stated that some of the earlier facts about Steventon have been supplied by the kindness of Mr. Harris, mentioned in p. 333.

„ 357, l. 10 from bottom, *for* 'Ric' *read* 'Nic'.

„ 358, l. 27, *for* '1572' *read* '1571.'

„ 360, l. 3 from bottom, *before* 'Thomas' *insert* 'Another.'

„ 366, l. 17 from bottom, *for* 'baronies' *read* 'barony.'

„ 426, l. 32, *before* 'knight' *insert* 'another of his name.'

„ 459, l. 12, *for* 'Hugh de' *read* 'Roger.'

The following notice, for which the writer is indebted to the kindness of the Right Hon. Mr. Justice Lawson, has come to hand too late for insertion at p. 274:

'1770, April 17.—Died the Rev. Theophilus Brocas, D.D., Dean of Killala, V.P. P.C.D., whose death is an important loss to the kingdom. He was interred in St. Anne's Churchyard. As a useful and zealous promoter of the interests of the manufactures of this kingdom his death gave great concern. The Corporation of Weavers in their gowns attended the funeral, preceded by their beadle, the Dean being free of the guild. Many of the most respectable silk-manufacturers, and several hundreds of the working silk-weavers also joined in the procession in gratitude for his important services to their manufactures *as a Director of the Irish Silk Warehouse*, and a member of the Dublin Society.'

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NOTE.—The prefix '*Dominus*' or '*Sire*' being only occasionally, though not unfrequently, attached to the names of the clergy, the modern "Sir" has been omitted from the names in this Index. In the case of Knights the general rule is to give the prefix '*Monsieur*' or *Dominus*,' with the affix of *miles*' or '*chevaler*,' in accordance with which the modern le has been assigned to them.

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